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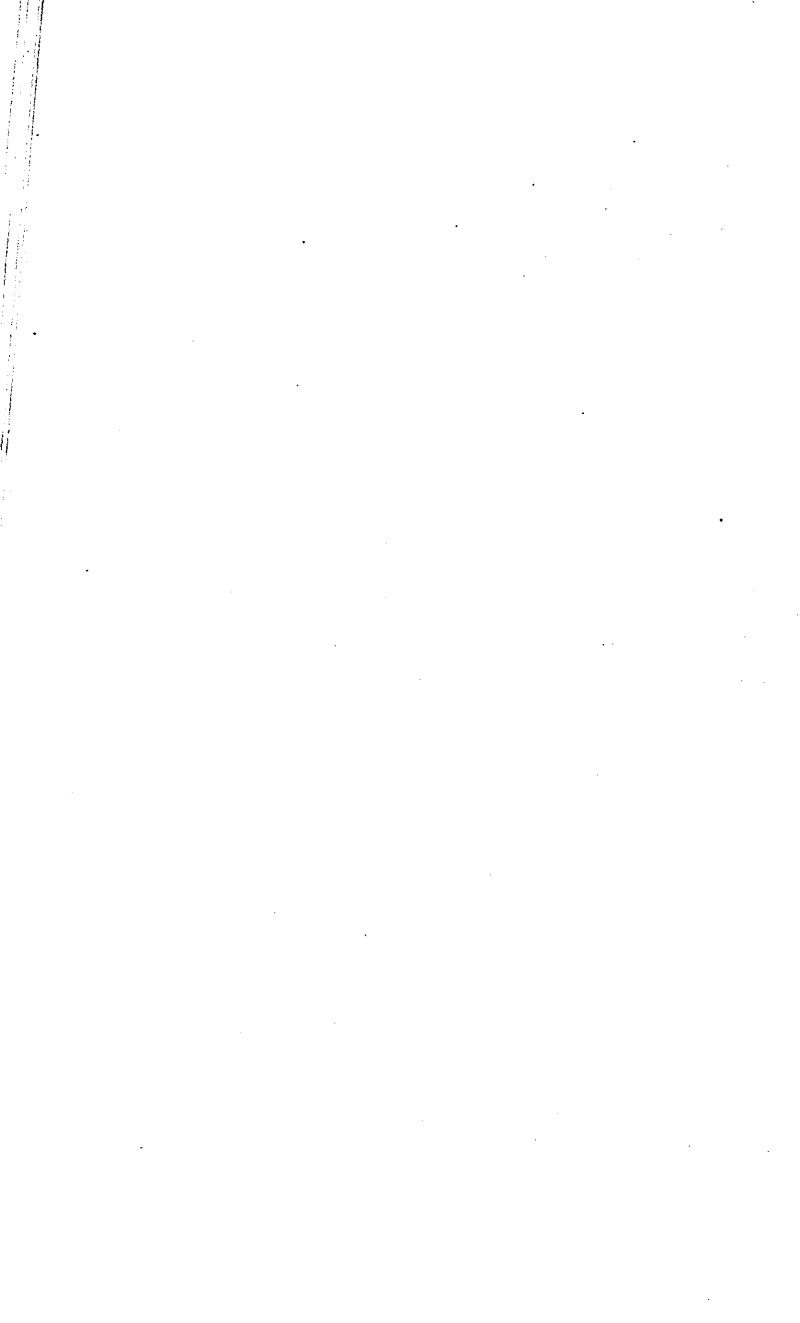
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P R E F A C E .

THE Executive Committee of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society have, at length, the pleasure of presenting to its members the first volume of its collections.

That it has not sooner appeared is less the fault of the Committee than of some of the members of the Society. The former adopted as a rule, to which they have inflexibly adhered, to contract no debt which they had not the means of paying at any moment when it might be demanded. Hence they were unwilling to print until they had funds in hand to pay for the work. Some of the members, from inattention, delayed their payments for a time, and the Committee waited to receive them. The volume is as large as their means enabled them to make it.

The Committee indulge the hope that it will not, in its contents, disappoint the reasonable expectations of the Society. It will be found to present the record of past events only ; interesting, as they hope and believe, to all the members of the Church alike. It is made up of the early documents themselves, with but two exceptions. Those two consist merely of a condensed summary of the facts connected with two past events of historical interest to churchmen (occurring in colonial times), chronologically arranged, and embodying the substance of many scattered documents. These two were prepared by two members of the publishing Committee. Nearly the whole of the book consists of that which has never before been published, and a part of it presents probably the best history extant of the earliest labors in America of the venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel.

The book will afford to the members of the Church a specimen of the general nature of the materials, which (should the Society be sustained) will compose the future volumes of the series. The materials at the disposal of the Committee are abundant enough for many such volumes as this ; and some of them are of deep interest, and indeed importance to the Church. To Churchmen, therefore, we must look for support. The historical student or antiquary who is not a churchman, may here and there be found to attach a value to such a publication as ours ; but the number of such is not large, and, therefore, our support must be derived from Protestant Episcopalians, alive to the importance of preserving the documen-

tary history of their portion of the Church of Christ. Our subscription list of members is at present small; it consists of but little more than three hundred names; but among those are to be found that of every bishop, as well as those of many of the oldest and most influential clergy. Had the Society some twelve or fifteen hundred members, the Committee would pledge themselves to publish annually *four* volumes like the present, to a copy of which each member would be entitled by virtue of his annual payment of two dollars.

The present members of the Society are, for the most part, derived from the ranks of the clergy. The laity have not yet had their attention drawn to the subject; and, in fact, most of them are probably ignorant of the existence of the Society. The Executive Committee would, therefore, respectfully solicit the co-operation of the conductors of Church periodicals, in making known to the laity the plans and purposes of the Society; and would ask also for the efficient aid of our numerous parochial clergy, in causing the Society to be known in their respective congregations. If each clergyman would procure but a few lay members, the Society might pursue its work on a larger scale, and more than repay to every member the amount of his annual subscription.

The Committee deem it proper to say that the management of the affairs of the Society costs nothing. It has no paid agent, and the services of every officer are gratuitously rendered.

It only remains to add that the following gentlemen compose the Publishing Committee who have prepared the present volume:

Rev. F. L. HAWKS, D.D., LL.D.

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Rev. BENJ. FRANKLIN.

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KEITH AND TALBOT.

THE SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS was established in England, by charter, bearing date the 16th day of June, 1701.

One of the first acts of the Society was to send to the English Colonies on this continent a missionary to make personal examination, by travelling over the then several governments of British America that now constitute a part of the United States.

The individual selected was the Rev. George Keith, whose Journal is hereafter presented, and of whom a slight sketch will form a suitable introduction to the record of his labors.

George Keith was born at Aberdeen, in Scotland; not, however, of Quaker parents. At what time he became a member of the Society of Friends, we have not been able to discover. He was possessed of learning, having been very well educated, and his talents were of a high order. His mind was acute and logical, and his temper fearless. In truth, the greatest defects in his character resulted from the indulgence of his temper. He was irritable and overbearing at times, and his language was not always regulated by Christian gentleness. He was, however, we think, honest in avowing and following the convictions of his understanding, but we fear he can scarcely be said to have been an amiable man, inasmuch as he frequently appears to have courted rather than shunned controversy.

The first account we have of his appearing in this country, places him in East Jersey in 1682. He was then a Quaker and held the office of surveyor general. In 1689 he removed to Philadelphia, on the invitation of some wealthy families, who desired him to become tutor to their children. He discharged the duties of this situation faithfully and skilfully. He also (as old Gerard Croese informs us) "at the same time exercising his preaching faculty among an unlearned and ignorant company of people, as for the most part their preachers were, excelled them all, appearing as a bright luminary, and outshining all the rest of that order among them; and by his opportune diligence and industry in all the parts of his ministerial office, he rendered himself beloved of them all, especially the more inferior sort of people."

Keith became a writer as early as the year 1665. His first productions were all in favor of the Quakers. His zeal led him with a fearless spirit to cast himself into the very midst of those among whom he well knew Quakerism had reaped what it deemed a glorious martyrdom. He here boldly threw down the gauntlet, and challenged to theological combat the chosen champions of Puritanism. He thus commenced his "Solemn call and warning from the Lord to the people of New England to repent."

"The burden of the word of the Lord that came unto me on the twenty-first day of the fourth month, 1688, in the town of Boston, in New England, to declare it unto Boston and its inhabitants, and to the inhabitants of New England," &c. A copy of this he posted in the most conspicuous place in the town, and followed it by a letter addressed to "James Allen, Joshua Moody, Samuel Willard, Cotton Mather, *called* preachers in Boston."

In this he charged them with preaching false doctrine, and challenged them to public disputation. Their answer is characteristic of men who felt their power, and at the same time resented the insult offered to their dignity.

"Having received a blasphemous and heretical paper, subscribed by one George Keith, our answer to it and him is, if he desires conference to instruct *us*, let him give us his arguments in writing, as well as his assertions; if to inform *himself*, let him write his doubts; if to cavil and disturb the peace of our churches (which we have cause to suspect) we have neither list nor leisure to attend his motions; if he would have a public audience, let him print; if a private discourse, though he may know where we dwell, yet we forget not what the apostle John saith, Epis. 2, 10th verse."*

To this Keith was not backward in preparing a reply in the shape of another letter more severe than the first, and as if the present controversy were not enough, he turns to the past and evokes new elements of contention in "a brief answer to some gross abuses, lies, and slanders, published some years ago by Increase Mather, late teacher of a church at Boston, in New England, in his book called, *An essay for the recording of illustrious providences, &c.*, and by Nath. Morton in his book called *New England's Memorial*."

In 1691 Keith was again in Pennsylvania, and now commenced his dispute with the Quakers, which ended in his separation from them, after having been a preacher among them for twenty-eight years. The Quaker writers charge him with ambition and desire to assume undue authority, under a mistaken impression of his own influence. It is, however, but just to Keith to say, that he denied this, and charged his adversaries with a departure from the

*—"If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed."

original doctrines held by the society. Without entering into the particulars of the controversy, suffice it to say that twenty-eight leading members issued against him what they called "A testimony of disownment," in 1692. Keith repaid this with a similar testimony against the twenty-eight, signed by himself and a "considerable party," including "some wealthy and influential members of the society," who adhered to him. Keith and his friends were called Christian Quakers; he charged his opponents with Deism.

Soon after this, in 1694, he went to England and was there admitted to holy orders in the established church.

In April, 1702, he sailed for America on a mission of observation, and the Journal which follows commences with this voyage. In August, 1704, he reached England and became rector of Edburton, in Sussex, where he ended his days.

The authorities for the above sketch are General History of the Quakers, by Gerard Croese, Proud's Pennsylvania, Keith's churches in New England brought to the test, Keith's Journal, Allen's Biographical Dictionary, Gordon's Pennsylvania, Review of Bishop Doane's Sermon at the Consecration of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, December 23d, 1834.

As a suitable introduction to the official report by Mr. Keith, contained in his "Journal," the publishing committee have prefixed thereto several documents hitherto unpublished, and consisting principally of letters written by Mr. Keith and his companion, the Rev. Mr. Talbot, furnishing a very full account of the general aspect of the colonies in a religious point of view, and together with the detailed report in the "Journal" itself, affording probably the most complete picture that can now be obtained of the precise condition of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America when the venerable society here commenced its labors.

The following letter it is supposed gave rise to the measures which ended in the appointment of Mr. Keith as the first missionary of the Society to America.

A Letter from Mr. George Keith to the Secretary of the Venerable Society about the State of Quakerism in North America.

"WORTHY SIR:—

"According to your desire I send you this short Memorial of the State of Religion in such parts of North America where I have travelled, and which I can give of my own knowledge, especially in relation to Quakerism and some other things by letters from my friends there.

"In Pennsylvania, when I came to live there, which was in the year 1689, by the number of men and women that used to come to the yearly meetings from the several parts of that province, and from the West and East Jerseys, we did commonly reckon there might be at least fifteen hundred Quakers, two hundred of which might perhaps belong to the West and East Jerseys.

"After the breach that began in the year 1691, betwixt a party of Quakers that joined with me in opposing some of their errors (especially their notion of the sufficiency of the light within every man to salvation without anything else) and another Party that joyned with Thomas Lloyd then Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania and a great Preacher among the Quakers, all the Meetings in those Provinces abovementioned were broken, and they set up Separate Meetings one from another, on the account of different Principles of Religion (especially in relation to the notion aforesaid of the Sufficiency of the light within, without any thing else, which I and my Friends judged a plain opposition to Christianity, and an Establishing of Deism in its place) so that when I came from Pennsylvania to England, which was in the year 1694, I left behind me fourteen or fifteen Meetings in Pennsylvania, West and East Jerseys, that met apart from the Quakers (on the account of their opposition to their Errors) to the number of above Five hundred persons.

"Since there hath been a Church of England Congregation set up at Philadelphia, the Chief Town in Pennsylvania, a considerable number of those that did come off with me on the account of the Quakers Errors are joyned with the Church of England, both Men and Women of good account, and others of them keep up their Separate Meetings, particularly one at Philadelphia, and some of them have joyned themselves with the Anabaptists in those Parts, as I have had particular Information by letters from my friends there, year after year.

"It would be of great service, as I judge, if one or two more Church of England Ministers were sent to Pennsylvania; it is not to be doubted, but they would not only get hearers, but such as would join with them to make up Congregations, one whereof might be at New Castle, which is forty miles below Philadelphia, by the River Delaware, the other at the Falls by the same River, about thirty miles above it.

"In West Jersey that lyes on the east side of Delaware River, I have several friends that joyned with me in the Separation from the Quakers, especially about Crosricks, which is about Fifteen or Sixteen miles from Burlington (the chief Town in West Jersey lying by Delaware River); if a Church of England Minister were sent thither it is not to be doubted but he would be received and joyned with, both by some of my friends and some other sober persons. The most proper place to set up a Church would be at Burlington, and another at Crosricks abovementioned.

"In East Jersey I have several friends that came off with me in the Separation from the Quakers, and so continue, and as I have been informed by a worthy gentleman, Colonel Morris, formerly my scholar, who has a family and a good estate in that Province, and is now in London, (being lately come from East Jersey, who knows my friends there) they are well prepared to receive a Church of England Minister among them, and it is not to be doubted but he would have several other persons to joyn with him to set up a Church Congregation; the fittest places to set up a Church Congregation

are Amboy and the Falls in Shrewsbury, near where Colonel Morris has his house and estate, for though Amboy has few Inhabitants, yet People would come to it from Woodbridge and other places thereabouts.

"The people of East Jersey who are not Quakers, are generally Independents, having originally come from New England, but the young generation might easily be brought off to the Church, if they have any Church set up among them.

"East Jersey has six or seven considerable Towns in it, as Shrewsbury, Middletown, Woodbridge, Piscataway, Elizabeth and Newark Town; the Inhabitants, generally all English that came originally from New England, about Thirty years ago; and Bergen, inhabited generally with Dutch, all Calvinists who have a Dutch Minister.

"There is not one Church of England as yet in either West or East Jersey, the more is the pity; and except in Two or Three Towns there is no face of any public worship of any sort, but People live very mean like Indians. In New York there are but few Quakers, and some that were, are come off and joyned with the Church there. One Mrs. —, a friend of mine, is lately deceased, but before her death, was baptized, and had the Lord's Supper administered to her, and got her Children baptized, whereof I had a late Account in a letter from one of my friends there, now a zealous Churchman.

"In Long Island there are not many Quakers; it is a great place and has many Inhabitants, English and Dutch; the Dutch are Calvinists and have some Calvinistical Congregations; the English some of them Independents, but many of them no Religion, but like Wild Indians; there is no Church of England in all Long Island, nor in all that great Continent of New York Province, except at New York Town.

"The places where the Quakers have their greatest Meeting in Long Island are Flushing and Oyster Bay, in both which places I have been several times at their Meetings.

"In Road Island where I have been several times, there are many Quakers and Anabaptists, but never had a Church of England until of late.

"In all the Continent of New England there is no Church of England I think, but at Boston, I have travelled through much of it, but never heard of any but that one. Few Quakers are at Boston. There are some at Sandwich, some at Piscataway and other scattered Places, but very few.

"It seems a good expedient to me that such Ministers as go over into these parts that I have named, should not constantly reside in one place at present, but preach at several places through the whole Province, which they may safely now travel through from one end to another, with little charge or difficulty.

"And that a considerable number of little books, such as the Pastoral Letter, and those against Swearing, Drunkenness, and Sabbath breaking were sent to be spread among them. And if a little book were printed by some able man, to show the sin of Schism, to persuade to the Communion of the Church of England, and sent among them, it would be of good service.

"I remain,

"Worthy Sir,

"Your humble servant,

"GEORGE KEITH."

For the more perfect understanding of the relation of Mr. Keith's missionary labours, we here insert a general view of the state of religion in the colonies about the time of his visit.

An Account of the State of Religion in the English Plantations in North America, by Col. Dudley, Governor of New England.

The Plantations on the Shore of America as they lye from South to North may be thus accounted :

SOUTH CAROLINA contains Seven thousand Souls, will admit and support three Ministers.

NORTH CAROLINA, Five thousand Souls, alike three Ministers, and both stand in need of Schools.

VIRGINIA, Forty thousand Souls, was by the Lord Culpepper divided into about Forty Parishes with an Established Maintenance by Act of Assembly, but are not fully supply'd, and the Maintenance hurt by disuse, but will be always encouraged by Colonel Nicholson the present Governor.

MARYLAND, Twenty five thousand Souls in twenty six parishes, I suppose well supply'd by the care of Dr. Bray.

PENSILVANIA and the Lower Counties annex, Fifteen thousand Souls, will well support Four Ministers; one at Philadelphia, and one in each County, with dependant Schools upon each.

WEST JERSEY, Two thousand Souls most Quakers, may yet have one Minister, at present, supported from England.

EAST JERSEY Six thousand Souls in about Seven Towns and Parishes, may at present support Two Ministers, the rest being Dissenters.

CONNECTICUT, Thirty thousand Souls, about thirty three Towns, all Dissenters, supply'd with Ministers and Schools of their own persuasion.

NARAGANSET or Kings Province, Three thousand Souls, without any Ministry or public form of Religion, may have two Ministers, and might well Support them.

ROAD ISLAND and Providence Plantations, Five thousand Souls in Seven Towns, at present under a Quaker Government; but might have Two Ministers and Schoolmasters, at first subsisted from hence, at least one of them.

MASSACHUSETTS or New England, Seventy thousand Souls, in Seventy Towns, all Dissenters, that have Ministers and Schools of their own persuasion, except one Congregation of the Church of England at Boston, where there are two Ministers.

NEW HAMPSHIRE, Three thousand Souls in Six Towns, all Dissenters, that have Ministers and Schools of their own persuasion.

PROVINCE OF MAYN, Two thousand Souls in Six Towns (the rest of that great Province being in ten years past wasted and driven off by the Indians) are all Dissenters, and have Ministers and Schools of their own.

In the three last Colonies and Connecticut, by an early law providing for Ministers and Schoolmasters, I am of opinion there are no Children to be found of ten years old, that do not read well, nor men of Twenty that do not write tolerably.

The Ministers to be sent from England to any of the abovesaid Colonies, must be men of good learning, sound morals, and should not be very young; and where there is not the view of a good support from their hearers, must be supplied from hence that they be not in Contempt, but may be well provided for in those parts where the Governments are immediately dependant upon the Crown and Government of England.

After Mr. Keith came over, and had made a survey of the field before him, he, in conjunction with the few clergymen then in the northern part of the country (with the exception of the two or three in New England), made the following statement, designed for the Venerable Society. It contains no details of Mr. Keith's journeyings or labors, as set forth in his Journal; but is nevertheless valuable as contributing to a picture of the religion of the times, as viewed by the eyes of churchmen.

An Account of the State of the Church in North America, by Mr. George Keith and Others.

A Brief account of the State of the Church in the American parts, hereafter mentioned, and a scheme of such proper and expedient ways and methods as we humbly Conceive by the blessing of God, may be useful to the reducing the main body of the Dissenters of all sorts to y^e Church of England, by way of Question and Answer.

In what circumstances the Church of England is, as by Law Established and the Schools?

PENSILVANIA.—There is no Church or School established by any Law in the Province, nevertheless in Philadelphia (the Chief Town in Pensilvania) there is one Church consisting of a large Congregation, having Mr. Evans for their Minister, and Mr. Thomas his Assistant, with three Congregations in the Country, viz. Chester, Radner (being a Welch Church), and Oxford, which are supplied only in the week days by the said Ministers.

WEST NEW JERSEY.—There is no Church or School established by Law of the Province.

EAST NEW JERSEY.—There are eight English Towns, and two Dutch, but neither Church or School established by any Law.

NEW YORK.—There are some Counties, five of which are inhabited by Dutch, and those of Dutch extraction, viz. Albany, Ulster, Dutchess, Orange, and King's County, in which the Church and Church of England Schools have not yet been settled, but the Presence of the present Governor of that Province, his Excellency the Lord Cornbury, has mightily influenced many of

the people, of the said Counties to desire that Church of England Ministers and Schoolmasters may be sent amongst them, particularly Albany representatives have desired his Lordship that an English Schoolmaster might be established in that county, and some of the Inhabitants of Ulster County passionately desire a Church of England Minister; Suffolk County is the only English County without a legal Establishment of a Church of England Minister; for in y^e County of West Chester, Queen's County, Richmond, and New York County, the Church is Established by Law, this Province, though it hath a great number of Inhabitants, could never yet obtain a publick legally Established School.

* NEW ENGLAND.—There is no Church, nor Church of England School established by Law in all the Colonies Eastward of the Province of New York, viz. Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth and New Hampshire, except at Boston, where there is one Church of England, consisting of a large Congregation, having two Ministers, Mr. Myles and Mr. Bridge, and one in Rhode Island consisting of a large Congregation and one Minister, viz. Mr. Lockier Lockyer], and another in Braintree which has no Minister.

How Ministers and Schoolmasters are maintained ?

PHILADELPHIA.—The two Ministers are maintained by the Voluntary subscriptions of the Congregation, and the constant munificence of his Excellency Col. Nicholson, Governor of Virginia.

JERSEYS.—In the West and East New Jerseys, there is neither Minister nor maintenance.

NEW YORK.—A Provision is made by Law for six Ministers, viz: in the City and County of New York £100 per annum of the money of this province, for one Minister; In Queens County on Nassau Island £120 per annum for two Ministers to be equally divided betwixt them; £40 per annum for one Minister in the County of Richmond; in West Chester County a maintenance for two Ministers, viz. £50 for each, besides her Majesty allows £130 per annum for the maintenance of the Chaplain of the Forces. There is yet no provision for Schoolmasters made by Law, though by the zealous Recommendation of the Lord Cornbury to the general Assembly, a legal maintenance is undoubtedly expected, and till then the Church of England Schoolmaster in the County of New York as heretofore, will be supported by the Voluntary Contributions of those whose children are instructed by him; notwithstanding it is humbly conceived that an annual Pension from England for the Support and farther encouragement of some Ministers and Schoolmasters in poor Towns will be of great use and service to the Church.

BOSTON.—Mr. Myles is maintained by the Contribution of the Church and Mr. Bridge out of her Majesty's Treasury in England.

RHODE ISLAND.—Mr. Lockier, the Minister, is maintained partly by the Contributions of the people, and partly by a Supply from England.

What Number of Churches, Schools and Ministers ?

As for Pensilvania, Jerseys and New England this is answered already ut supra.

NEW YORK.—There are in this Province one Chapel and four Churches, viz. one Chapel in Fort William Henry, two Churches in Queens County, one in the County of West Chester, and one large Church in the City of New York, founded Anno Domini, 1695, and erected by the charitable Contributions of many well disposed persons, especially the generous donations of his Excellency Col. Nicholson, Governor of Virginia, and Col. Fletcher, late Governor of New York.

The Reverend Mr. Edmund Moll, is Chaplain to the Fort and Forces; Mr. Bartow, Rector of West Chester County; Mr. Vesey, Rector of New York; the Reverend Mr. Gordon, late Rector of Queens County, who to the grief of all good men is removed by Death.

No School house yet erected in this Province.

How the People are inclined to promote them?

PHILADELPHIA.—The English Congregation is very forward to encourage and promote the Interest of the Church of England; as for the congregations of the County, being lately reduced from Quakerism, they are very averse from a Maintenance and therefore the Ministers of Philadelphia freely serve the Cures.

EAST AND WEST JERSEY.—There is a considerable number of People that were formerly Quakers, and other Dissenters in a good disposition to embrace Communion with the Church, but not so forward to contribute to the Maintenance of those who discharge these offices, wherewith God is served by his Church.

NEW YORK.—In all these Counties where the Church is established by the law of this Province, the People generally are in a readiness to embrace the Doctrines and Worship of the Church, and to Encourage Free Schools.

NEW ENGLAND.—In Swansey, Naraganset, Seconet, Brainty, Salem, Ipswich, and Piscataway, there are several hundreds of People in those and other places of New England, desirous of Church of England Ministers among them, a considerable Number of which in Swansey and Seconet have already petitioned the Lord Bishop of London for two Ministers.

What Number of them are of the Church of England and in what Places?

In PHILADELPHIA and the adjacent places by a modest Computation, there seems to be 7 or 800, the number being considerably increased since the arrival of the two present Ministers.

EAST AND WEST JERSEYS, ut supra in the 4th Question.

NEW YORK.—That large Church is now thronged, and the Congregation daily increasing, by an addition of Dutch and French, as well as English People, also in other Counties of this Province, the number of those who are earnestly desirous of a Church Minister is very considerable, though at present the exact number cannot be known.

NEW ENGLAND, ut supra in the 1st Question.

What hopes there are to bring more over, and by what ways and means?

In PENNSYLVANIA, the WEST and EAST JERSEYS, and the several Colonies of

NEW ENGLAND, there are great hopes, were there a considerable number of pious, learned clerks, well versed in the controversies between the Church and the Brethren of the Separation, speedily sent over and supported by England and by maintenance, and as for the ways and means, we humbly conceive, that if the Queen, the Lord Chancellor, the Arch Bishops, Bishops, Collegiate Churches, and Universities, would be pleased to present as many pious and learned Ministers, as are needful, to livings, as they fall, of £200 per annum, at least, upon condition that they come to the aforesaid places, to preach the Gospel for such time as their Graces and Lordships shall soe arrange.

That if a competent portion of the Tyth may be reserved for the supply of the Cures, and the residue sent Yearly to supply the Missionaries ; with submission, we believe that this would effectually contribute to the Proselyting, the main body of the Dissenting People, to their Ancient Mother, the Church ; or if this Method be not so agreeable to the persons above mentioned, it is humbly suggested that until the fund to be raised by that Noble and Illustrious Society, for the Propagating of Christian Faith, in these Parts, be able to answer the charge of their great and pious undertaking, that their Lordships would be pleased to contrive how the profits of such Sine Cures, as are in the Queen's and their Lordship's gifts may be sequestered as they fall, for the supply of the Missionaries ; and it is humbly prayed that a remarkable encouragement may be given to such as will undertake the study of the Indian languages in order to their Conversion ; and that above all, a Suffragan Bishop may be sent over for the Confirming the Baptized, and giving orders to such as are willing and well qualified to receive them, there being a considerable number of actual preachers and others of New England education well disposed to serve in the Ministry.

NEW YORK.—If proper methods be speedily taken, we have reasonable hopes that the English Counties of that Province will be easily reconciled to the Church, as to ways and means, by sending a pious and learned Clergy among them as aforesaid : again that in the small Towns the Ministers have directions and Encouragement given them to officiate as Ministers and Schoolmasters, than which a more effectual way cannot be taken to establish the Church on the Sure and lasting foundations of Truth and Peace.

And as to the Dutch Counties and Towns in the Province it would be of admirable Service to send such Dutch Ministers to their Vacant Counties and Towns, especially forthwith one to Kings County, now destitute, ordained by the Bishop of London, with whom they would as readily comply as if they were Ministers of their own persuasion.

What opposition and Discouragement the Church of England meets with, from the Government, Society of people or private persons ?

PENSILVANIA.—The chief opposition and discouragment the Church of England meets with, ariseth from persons disaffected being put into places and offices of trust in council, in Commission of the peace and Courts of Jurisdiction.

One other great discouragement which the Church labours under, is from the pretended Ministry of Quakers, who have threatened our Reverend and worthy Brother, Mr. Keith, at their Meeting places, which he has visited in

New England, Rhode Island, Long Island, and the two Jerseys, with the penalty of £20 for speaking in their Meetings, though without Interruption to their Speakers; and notwithstanding they have not qualified themselves according to the Act of Toleration. There is a great opposition also from all other Dissenters, as Presbyterians, Independants and Anabaptists, who daily increase in other Provinces, as well as Pensilvania, for want of an established Ministry of the Church in those Parts.

NEW YORK.—The Church of England under the late Administration of the Lord Bellamont and Captain Nanfan hath been grievously opposed and oppressed; but since the auspicious arrival of the Right Honorable the Lord Cornbury, has been delivered from the violence of the enemies, restored to her rights, greatly countenanced and encouraged, and lives under the just expectation of being more firmly established and enlarged. But many of the Dutch Dissenters and all the Quakers, though differing from one another amongst themselves, yet agree in opposing with great zeal and malice, whatever tends to the honour and interest of the Church.

NEW ENGLAND.—Whilst the Council as well as the Assembly is in the choice of the people, and whilst the Assembly assumes a power to oblige the Members of the Church of England that maintain their own Minister, to contribute by a tax, in proportion much beyond others of the like Estate, to Support the Dissenting Ministry, there are but slender hopes to see the Church increase and flourish in that Colony.

How Quakers and others support their Meetings and Schools.

1. The Quakers support their Meetings and Schools by several ways and means, as first by their Established Weekly, Monthly, Quarterly, and yearly Meetings.

2. By the great and large collections of Money gathered, especially at their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, which they put into a Common stock.

3. By their proselyting many poor People to their way, by their Charity.

4. By keeping their Trade within themselves and maintaining a strict Correspondence and Intelligence over all parts where they are.

5. By the many and sometimes great Legacies which the Quakers at their Death give to the Common Stock, they appointing persons to visit the sick, upon that Account, so that in Philadelphia they have £1000 given by Legacies in about two years last past, as appears by the Records of their Wills in Philadelphia.

6. By sending over great numbers of Missionaries yearly from England into these Parts and furnishing them well out of their National Stock, especially since Mr. Keith left them.

7. By their having George Foxe's Orders and Canons duly and orderly read in their Monthly and especially in their Quarterly Men and Women's Meetings; though they never read one chapter of the Holy Bible in the said meetings.

8. By spreading Books, printed both in England and here and dispersing them at cheap rates, which leavens their youth with prejudices against the Church and her Ministers.

9. By frequent Meetings of their Speakers to consider of ways and means to propagate their errors.

10. By their great hospitality to all friends, and others that come to their public Meetings, especially their Quarterly and Yearly Meetings.

11. By suffering none of themselves to marry but with those of their own profession.

12. By refusing to swear and fight, by which means many come over to them, to excuse themselves from being jurymen and serving in the Militia.

13. By building diverse large and fair Structures, for their Meeting houses, especially in Philadelphia, Burlington, and Rhode Island.

14. By keeping and publickly recording all Misfortunes and Accidents of Sudden Deaths that happen to their Adversaries which they call Judgments of God upon their Opposers, whether Priests, Impropiators, Magistrates, or others.

15. By keeping a true and exact Register of all their Births, Burials, and Marriages, and all Passages, Travels, and Sufferings of their travelling friends, especially by keeping a distinct and particular record of the Sufferings and Death of the friends of the Ministry with the Circumstances of the time and place of their decease.

16. By collecting into volumes the particular Treatises of the preaching Quakers of Account after their Deaths, after they have expunged some of their lying Prophecy's, and other Ridiculous and Scandalous Passages.

17. By their seeking out in what places in England and elsewhere what they can object of Scandals against either Ministers or People, professing Communion with the Church, reproaching the whole Church with them.

18. By their grossly misrepresenting the Doctrine of the Church of England and of all other Protestant Churches in all points of difference between them.

19. By their high pretences to the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, the same in kind with those which the Apostles and Prophets had.

20. By their singularities in Common Speech, and refusing to give any marks of honour, or due respects to Magistrates and Superiors.

21. By setting up Meetings in all places where they can find access, though they have no resident Ministers to preach or pray in these said Meetings; hundreds of which sort are in England, and many in these American Parts.

22. By the People's great liberality to all their Itinerant Preachers, and putting their Ministers generally into a way of Trade, especially Merchandizing, and putting many poor Mechanics, Servants, and Women, that have no good way of living, pretending to the Ministry among them, into such ways of trade and business, whereby to live plentifully, by which means, many who had nothing are become rich.

23. By their great partiality in concealing the gross faults of their Ministers and People favouring them of their party, either in Arbitrations or Courts of Judicature, where they have the Government in their hands, or any share therein.

24. By their using all possible Endeavours to discourage, reproach, and scandalize all such Persons as leave their Communion for their errors and other unjust practices, and to ruin them if possible, and then to tell their hearers that the Judgment of God fell upon such who forsake the truth as they term it, by which they fright the people.

What ways and means are proper to put a stop to them?

By using some of the like ways and means above mentioned, such as are lawfull, proper and convenient; many of the above mentioned being very unlawfull which are used by them. By sending over such Books as are most proper and useful, not only for the detecting the Quakers errors, but also for informing the People in the Doctrine, way and Worship of the Church, especially all the Works of the Author of the "Snake in the Grass," particularly his five discourses printed together by Charles Brown, "the Invention of Man in the Worship of God," by Dr. King, Bishop of Londonderry, all the small treatises lately published against profane swearing and breach of the Sabbath. The abstract of the "London Cases," Dr. Beveridge's Sermon concerning the excellency and usefulness of the Common Prayer, "The unworthy communicant," "Comber upon the Common Prayer," "The Whole duty of Man," Mr. Brent, of Bristol, against lying, Common Prayer Books and books of homilies, and the articles of the Church of England, and Catechisms, the Exposition of the Church Catechism, by the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Lastly, Large and Common Prayer Books, for Churches; that the Executive part of the Government be put into the hands of persons well affected to the Church of England.

That Ministers of the Church of England in these American parts, as well as England, acquaint themselves well with the Quakers erroneous Doctrine and Principles, and that it be earnestly recommended to all such, where Quakers abound most, to preach against their sad Doctrines and principles, which are most erroneous, at least once every three months in their Parish Churches.

New York.

Signed by us,

GEORGE KEITH.

EVAN EVANS, Cler. Minister of Philadelphia.

ALEXANDER INNES, Presbyter.

EDMOND MOTT, Chaplain of Her Majesty's Forces in New York.

JOHN TALBOT.

WILLIAM VESEY, Rector of New York.

JOHN BARTOW.

Mr. Keith to Dr. Bray.

Philadelphia, 24th Feb. 1703-4.

"DR. BRAY—

"REVEREND AND WORTHY SIR :

"My very humble and kind respects remembered to you, and all our friends with you; having this occasion I was glad to accept of it (as of all occasions that occur) to write unto you. I writ unto you from New York, in November last, together with our scheme of the State of the Church in these Northern parts of America, and therewith I sent a long letter to the Honourable Corporation for Propagating the Gospell in Foreign Parts, and a letter to my Lord of London, all which I enclosed in my letter to you, which I hope you have received. I have had no letter from you as yet, nor from any of your honourable Corporation, but one from my worthy friend, Mr. Chamberlayne,* wherein he signified to me that your Corporation had not met; betwixt his receiving my Letters and the time of his writing to me, so that he could not say any thing, what the Corporation would do, concerning allowing Mr. Talbot his charge in travelling with me, but he thought that they would be well satisfied that he was my companion, and would allow him what they thought was convenient. I have heard Mr. Talbot say that if they allow him £50 English money per annum, it will do, and indeed that is little enough, and would not near do, but that we are often upon free quarters, more especially among our friends. Mr. Talbot, I hear, has a good character given of him, to my Lord of Canterbury, and indeed he deserves it, he has been mightily serviceable and comfortable to me in all respects, as a Son to his Father, and is well beloved by all where we have travelled, who are well affected to the Church; and has been much desired by the People in several Places, to be their Minister (after he has finished his travels with me, which are like to be done, somewhat above a year hereafter) particularly at Chester, about 16 miles Southward from Philadelphia, by the river Delaware, where he has once preached, and hath brought over the same time there also, in the said Town of Chester, Mr. Yeates who lives there, and who has been the principal person, to cause build a Church, very decent and convenient of Brick, that will hold a thousand people, it is well glazed, but not as yet wainscotted nor plaistered, but it is fit for use, and we have preached in it twice: the 14th of this instant I preached in it, and there were above two hundred hearers, all generally well affected to the Church; but they greatly desire a Minister, and if the Corporation please to give an yearly supply of £50 per annum, the people there, and thereabouts, would contribute to make up the rest. This, Mr. Yeates desired me to write to you to lay before my Lord of London and the Honourable Corporation.

"Betwixt New York and Pensylvania we continued about a month, viz. from 14th of December to 11th of January travelling among the Friends, call'd formerly the Keithian Quakers especially for East Jersey, having been about a whole month travelling among them before that, which was in the month October; and by God's blessing our labour has had good success among them, so that generally very few excepted, all the Keithians in East Jersey are well affected to the Church, and we baptized twenty two persons

* He was Secretary of the Society.

in East Jersey, all either Keithians or Keithian children. I am forced to use this name of distinction to distinguish them from the other Quakers who are generally very stiff and averse from the Church, and all principles of true Christianity everywhere, and who decline all discourse or converse with us. Colonel Morris did very kindly entertain us at his house in East Jersey, and both he and his Lady went with us from meeting to meeting in divers places. At Amboy in East Jersey they have contributed about £200 towards building a Church and greatly desire a Minister. The Contributors are some Keithians and some other persons well affected to the Church. At Burlington also several persons (among whom some are Keithians) well affected to the Church have contributed about two hundred pounds towards building of a Church and they are to begin the Building this Spring. In all these new erectings of Churches in these Northern parts, Governor Nicholson has largely contributed, and is a mighty promoter and encourager of them by his Letters and Advice as well as his purse; as not only at Boston and Rhode Island, but at Burlington, in West Jersey, Chester, in Pensylvania, and here at Philadelphia. In all places where I have yet travelled, at Boston, Rhode Island, N. York and Philadelphia, the Ministers live very regularly and are in good esteem, and the Churches in good order, and the people generally devout, and well affected to the Word and the publick worship of God; at Concord, in Pensylvania, and thereabouts, especially at Thomas Powell's, formerly a Keithian, several people formerly Keithians, are well affected to the Church and entertained us kindly. Mr. Evans, Minister of Philadelphia, was with me and I preached at two severall places among them and they were well affected; also I had a publick dispute with one Killingsworth, an Anabaptist preacher at the house of Thomas Powell. This Killingsworth was sent for by some Anabaptists forty miles off to dispute with me. The dispute continued four hours, it has had good effect and it's hoped will have more; they belong to the new Church at Chester above mentioned. I have preached here at Philadelphia nine several times, and had great auditories, in some of them a thousand people were thought to be present, many besides the Church People, Quakers, Presbyterians and Anabaptists. But of late the Quakers have made an act in their meeting that none of them may come to Church, which has of late deterred them from coming. The ministers here are in very good esteem among the People and they have a brave vestry of good and wise men, and good concord, love and unanimity among them, so that the Church here is in a Flourishing Condition. And at Newcastle, 40 miles from Philadelphia, there is at present no minister, they had a Presbyterian minister called Willson, but he has been gone about half a year. Could a Minister of the Church of England be sent among them, it's thought they would gladly receive him, and it would be of mighty service for advancing the Church in this province, it being, as it were, the Frontier. Also in other parts below New Castle, they want a Minister.

"There is a mighty cry and desire, almost in all places where we have travelled, to have Ministers of the Church of England sent to them in these Northern parts of America; so that it may be said the Harvest is great but the labourers few, and some well affected to the Church have desired me to write to my Lord of London and to you that if a Minister be not sent with the first Conveniency, Presbyterian Ministers from N. England would swarm

into those countries and prevent the increase of the Church. They have here a Presbyterian meeting and minister, one called Andrews; but they are not like to increase here. I have had several meetings with the Keithian Quakers here at my lodgings, and friendly conferences with them and their Preachers, and last Sunday I preached at a Keithian meeting house, and was kindly invited to dinner after the meeting by a man and his wife of that meeting, and that evening I preached at the Church. Divers of them (God be praised for the success) are like to be gained to the Church who have heard us frequently at the Church and are well affected. Their chief speaker, John Hart, has vented a most absurd notion in his Discourses and vindicates it in his preaching, (viz.) That true Believers ought not to fear Hell and Damnation, so much as conditionally, and they ought to serve God only from love to him, without all regard to punishment or Scripture threatenings, so much as conditionally. I have in two several meetings at my Lodgings, in the hearing of his followers, detected his errors, and last Sunday I preached a long sermon against it, in the Keithian Meeting, upon that Text, 1 Pet. 1-17, where I opened many other Texts of Scripture, to prove that a Conditioned fear is necessary to the best of Men: such as Heb. 4: 1; Rom. 14: 10, &c. Most of his hearers and followers are dissatisfied with the strange doctrine, and are like to forsake him. I have told them 'tis vile Antinomianism and the Root of Ranterism and Libertinism; and some of his female hearers are offended at him for his telling them, they need not fear to commit the sin of whoredom, being chaste women. He openly denied before many judicious persons to me at my lodgings last Monday, 22nd of this Instant, that publick punishment of death was inflicted upon a murderer for a terror to others, if innocent, which I told him was contrary to Deut. 13: 10, 11.

"The six boxes you sent are all come safe; that to Boston, that to New York, that to the two Jerseys, and that to Pensylvania, are disposed of already according to your orders, and are very acceptable to the people. The great Bibles in folio I have given one of them to the Church in Philadelphia, at the Minister's request, another to the new Church at Chester above mentioned, another I think to give to the Church at Burlington, and another to that of Amboy, and the rest to other Churches when erected. There is a great need of Common Prayer Books in 8vo for the use of the people, many would gladly buy them and some might be given to the Poorer Sort. I wish 2 or 300 were sent over to these parts, direct them to Mr. Evans, the minister, if you send them; also the new Psalms, being only used here in this Church, the people want them greatly; if you would send over 100 of them at least, I believe the people would gladly buy them. They sing very well in the Church here, and the youth have learned to sing and delight much in it. I have disposed of many of your lectures in folio which are very acceptable to the people, and as you ordered, have desired them to read them to their families and neighbours on Sundays.

"Dear Sir! I long to have a letter from you to know of your welfare, and other good news you have to impart to me, and what hopes you can give us, of having good ministers sent over to these parts, which are so greatly wanted and desired; and if they come not timely, the whole country will be overrun with Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and Quakerism; the Quaker Missionaries do mightily swarm out of old England into these parts, and have proselited many; many in Long Island are Quakers or Quakerly affected.

"You see, Dear Sir, what a long letter I have writ to you, I question not your acceptance of it. It's but a summary of affairs here, but I keep a punctual Journal of all things worthy my notice in my Travells.

"I have written the more at length to you, hoping, Dear Sir, and desiring that you would be pleased to impart either the whole or what part of it you think requisite to my Lord of London, and my Lord of Worcester, and to your Honourable Corporation. We intend about two weeks hence to set forward to Maryland and Virginia. I have had a very kind letter from his Excellency, Governor Nicholson, inviting us to Virginia, but before we go hence, I purpose to have a Publick meeting in this place to detect the Quakers errors out of their own Books, after the method I used at Turner's Hall, in London. All course of Justice against Criminals is at a stop here, so that the Criminal Court can do nothing against murtherers; the Quakers throw the whole Burden of Jurymen upon the Churchmen, so that a great List of Churchmen have been summoned; such as have appeared (some formerly Keithians) men of good sense and repute have refused to swear, not that they think it unlawfull, but that there is no law in the Province, that enjoins swearing in any case, and severall persons have lain long here in Prison, some on suspected murther, and can have no trial, and are said to be in great want of Bread. Colonel Quarry I suppose will give my Lord of London or yourself, some more full information. This is one instance of many of the great Deficiency of Quaker Government. I send you herewith a small specimen of my printed Labors here away. My sermon I preached at Boston soon after my arrival, was sent to you soon after it was printed, but it hath not come to your Hands. I send you this one; the single sheet called a Refutation, &c., I lately printed at New York. Mr. Increase Mather has printed against the six rules in my Sermon, and I have my answer in the press at New York, in vindication of them; when it is done, I shall order some copies to be sent to you, all which I hope will be acceptable to you and the clergy.

"I remain your affectionate,
"Humble servant,

"GEORGE KEITH."

Mr. Keith to the Secretary.—Extract.

"Philadelphia, 3d April, 1703.

"WORTHY SIR:

"The main thing of importance I have at present to write to you here, is to tell you of the extreme desire that people have in severall parts where we have travelled to have Church of England Ministers sent to them particularly in East Jersey, at Amboy and in the Woods about where Colonel Morris lives, att Burlington, in West Jersey, also at Oyster Bay, in Long Island, and at Hampsted and in this province of Pensylvania, at Chester and at Frankford. At Chester, 20 miles from this, down the River, some

well-affected have built a brave Church of Brick. Mr. Yates, who lives there, has been the principal promoter of it. Several hundreds come to Church there, when they hear of a Sermon to be preached, that is commonly supplied by the ministers there, once in two weeks, and the like at Franckford 7 or 8 miles from this upward the river.

"The 2 Ministers here (viz.) Mr. Evans and Mr. Thomas, have a very good character here, and to my knowledge are very laborious in the service of God and Exemplary in Life, the people of the Church generally zealous and well-affected, the most of them my former acquaintance and many of them my old friends, called Keithians, some are lately come to Church since my arrival here. This day I got from this place towards Virginia, having been in this province about ten weeks, and had much exercise with diverse opposite spirits; but all the Church people very loving to us and respectfull. If God please to bring us safe to Maryland and Virginia, you shall hear from us with the first opportunity. Thus, Dear Sir, I conclude, with my Hearty thanks to you for all your civilities and my sincere prayers to God for a blessing to you and yours, desiring your prayers for me.

"And remain your affectionate friend and servant,

"GEORGE KEITH.

"P. S. I suppose long before this you have heard of the Decease of Worthy Mr. Gordon, who dyed at Jamaica, on Long Island, about six weeks after his arrival with us at Boston; his sickness was a violent fever that was then frequent at N. York, where it's thought he first had it.

"I hope his disease will be no discouragement to other Good men to come into these parts where the Harvest is so great and the Labourers so few.

"I thank God I have had generally good health of Body and great inward comfort, joy and peace of mind ever since my arrival, though I am weak in Body. My Companion also has had his health generally. In several Places in N. England, where we travelled, as I have formerly writ to the Honourable Society, there is a great desire for ministers of the Church of England to be sent to them, as at Narraganset, Swansey, Little Compton, alias Seconat. In all which places I have preached and was kindly received."

Mr. Keith to the Lord Bishop of London.

"Philadelphia, 26th February, 1702-3.

"MY LORD:

"I think it not proper to write to your Lordship a long letter, to give your Lordship an account of the many circumstances relating to my travels and services, and success of them since I arrived into these northern parts of America, but rather in general to acquaint your Lordship with the state of the several particular Churches under your inspection and care, in

these Countries where I have travelled; as at Boston in N. England, at Rhode Island, at New York, and here at Philadelphia; in all which places to my great satisfaction and joy, I did find great regularity and good order. The Ministers in very good repute among all, and the people devout in the publick Worship of God, and generally of good morals, so that if in all other Places the ministry and people were so pious, so moral, and so regular as I have found them, in those places where I have travelled, the Church of England would be in great esteem and greatly prosper. Here at Philadelphia, from a small beginning the Church is increased considerably, first by the pious endeavours and great diligence of Mr. Clayton, and since his decease by others, and especially by the pious endeavours and great diligence of both Mr. Evans, the Minister here, and of his Assistant, Mr. Thomas, of both whom, the adversaries of the Church give a good report, touching their sobriety and good conversation. The Congregation here has been considerably enlarged in number by those called Keithian Quakers, coming into the Church, whose good examples many others have followed both in town and country, and since my arrival in this Country there has been some increase in Divers places both of those formerly called Keithians and others who are well affected to the Church. In E. Jersey the Keithians are generally zealous for the Church and divers others whom they have an influence upon. Mr. Talbot, my Companion, and I have laboured among them, in preaching from place to place, and had much conference with them in private from House to House, for the space of two months, and we baptized two and twenty persons, young and old of those called Keithians. In W. Jersey also those formerly called Keithians are well affected and came from divers parts to visit me, and heard me, and showed me Love and Affection. I have been here not much above a month, and have preached nine times in the Church here, having had large auditories, sometimes about a thousand persons in the Church, but not all of the Church, many of them Presbyterians, some Anabaptists, and some Quakers, but the Quakers of late have made an Act that none of their way shall come, which has at present put a stop to their coming. I have also had much private discourse with some who yet remain Keithians, and use to meet together; of divers of them, I have good hope, they have frequently come to Church to hear me, and last Sunday I went and preached in their meeting, with which some of them were well pleased though others not.

"My Lord, there is an exceeding great desire in divers places that your Lordship would send over pious and able Ministers to them, both in Long Island, E. Jersey and W. Jersey, and also in divers places in this province of Pensylvania (as also in N. England, as I acquainted your Lordship in my former letter, November last.) The people well affected to the Church have gathered two hundred pounds towards building a Church at Burlington, in W. Jersey, they are to begin to build as they have told me this Spring; also at Amboy, in E. Jersey, they intend to do the like. Colonel Morris is a very good friend to the Church and a promoter of it, and was very kind and assistant to us, and is very regular in his family, and his Lady is a very pious and good Woman, his family is a little Church; he useth the Common Prayer in his family daily, and on Sundays his neighbours come to his house, as to a Church, and at times Mr. Junesse preacheth in his house. I suppose your Lordship remembereth Mr. Junesse, a good man, but a nonjuror.

"My Lord, if but 3 or 4 pious and able ministers were sent over to supply the present necessity in these provinces of E. and W. Jersey and Pennsylvania, it would be of exceeding great service to promote and increase the Church. At Chester, in Pennsylvania, 16 miles Southward from Philadelphia, by the River Delaware, some well affected persons have built a brave Church. Mr. Yates, who lives at Chester, has been the main promoter of it; they are to write to your Lordship earnestly to request your Lordship to send them an able and pious Minister. The Quakers are very many and rich, in and about that place, but some of good note of them called Keithians are well affected to the Church in that County who would certainly join with the Church, if they had a Minister. I have lately preached at Chester and had an auditory of above 200 persons, and also at the Houses of 2 Keithians, my former friends and acquaintances, who received me with much affection. I am forced to use this term of distinction to distinguish them called Keithians from the other sort of Quakers who generally are most refractory and pertinacious in their Errors, but yet there is hope of many of the Youth among them.

"There is here at Philadelphia a brave vestry of men, both pious and very discreet and in good unity and harmony one with another, and kind to their Ministers, and they have been very civil and Respectfull to us. We have lodged all the time of our stay here at Philadelphia, with an ancient Gentlewoman, a widow called Mistress Welch, formerly a Keithian but now a zealous Churchwoman and so is her daughter.

"My Lord, having thus far given you an account in general of things hereaway, I shall not enlarge upon this subject; what further shall occur in my Travels, I think to acquaint your Lordship from time to time. His Excellency Governor Nicholson is a very great patron and benefactor to all the New-Erected Churches in these Northern parts of America.

"I remain your Lordship's most humble

"And most obliged servant,

"GEORGE KEITH."

Mr. Keith to the Secretary.

"Philadelphia, 4th September, 1703.

"WORTHY SIR:

"These are to acquaint you that by God's help and favour I and my worthy associate Mr. Talbot, have finished our Travels in Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, and are safely returned to this place. In all Countreys and places we met with very kind reception from persons of all conditions, high and low, having preached in all the several parts where we travelled both on Sundays and on Weekdays in their respective Churches, the Quakers only excepted, who not only in these parts of Maryland and Virginia, but in all other parts where we went to visit their meetings and have Friendly Discourse with them either at their meetings or at their houses, were

generally very uncivil and rude to us, as in New England, at Piscataway, Rhode Island, and Long Island, E. and W. Jersey, declining generally all discourse with us, and returning nothing to our kindly offers to inform them, but reproaches and railings and gross reflections (not only upon us, but upon the Church of England and her clergy) used by some of them, whereof we have sufficient proof. In Virginia there are but few Quakers and very much asunder, and the time of their yearly meeting happened when we were on our travels returning from North Carolina, so that we had not timely notice to be there. The Quakers' yearly meeting in Maryland was over before we came into that Country. The Governors of the several Countries and Provinces, where we have travelled, and other inferior Magistrates and Justices of Peace, were very kind to us, and so were all the Ministers where we travelled; and kindly invited us to preach in their Churches, whenever we came, as accordingly we did. Virginia and Maryland are generally well provided with Ministers, and they are generally of good repute, but in some Places ministers are wholly wanting, as in Princess Ann's County, in Virginia, and at Annapolis, in Maryland; and in all North-Carolina there is not one minister since Mr. Brett is gone, of whom I need not to say anything, for I suppose you have heard fully of his bad character. In Maryland, Squire Finch, President of the Counsell there, and Sir Thomas Lawrence, Secretary, with divers Justices of Peace, and many other persons of good quality, showed so much kindness as to go with us to one of the Quakers' meetings, at a place called Herring-Creek, to countenance us; and not only so, but they invited us to go. But when we came, soon after I began to speak, the Quakers being there all silent; When I began, they did most universally and rudely interrupt me and would not suffer me to speak, notwithstanding that both the President, Squire Finch, and Sir Thomas Lawrence, the Secretary, did entreat them to give me a hearing and to have some friendly discourse with me, especially to vindicate the Church of England from the base reflections that one Thomas Story, a preaching Quaker from Philadelphia, had cast upon her and her Catechism in their last yearly meeting in Maryland, but by no means would the Quakers suffer me to speak nor regard the entreaty of those worthy Persons. They did mightily plead that their meetings were tolerated by the Act of Toleration, and that for my offering to speak in their meetings I had broke the Act of Parliament, and was lyable to the fine of Twenty pounds every time I offered to speak in their meetings. I told them I had not broke the Act of Parliament for I was qualified according to the Act to speak in their meetings, but they were not, and upon enquiry they will not be found comprehended in that Act, untill they fulfill the Conditions required of them therein, none of which they had done, so we were constrained to leave their meeting, not having any liberty to speak, nor would they give any except by violence; the magistrates then present had commanded some constables to turn them out of doors by violence who did interrupt me; but these worthy persons thought not fit so to do, knowing that they would call it persecution. Immediately after we came out of the Quakers' meeting, the President Squire Finch and Sir Thomas and the other Justices, and the whole Company above mentioned to the number of about sixty invited me to preach in a place near at hand, formerly a church but then used for a school, which I did. Mr. Hall minister of the parish there having read the prayers. And though we have had

little success any where upon those called Foxonian Quakers, yet in all places where we travelled, I hope in God we have furnished the people with good and effectual antidotes to preserve them from the Infection of Quakerism by detecting their errors, both by preaching and spreading books among their vile errors. And by the blessing of God have been instrumentall to keep some from Quakerism who were in danger to be infected with it. But notwithstanding the averseness of those called Foxonian Quakers, everywhere generally (some few excepted) these formerly called Keithian Quakers both in E. and W. Jersey and Pensylvania and at New York did kindly receive us and most are come over to the Church with good zeal, so that in E. & W. Jersey and some other places above a hundred have been baptized by Mr. Talbot and me and Mr. Evans very lately; most of them Keithians formerly so called, and their children: and they greatly desire that good and able ministers may be sent among them, particularly at Burlington in W. Jersey, at Shrewsbury in E. Jersey, where Coll. Morris lives, and who has been very Instrumental to them, & very kind to us and hospitable; also at Chester in Pensylvania they greatly desire a minister, and at New Castle by the River Delaware. In Burlington, the people assisted by the county and some others, especially by the beneficence of Governour Nicholson, have built a church of Brick where I preached two weeks ago before Lord Cornbury, who was come thither to publish his Commission to be Governour of these two provinces of E. & W. Jersey now put into one. The Church was very full of People, and the next Sunday after that, I preached there again and had a considerable auditory. As also by the like beneficence of Governour Nicholson and other assistants, they have built a Church of Brick at Chester in Pensylvania, where both Mr. Talbot and I have preached several times; and so hath Mr. Evans and had large auditories, and the people zealously affected, and among them divers formerly called Keithians. The like beneficence that worthy Patriot Governour Nicholson hath given to the people at New Castle to build a church there, and to them at Amboy in E. Jersey, the like; and to many other Places (besides what he hath done very considerable) in Virginia & Maryland to the number at least of fourteen Churches, lately erected and designed to be erected, all by the Example and Encouragement he hath given them; to most of them Twenty-five pounds a piece, and to some more according as there was occasion: which hath raised a great esteem of him universally in these Northern parts of America, and earnest wishes that he may long continue in the station and dignity where he now stands, that he may be a further Instrument of good both to Church & State, as he hath already been. Besides my exercises in travelling and preaching in these American parts, I have had occasion of Writing and Printing several books for the service of God and his Church, and in vindication of the Truth against Quakers and some other Dissenters, particularly my first sermon at Boston in N. England, there printed, which I hope you have seen, and my vindication of it in answer to Mr. Increase Mather's exceptions, a copy of which I now send you: also a printed sheet against an absurd opinion of Mr. Samuel Willard, president of the College of Cambridge in N. England, which is that the sin of Adam and of all other men and Devils came to pass of necessity, by God's Decree, and his Determining their wills necessarily to Commit them. The which absurd opinion he hath endeavoured to defend in a late printed book.

of above four sheets, and which the Presbyterians cry up and esteem, but the Quakers dislike; I would to God that so they did their own errors. To which Book of the said Mr. Samuel Willard, I have now my answer ready to be printed. Also I have printed a book in answer to a most abusive book of one Caleb Qusey, a Quaker, against me, a copy of which I herewith send you: And there is now in the Press at New York a Book of mine against the vile Blasphemies contained in a printed Book of one William Davis, with whom I had some dispute here at Philadelphia some months agoe. I had your kind letter wherein you give me notice—that the Honorable Corporation hath allowed Mr. John Talbot to be my associate in my travels, and that they give £60 per annum to bear his charge, for which I humbly thank them: he hath been very comfortable to me and serviceable throughout, and is universally so well beloved that in every place where they want a Minister they have desired to have him, and especially at Burlington and in E. Jersey. He designs to stay in these American parts, and in my opinion I think the Corporation will hardly find any one fitter to send to be their missionary (and to give him the best post either on Long Island or E. or W. Jersey) than he is, being so well known & beloved both for his preaching and good Conversation, and civil and obliging behaviour. But I leave it wholly to the discretion of the Honorable Corporation where to fix him after his time is expired with me, which will be about eight months hence, when my two years which I design to travel in these American parts will be out; and, God willing, I design to come to England in the Fleet that is to sail from Virginia to London next Spring or Summer, if God please to spare my life and give me health and Preservation. In the meantime we think to be travelling through the several parts of these provinces of W. and E. Jersey and Long Island, and this of Pensylvania, where we have had much success and are likely still to have more, untill the next Spring that I prepare for my coming home to England. The late troubles by the Indians and French in New England who have killed several English People and carried away about one hundred Persons not far from Boston as we are informed by letters from Boston, do block up the way to N. England and do awaken many here away. My Lord Cornbury no doubt will endeavour to put the two Jerseys in a posture of defence as well as New York Province; but the Province of Pensylvania, for want of a Governor, and the great many Quakers who pretend they can't fight so much as in self-defence; lyes very naked and open at present both to French and Indians; however the three Quakers in E. Jersey, nominated to be of the Counsel there have taken the Attestation, and solemnly promised upon the Faith of a Christian (which I think they have not) to defend the Queen's majesty and her Government; this some other Quakers do dislike and construe to be a departing from their ancient Principle against fighting.

"Worthy Sir, I am afraid I have troubled you with too long a letter, at least it is too long to the Corporation, therefore please to give the heads of it to them or the worthy Committee appointed by them. As you advised me I keep a Journal of all observable occurrences which I hope to produce at my return. I remain,

"Your obliged and affectionate friend,

"GEORGE KEITH."

[The reader will have made some acquaintance with Mr. Talbot from the preceding letters of Mr. Keith; but he will learn much more of his temper and disposition from the characteristic communications of Mr. Talbot himself, which, without further preface, we present.—PUB. COM :]

Mr. John Talbot to Mr. Richard Gillingham.

"New York, 24 November, 1702.]

"MY DEAR FRIEND :

"I take all opportunities to let you know that I live, and shall be glad to hear as much of you. Friend Keith and I have been above 500 miles together visiting the churches in these parts of America, viz., New England, New Hampshire, N. Bristol, N. London, N. York, and the Jerseys as far as Philadelphia. We preached in all churches where we came, and in several Dissenters' meetings such as owned the Church of England to be their mother church, and were willing to communicate with her and to submit to her Bishops if they had opportunity; I have baptized severall persons, whom Mr. Keith has brought over from Quakerism, and indeed in all places where we come, we find a great ripeness and inclination amongst all sorts of people to embrace the Gospel. Even the Indians themselves have promised obedience to the Faith, as appears by a conference that my Lord Cornbury the Governor here has had with them at Albany: five of their sachems or kings told him they were glad to hear that the sun shined in England again since King William's Death; they did admire at first what was come to us, that we should have a squaw sachem, viz.: a woman-king, but they hoped she would be a good mother and send them some to teach them religion, and establish Traffick among them that they might be able to purchase a coat, and not go to church in Bear Skins, and so they send our Queen a present, ten Bear Skins to make her fine, and one for a muff to keep her warm; after many Presents and Compliments they signed the treaty and made the Covenant so sure that they said Thunder and Lightning should not break it on their part, if we did not do as the Lord Bellamont did, throw it into the sea. The papists have been zealous and diligent to send priests and Jesuits to convert these Indians to their superstitions; 'tis wonderfully acted, ventured and suffered upon that design; they have indeed become all things, and even turned Indians as it were to gain them, which I hope will provoke some of us to do our part for our holy faith and mother the Church of England. One of their Priests lived half a year in their wigwams (i. e. houses) without a shirt, and when he petitioned my Lord Bellamont for a couple, he was not only denied but banished; whereas one of ours, in Discourse with my Lord of London, said, 'who did his Lordship think would come hither that had a dozen shirts.' If I had their language or wherewith to maintain an Interpreter, it should be the first thing I should do, to go amongst the thickest of 'em. Mr. Keith says if he were younger he would learn their language and then I'm sure he might convert them sooner than the Heathen called Quakers. Indeed he is the fittest man that ever came over for this province, he is a well study'd divine, a good philosopher and Preacher, but above all an excellent Disputant, especially against the Quakers, who use to challenge all mankind formerly. Now all the Friends (or enemies rather) are not able to answer one George

Keith ; he knows the Depths of Satan within them and all the Doublings and Windings of the *Snake in the Grass*. In short he has become the best champion against all Dissenters, that the Church ever had, and he's sett up such a Light in their Dark places, that by God's blessing will not be putt out. The Clergy here have had a *sort* of Convocation at the Instance and Charge of his Excellency Col. Nicholson Governor of Virginia ; we were but seven in all ; and a week together, we sat considering of ways and means to propagate the Gospel, and to that End we have drawn up a scheme of the present state of the Church in these provinces which you shall see when I have time to transcribe it, and I shall desire you to send it afterwards to my good brother Kemble. We have great need of a Bishop here to visit all the churches to ordain some, to confirm others, and bless all. We pray for my good Lord of London, we cannot have better than he whilst he lives, therefore in the mean time we shall be very well content with a suffragan. Mr. Keith's mission will be out about a year hence ; by that time I hope to get some tokens for my good friends and Benefactors. But as for myself I am so well satisfied with a prospect of doing good that I have no inclination to return for England ; however be so kind as to let me know how you doe, which will be a comfort to me in the wilderness. You know all my friends, pray let them, especially my mother and my sister Hannah, know that I am well, God be praised, and shall be glad to hear so much of them. I cannot write many letters, much less one two or three times over as when I had nothing else to do. I pray God bless you and all my Friends, I desire the Benefit of their prayers, though I cannot have that of their good Company. I know you'll take all in good part that comes from

"Your old Friend,

"JOHN TALBOT.

"P. S.—I have many places offered me but I know not where I shall settle, in mean time you may direct your letters for me to be left with Mr. Bridge of Boston N. E, Mr. Vesey at N. York, Mr. Evans at Philadelphia and Mr. Wallace in Virginia."

Mr. Talbot to Mr. Gillingham.

"New Castle, 10th April, 1703.

"DEAR SIR :

"God be praised we are come thus far in health and safety in our way towards Virginia. We are to goe aboard a sloop on Monday morning and hope to be at James's Town next week. This is a pretty town on Delaware River, between Pensylvania and Maryland. There is no Church as yet, neither ever was an orthodox minister settled there ; but one Mr. Wilson, a Presbyterian, that preaches to the People in the Court-House ; he has left them this last winter, but finding it not for the better, he means to come again this summer, he has disoblged some people thereby which makes them the more favorable to the Church, which I hope by God's blessing to found here very speedily.

"The Place is very Pleasant, and agreeable as most in America, and would be very populous, but that there is no settled ministry nor Government, for what good does it do people to live in a Place void of Gospel and Law too; so that several people have moved and gone elsewhere to the Church, seeing the Church does not come to them.

"I have sent you a scheme of the present state of the Church in these parts as we have found in our travels; since it was drawn up I have gone with Mr. Keith and without him, about East and West Jersey Preaching and baptising several scores of men, women and children, encouraging them to build Churches by promising them in time ministers from England, and that the Honorable Society would take care to send none but sober, good men well qualified in all respects for the work of the ministry. I look upon it that the sending Mr. Keith in quality of a missionary, to travel for the good of the Churches, has been the best service that has been done yet for the Church of England in these parts of the world; for he is a general scholar, an able disputant and a perfectly honest man. He is in a word *Hereticorum malleus*, and so he had need; having to deal with some of the worst that ever troubled the Church or the World. Here is little or no Government, and people in many places take the liberty to say there be three Gods, or no God, and nothing is done to them. Certainly 'tis better to live where nothing is lawful than where all things are. Since I came to be more acquainted with the Quakers I have much worse opinion of them than ever I had. It appears by William Penn's book, that he is a greater Antichrist than Julian the apostate. He has said that Christ is a finite, impotent creature; and Faith in the History of Christ's outward manifestation is a deadly poyson these latter ages have been infected withal, to the destruction of holy Living. Who was defender of the Faith when the lewd Heretick was made Governor and Proprietor of a province? Certainly God gave this Land into the hands of the English, that they might Publish the Gospell and give knowledge of Salvation to these people; and I am sure the King gave this to William Penn, with Injunction expressly in his patent, that he should endeavour to convert the Indians to the Faith; but instead of that he labours to make Christians Heathens; and proclaims Liberty and Privilege to all that believe in one God, and yet when they come here, they say there are three or none, and yet be borne out by the Quakers against the Christians. They pretend they ought not to fight, yet I have seen several commissions, under several of their Governor's hands to kill, &c. God bless Queen Anne, and defend her that she may defend the Faith; and her Faithful Councillours if they have any piety or policy I'm sure will take some course with these Heathens and Hereticks, for if they be let alone to take the sword (which they certainly will when they think they are strong enough) we shall perish with it, for not opposing them in due time. Notwithstanding the Toleration they are subject to all the penal laws, as you'll find if you read the Act, and were I in England, and had as much knowledge in Law as you, I would bring Statutes and Judgments against them. I have done so att New York where there is a good Governor, my Lord Cornbury.

"Last Lord's day I was at Burlington, the chief Town in West Jersey, where I have preached many times in a house hard by the Quakers' meeting: we shall have one too, I hope, when we return here again from Virginia,

where we think to stay but two or three months; after sermon I went out with the rest of the people, and laid the corner stone of Saint Mary's Church. God grant it may rise to be the house of God, and the Gate of Heaven to them.

"It seems the Honorable Gentlemen of the Corporation have considered my Travels for the Service of the Church, and have given me a handsome allowance to bear my charges with Mr. Keith. Pray give them my hearty service and thanks to let them know that, by the grace of God, I shall make it my business to fulfil my mission. Pray remember my duty and Love to my Good Mother; I hope she is alive and well, let her not want £10 per annum, as long as I have £60 coming to me, which will be due the 12th of June next ensuing. It grieves me much to see so many People here without the benefit of serving God in the wilderness. I believe I have been solicited to tarry at twenty Places where they want much, and are able to maintain a minister, so that he should want nothing; they send to New England and call any sorry young man, purely for want of some good honest clergyman of the Church of England. Many go to the heathen meetings of the People called Quakers, because there are no houses of God in their provinces, till at last they come to be bewitched and forced out of their Faith and senses too. The country is a good *land* in all parts of it, bating the sudden change of Heat and Cold, which, if people be not careful, they are many times the worse for. The air is generally clear and pure. Nobody complains here of the spleen, unless he has also an evil conscience attending. I saw Mr. Burley, Mr. Scott's friend, at Philadelphia. I was at his house, he lives very well and entertained me very civilly, and was glad to hear of his old Friends. I am but poor at present, being robbed by a negro of all my money out of my Portmanteau; the young slut did not leave me one Token for myself, only I got the bag again. But blessed be God I never wanted meat nor drink, nor cloaths neither as yet; but if you don't send me some cloaths next shipping, instead of going as they do in White Hall, I shall go as the Indians do. I shall be content, let it be as it will. I might have had money enough here if I would have taken what People have offered me, but lest the Quakers should say truly, as they do falsely, that we come for money and preach for hire, I preach the Gospel as freely as the Apostles did to the first Churches.

" Virginia, 8th June.

"When I wrote this, I missed the opportunity to send it so I brought it hither with me so you must take it rough as it runs. We have been now at our journey's end in N. Carolina as far as we could goe, now we tack about and stand another way to Philadelphia again, thus George Keith's home and mine is *every where*. Governor Nicholson has been very kind and generous to me. I pray God prosper him long in his Government; he has some enemies as well as other men, but none of them can deny but he is a just magistrate in his place. I have sent the scheme of our Church affairs by one Mr. Beverly, an honest Gentleman of this Country, who is bound for England very speedily; you'll hear of him at Mr. Parry's, the Virginia Merchant. George Keith comes home next year; then if I can get anything worthy sending, I shall have a carefull hand to deliver it. There is one Mr. Keyes, my Lord of London's tailor; you may deal with him to send me a chest of cloathes,

new or old, once a year. Direct them or anything else for me to be left with George Walker at Kecoughtan in Virginia. I am

"Semper Idem,

"J. T."

Mr. Talbot to Mr. Gillingham.

"Virginia, 3d May, 1703.

"DEAR FRIEND:

"Now at last (God be praised) we are arrived at the Haven where we would be. Mr. Keith is got to his Daughter's house, and I am got amongst my old Friends and acquaintance in these parts, who are very glad to see me; especially those of the ministry, who came over along with me. Here has been great alterations in these ten years. Since I was here many of my old Friends are dead, but I have found some new in their stead; amongst which is the bearer, Mr. Robert Beverly, who has one of the best houses and plantations in this country, where I reckon myself as it were, at home, he has been so courteous and civil. But there is some dispute in Law concerning the Title, and he is come over to see about it; wherein I hope you will and can be serviceable to him, and I shall take it as done to myself. I have sent you several Letters, but have none yet from nobody. I hear the Honorable Gentlemen of the Society at Bow have ordered £60 per annum for travelling charges: £30 I have received upon Bill. I desire you to receive the other £30 to buy Books for a friend of mine here, who will repay me. I desire you to lay out £10 more in cloathes and shirts which I desire neighbour Leviton to buy for me, and send them in some ship to New York directed to me, to be left at Mr. Vesey's, minister there. I shall be glad to hear how all our Friends do, especially my good mother. Pray let me know where she is, and how she does, let her have *decem minas* upon my account as long as she lives. I have sent the present state of the Church, *apud Americanos* as far as we have gone; the first year from Dover, eighty miles eastward from Boston in New England, to Philadelphia in Pensylvania; since that scheme was finished, I have gone up and down in E. and W. Jersey preaching and baptizing and preparing the way for several Churches there. At Amboy they are going to build one, at Hopewell another, and at Shrewsbury, Coll. Morris is going to build one at his own cost and charge, and he will endow it as he says, which I don't doubt, for he is an honest Gentleman, and a member of the Honorable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign parts. I was at Burlington last Lady day, and after prayers we went to the Ground where they were going to build a Church, and I laid the first stone, which I hope will be none other than the House of God and Gate of Heaven to the People. Coll. Nicholson, Governor here, was the chief founder of this as well as many more; and indeed he has been the benefactor to all the Churches on this land of North America. God bless this Church and let them prosper that love it. We called this Church St.

Mary's, it being upon her day. January last I was at the opening of a church at Chester; I preached the first sermon that ever was there, on Sunday the day before the Conversion of St. Paul, and after much debate what to call it, I named it St. Paul's. This is one of the best Churches in these American Parts, and a very pleasant place; but they have no minister as yet, but Mr. Evans of Philadelphia officiated there once in three weeks. The Governor of Virginia is building several more churches: Two at North Carolina, where we are going next week, and one at New Castle, where in all appearance we shall have a considerable Congregation of Christian People. The place is very well planted for trade both by sea and Land. It being almost in the midway between Philadelphia and Maryland upon Delaware River; where, God willing, I intend to spend some labour and pains; though I can't find in my heart to settle in any place for my own, but to travel, as I told you, for the good of the Church in general. I should be glad to hear how you did about the Centurion, and how matters of account stand between us. 'Tis good to reckon some time if we never intend to pay, though I hope to be out of debt to the world. Yet I shall always count myself obliged to my friend. I have been with George Keith a year next June 12th, then my £60 becomes due. This has been a sickly year *apud Americanos*, but God be praised I have had good health all this time. And I believe I have done the Church more service since I came hither than I would in seven years in England. Perhaps when I have been here six or seven years, I may make a Trip home to see some Friends (for they won't come to me) but then it will be *Animo Revertendi*, for I have given myself up to the service of God and his Church *apud Americanos*; and I had rather dye in the service than desert it. Pray give my service and thanks to the Honorable Society for their Generous Allowance to bear my charges. I shall take care to fulfill my mission, and goe as far with it as any body that they shall send forth. We came hither in a sloop from Pensylvania, when we were out of Delaware River, a North west wind took us and carried us out to sea and lost us ten or twelve hours so as I was never lost in my life; 'tis true sometimes, as the sailor sayes, the last storm was the worst. The sea never got any thing before by my sickness, but then I was so sick that I had much adoe to keep my bowels within my body; we arrived safe at last, God be praised; but I shall be hardly catched on board so small a vessel again in a good while. We are going now by land to Pamplico in North Carolina, a place where there never was any minister but only one Dan. Brett, a scandalous Fellow, that has done more harm than good every where. He was the worst I think that ever came over.

"We want a great many good ministers here in America, especially in those parts mentioned in the scheme; but we had better have none at all than such scandalous beasts as some make themselves; not only the worst of ministers but of men. If you know none so good as to *come*, I hope you will find them that are willing to *send*. Some good books would do very well in the mean while. I am sure there is no want of them in England, they have enough and to spare. Indeed we have had many of Dr. Bray's books and I could wish we had more. But his way and method is not the best for this people that we have to do withal, Quakers and Quakers' friends; to most of them, nothing but controversy will serve their turn, 'tis a hard matter to

persuade to the Baptismal Covenant, on which the Doctor has writ three or four Books to the folio, that they may be ever learning and yet never be able to come to the knowledge of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, nor the Ten Commandments.

"Those that we have to deal with are a sharp and inquisitive people: they are not satisfied with one Doctor's opinion but must have something that is authentick if we hope to prevail with them.

"We should have some Common Prayer Books new or old, of all sorts and sizes with the thirty-nine articles, and some books of Homily's, to set up the worship and service of God till we have ministers; some of Dr. Comber's Books would be of right good use here to give those that ask a Reason of all things contained in our English Liturgies; which has still stood the Best Test of all adversaries that were not blind and deaf. Above all, Mr. Lesly, the Author of the 'Snake in the Grass,' has given Quakerism a deadly wound, I hope never to be healed: and his five Discourses about Baptism and Episcopacy have brought many to the Church. We want a 1000 of them to dispose of in the way that we goe. I use to take a wallet full of Books and carry them 100 miles about, and disperse them abroad, and give them to all that desired them; which in due time will be of good service to the Church; 'tis a comfort to the people in the Wilderness to see that some body takes care of them. There is a time to sow and a time to reap, which last I don't desire in this world. I might have money enough of the people in many places, but I would never take any of those that we goe to proselyte, especially amongst the Quakers; I resolved to work with my hands rather than they should say I was a hireling, and come for money, which they are very apt to do. The Governour of Virginia, my old Friend, has been very generous to us, and has taken care that nothing be wanting to us while we are in his Territories; if there were such another Governour in America, it would be much cheaper travelling for the missionaries. But alas! I am afraid we shall lose him before we get such another. There are a parcel of men in the world, that are given to change, and don't know when they are well themselves, nor can't let others alone that do. But more of this another time, I have writ enough to tire you and myself too: you must take it as it is. I have something else to do now than write letters twice over; rough as it runs I hope you'll take it in good part. With my Love and Service to all Friends, I desire your Prayers, and rest

"Your real Friend,

"And servant,

"J. T."

Mr. Talbot to the Secretary.—Extract.

"Philadelphia, 1st September, 1703.

"SIR:

"Mr. Keith and I have preached the Gospel to all sorts and conditions of men, we have baptized several scores of men, women and chil-

dren, chiefly those of his old Friends (the rest are hardened just like the Jews who please not God and are contrary to all men), we have gathered several hundreds together for the Church of England, and what is more, to build houses for her service. There are four or five going forward now in this province and the next. That at Burlington is almost finished. Mr. Keith preached the first sermon in it before my Lord Cornbury, whom the Queen has made Governour of Jersey to the satisfaction of all Christian people. Churches are going up amain where there were never any before. They are going to build three at N. Carolina to keep the people together, lest they should fall into Heathenism, Quakerism &c. &c., and three more in these lower counties about New Castle, besides that at Chester, Burlington and Amboy.

"And I must be so just to a member of your Society, his Excellency Francis Nicholson, Governour of Virginia, as to acknowledge him to be the Prime Benefactor and Founder, in chief of them all; so generous has he been to the church; so just to the State, so far from taking of bribes, that he will not receive a present from any, great or small. Therefore we have hopes that it will please God and the Queen to give him time to perfect the good works that he has begun; that he may see the Church prosper and prevail against all her enemies, which I dare say is all that he desires; being zealous for the honour of the Church of England which is the mother of us all. Upon her account it was that I was willing to travel with Mr. Keith, indeed I was loath he should go alone, now he was for us, who I'm sure would have had followers enough had he come against us. Besides, I had another end in it, that by his free Conversation and Learned Disputes both with his Friends and Enemies, I have Learnt better in a year to deal with the Quakers, then I could by several years' study in the schools. We want more of his narratives which would be of good use here where we often meet with the Quakers and their Books. More of his answers to Robert Barklay would come well to the clergy of Maryland and Virginia, &c. Barklay's book has done most mischief, therefore Mr. Keith's answer is more requisite and necessary. Mr. Keith has done great service to the Church where ever he has been, by Preaching and disputing, publicly and from house to house; he has confuted many (especially the Anabaptists); by Labor and Travel night and day, by writing and printing of books mostly at his own charge and costs and giving them out freely, which has been very expensive to him. By these means People are much awakened, and their Eyes opened to see the good old way, and they are very well pleased to find the Church at last take such care of her children. For it is a sad thing to consider the years that are past, how some that were born of the English, never heard of the name of Christ, how many others were baptized in his name and follow away to Heathenism, Quakerism, and Atheism for want of confirmation.

"It seems the strangest thing in the world and 'tis thought History can not parallel it, that any place has received the Word of God so many years, so many hundred Churches built, so many thousand proselytes made, and still remain altogether in the wilderness as sheep without a shepherd. The poor church of America is worse off in this respect than any of her adversaries.

"The Presbyterians here come a great way to lay hands one on another;

but after all I think they had as good stay at home, for the good they do. The Independents are called by their Sovereign Lord the People. The Anabaptists and Quakers pretend to the spirit. But the poor Church has no body upon the spot to comfort or confirm her children. No body to ordain severall that are willing to serve, were they authorized for the work of the ministry. Therefore they fall back again into the Herd of the Dissenters, rather than they will be at the Hazard and Charge to go as far as England for orders; so that we have seen severall Counties, Islands and Provinces, which have hardly an Orthodox minister amongst them, which might have been supplied had we been so happy as to see a Bishop or Suffragan *apud Americanos*.

"We count ourselves happy, and indeed so we are, under the protection and Fatherly Care of the Right Rev. Father in God, Henry Lord Bishop of London, and we are all satisfied that we can't have a greater Friend and Patron than himself. But alas! there is such a great Gulph fixt between us, that we can't pass to him nor he to us; but may he not send a Suffragan? I believe I am sure there are a great many learned and Good men in England, and I believe also did our Gracious Queen Anne but know the necessities of her many good subjects in these parts of the world, she would allow £1000 per annum, rather than so many souls should suffer; and then it would be a hard case if there should not be found one amongst so many pastors and Doctors (*de tot millibus, unus qui transiens, adjuvet nos*); meanwhile I don't doubt but some learned and good man would go further, and do the Church more service with £100 per annum than with a coach and six, 100 years hence.

"The Reverend author of the 'Snake in the Grass' has done great service here by his Excellent Book; no body that I know since the Apostles' dayes has managed controversie better against all Jews, Heathens and Heretics; many here have desired to see the author, however I hope we shall not want his works, especially against the Quakers, and the five discourses which have convinced many, and are much desiderated.

"Those boxes of books that were sent over last year, Mr. Keith has disposed of in their several Places as directed. I have carried of the small sort, in a wallet, some hundred miles, and distributed them to the people as I saw need. They have been long upon the search for truth in these parts, they see through the vanity and pretences of all Dissenters, and generally tend directly to the Church. Now is the time of harvest, we want a hundred hands for the work, meanwhile two or three, that are well chosen, will do more good there than all the rest; for we find by sad experience that people are better where they have none, than where they have an *ill* minister. Next unto God, our eyes are upon the Corporation for help in this heavy case. I dare say nothing has obtained more reputation to the Church and nation of England abroad than the honorable society for Reformation of manners and the Reverend and honorable corporation for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

"The Quakers compass sea and land to make proselytes; they send out yearly a parcel of vagabond Fellows that ought to be taken up and put in Bedlam rather than suffered to go about raving and railing against the Laws and Orders of Christ and his Church; and for why? Their preaching is of cursing and Lyes, poysoning the souls of the people with damnable errors and heresies, and not content with this in their own Territories of Pennsylvania, but they travel with mischief over all parts as far as they can goe, over Virginia and

Maryland, and again through Jersey and New York as far as New England ; but there they stop, for they have prevented them by good Laws and due Execution ; *Fas est ab hoste doceri.* Sir

“ Your most humble and obedient servant,

“ JOHN TALBOT.”

Mr. Talbot to the Secretary.

“ Philadelphia, 7th April, 1704.

“ WORTHY SIR :

“ Mr. Keith has fought the good fight, finished his race, bravely defended the Faith, done the Church of Christ true and laudable service, which I trust will be regarded here and rewarded hereafter. I may say he has done more for the Church than any, yea than all that have been before him. He came out worthy of his mission and of the Gospell of Christ. Taking nothing of the Heathen that he came to proselyte ; besides his ordinary or rather extraordinary travels, his preaching excellent sermons upon all occasions, his disputes with all sorts of Heathens and Hereticks (who superabound in these parts ;—Africa has not more monsters than America). He has written or printed ten or a dozen Books and Sermons, much at his own charge, and distributed them freely ; which are all excellent in their kind, and have done good service all along shore. Now, since friends must part, I pray God, shew some token upon him for good, that he may arrive safe in England where he would be, that all his adversaries may see it, and be ashamed of their impious omens, &c. I have one prayer more to God for the sake of his Church in the deserts, viz. : That the Reverend and Honorable Corporation may find one amongst the thousands of the Reverend and Learned Clergy of England, worthy, honest, and willing to succeed, that the People of the Lord may not be scattered abroad in the wilderness like sheep without a Shepherd.

“ As for the affairs of the Church here, wee have said much formerly in Schemes and Letters, but have heard no great matter how or whether received ; therefore I don't mean to be tedious at present ; something I think I should say because you desired me to keep a Journall. To begin then where we began our Travells, at Boston New England. There is one Church, and there were two ministers, both sober and discreet men in the main, and I believe would have done good service at a distance ; they were both our Friends, and I could wish they had been so to one another, or that those representations were true that are now gone to his Grace and to the Right Reverend Bishops of the Corporation, which say they parted good Friends ; but to say the Truth as it is, there is such a variance that the Church can't flourish between them. Mr. Vesey does very well with his people at New York ; Mr. Honyman is arrived but not yet settled, because he had been scandalized by an evil report which we have no reason to believe. I should not have forgott my honest brother Lockier of Rhode Island, who is very industrious when well. The Quakers themselves as far as I can hear, have

no evil to say of that Priest. Nova Cesarea or New Jersey has been most unhappy; there is not, nor ever was, an orthodox minister settled amongst them. But there is one Mr. Alexander Innes a man of great Piety and Probity, who has by his Life and Doctrine preached the Gospell, and rightly and duly administered the Holy Sacraments. We hope he will find favour with the Noble Corporation because he is worthy, and has need of it; as the people have need of him and are not so able or willing as we could wish to support the ministry;—'tis pity those hands should be put to dig that are fitt to cultivate the vineyard. I come now to Philadelphia where there is now none but Mr. Evans a very sober, decent man, who has doubled his diligence since Mr. Thomas departed; he does the whole service of the Church now, and is more constant and frequent in preaching and performing divine service than any that I know upon the Continent; but the school is supplied here by a Swede untill one can be sent from England, which I hope will not be long. Now there is a good salary paid, and it would be a very good school were there but a good master; 'tis hard that the Heathens should have schools in the town, and the Christians not one. The Church at Chester is almost finished, and one at New York is going to be reared, both by the care and industry of Mr. Jasper Yeates, and all by the generous bounty of Governour Nicholson. God send us such a Publick Spirited Minister in the Church here, as he is always and everywhere the best Friend and Patron of the Church, the Crown and Country that ever came over. I dare say this because I know it to be true, having had the honor to know his Excellency many years, though I know he has as many adversaries as the Church herself, and the more I dare say upon her account. . . . We received a box of books, by the hands of his Honor Governour Evans, written by the Reverend Author of the "Snake in the Grass;" we know not who sent them, but, being directed for Mr. Keith, we ventured to lend them abroad for the Publick good, and pray God to bless the Author and the Donors. There were the first and second defence of the Snake &c. but not the Snake itself; and four of his five discourses, but not that of Episcopacy, which are most desiderated here; we cannot purchase either of those books at any rate; we want 1000 Common Prayer Books; we can hardly get one in America, and when we do find one, it costs five times as much as it's worth in England. The Church wants to be published here, which can't be done without the Liturgy, and something to shew for what we say. Mr. Tate's and Mr. Brady's Psalms have obtained here, and would do so every where, if they had in them the Bishop of London-derry's book of the "Inventions of Men in the Worship of God" and Dr. Beveridge's sermons of the "Excellency of the Common Prayer," which have gone a great way here to save the Church. I can't tell what would do more except the Doctors should come themselves; however I hope they will send those books we mentioned with some others in the scheme, as Mr. Brent's of Bristol against Lying, which is not to be forgotten at this time and place. I'm sorry Mr. Barclay returned so soon from his post at Braintree in New England, the poor Christians are mightily opprest there by a sort of Hypocrites, who pretend to receive the Church, but indeed are her mortal enemies; their College also has gone a great way to poison this country with Damnable doctrines, which appears by the Learned books of the Rev. Mr. Keith to be worse than Heathenism or Atheism; we

hope that care will be taken in this heavy case that some Grave and Wise Tutor and Philosopher will be sent to preside at the College of Cambridge in New England to teach them humanity in the first place, that in time they might be brought to Christian Principles and Practices; for at present they are not much better than the Quakers, and in the latter particular, much worse. If I had an Estate I could not have laid it out better than in the service of God, *apud Americanos* along with Mr. Keith, who is a true son of the Church of England, sound in faith and holy in Life, whom I love and reverence as my Father and Master, and shall be as Loath to part with him as if he were so indeed. Therefore I am the more obliged to the Reverend and Honorable Society for their generous allowance to me, that I might not be burdensome to him nor to others, but beneficial to all as far as we could goe. God be praised a Door is opened to the Gospel, and the true light shines to them in the Wilderness, but there are many adversaries; and now our Champion is gone, we must make a running fight out by God's blessing and his books. I shall do my best. I mean to gather up the arrows that he has shot so well at the mark, and throw them again where there is most need.

"Your most humble

"And obedient servant,

"JOHN TALBOT."

[The foregoing letters of Messrs. Keith and Talbot will have prepared the reader for the Journal of the former, to which allusion is made in the letters. This Journal was the *official* report of the Society's agent, and on its statements the Society acted in selecting the first missionary stations in what is now the United States.—PUB. COMMITTEE.]

A
JOURNAL
OF
TRAVELS
FROM
NEW-HAMPSHIRE
TO
CARATUCK,
On the Continent of
NORTH-AMERICA.

BY
GEORGE KEITH, A.M.,
Late Missionary from the *Society for the Propagation
of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*; and now Rector
of *Edburton in Sussex.*

L O N D O N,

Printed by *Joseph Downing*, for *Brab. Aylmer* at the *Three-Pigeons*,
over-against the *Royal-Exchange* in *Cornhill*, 1706.



T O T H E

Most Reverend Father in G O D

T H O M A S,

Lord Arch-Bishop of

CANTERBURY, &c.,

P R E S I D E N T;

And to the rest of the

M E M B E R S

O F T H E

*Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
in Foreign Parts ;*

This J O U R N A L

Is most humbly Dedicated

By their late Missionary

George Keith.



A
JOURNAL
OF THE
Travels and Ministry
Of the Reverend
GEORGE KEITH, A.M.

THE Twenty eighth Day of *April 1702*, I sailed from *Cowes* in the *Isle of Wight*, in one of the Queens Ships, called the *Centurion*, whereof Captain *Herne* was Commander, who was very Civil to me, bound for *Boston* in *New-England*; and by the good Providence of God we arriv'd at *Boston* the Eleventh day of *June*, our whole time of Passage being Six Weeks and one Day. Colonel *Dudley* Governour of *New-England*, and Colonel *Povie* Deputy Governour, and Mr. *Morris*, with all whom we sailed in the same ship, were so generous and kind both to Mr. *Patrick Gordon* Missionary for *Long-Island*, and to me, that at their desire we did Eat at their Table all the Voyage on free cost.

At my Arrival the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Miles*, and the Reverend Mr. *Christopher Bridge*, both Ministers of the Church of *England* Congregation at *Boston*, did kindly receive me and the two ministers in company with me, and we lodg'd, and were kindly entertained in their Houses, during our abode at *Boston*.

June 14, 1702, being *Sunday*, at the request of the abovenamed Ministers of the Church of *England*, I Preached in the Queens Chappel at *Boston*, on *Eph. 2. 20, 21, 22.* where was a large Auditory, not only of Church People, but of many others.

Soon after, at the request of the Ministers and Vestry, and others of the Auditory, my Sermon was Printed at *Boston*. It contained in it, towards the conclusion, Six plain brief Rules (*Vide Appendix*), which I told my Auditory did well agree to the Holy Scriptures, and they being well observed and put in Practice, would bring all to the Church of *England* who dissented from her.

This did greatly Alarm the Independent Preachers at *Boston*. Whereupon Mr. Increase Mather, one of the chief of them, was set on Work to Print against my Sermon, as accordingly he did, and Published a small Treatise against the said six Rules, wherein he laboured to prove them all false and contrary to Scripture, but did not say any thing against the Body of my Sermon. And not long after, I Printed a Treatise in Vindication of these Six Rules, in answer to his, wherein I shewed the invalidity of his objections against them. This I had Printed at *New York*, the Printer at *Boston* not daring to Print it, lest he should give offence to the Independent Preachers there. After it was Printed, the printed Copies of it were sent to *Boston*, and dispersed both over *New-England* and the other parts of *North America*.

June 21, Sunday. I preached a second Sermon at the Queens Chappel, on *Rom. 10. 6, 7, 8, 9*.

June 28, Sunday. The Reverend Mr. John Tulbot, who had been Chaplain in the *Centurion*, Preached there.

By the advice of my good Friends at *Boston*, and especially of Colonel Joseph Dudley, Governour of *Boston* Colony, I chose the abovenamed Mr. John Tulbot to be my Assistant and Associate in my Missionary Travels and Services, he having freely and kindly offered himself, and whom I freely and kindly received, and with the first occasion I wrote to the Society, praying them, to allow of him to be my Fellow-Companion and Associate in Travels, &c., which they accordingly did, and indeed Divine Providence did well order it, for he proved a very loving and faithful Associate to me, and was very helpful to me in all respect, and was well approved and esteemed every where, both with respect to his Preaching and Living, in the several places where we Travelled.

July 1, Wednesday. I went from *Boston* to *Cambridge* in *New-England*, accompanied with my associate Mr. Tulbot, and Mr. Bridge abovenamed, and I was present at the Commencement, which was that very day: and having heard Mr. Samuel Willard, President of the College, at the said Commencement maintain some Assertions that seemed to me very unsound, the next day I writ a Letter to him in *Latin*, shewing my great dislike of those his assertions, and after some days I sent it to him; after this, at the request of some there, I put it into *English*, and had it Printed at *New York*, and dispersed into many other places of *America*, as well as of *New England*.

The Assertions abovenamed of the said Mr. Samuel Willard, that seemed to me very unsound, were these: I. That the Fall of *Adam*, by virtue of God's Decree, was necessary. II. That every free act of the Reasonable Creature is determined by God, so that whatever the Reasonable Creature acteth freely, it acteth the same necessarily.

Not long after my Letter to him was Published and dispersed, he Printed a reply to it, in a small Treatise containing about four Sheets, where notwithstanding his many shufflings, and seeming to disown the charge, he very roundly and plainly not only asserts all that I had charged on him, but much more, as appears from his express Words, Page 50 of the said Reply, *Where he saith, Nor shall I part with my opinion? viz. that the Origine and Cause of the necessity of the first Sin is more to be derived from God, than from Man himself. Nay, further, (saith he) that the whole cause of the futurity of it is owing to the divine Decree, though still the whole sin and blame of it*

is due to Adam, for that in the accomplishing of his Apostacy, he abused his own free Will, and Voluntarily transgressed the Command.

After some time that his Reply to my Letter was Printed, I published in Print an answer to his Reply, my answer contains about six Sheets. My Endeavours in these matters, by the Blessing of God, had a good effect in quieting the Minds of many People in these parts, and bringing them over to the Church, in *East-Jersey*, especially at *Elizabeth Town* there. Such who desire to read both my Answer to Mr. *Samuel Willard*, and my letter, and also my Answer to Mr. *Increase Mather* in vindication of the six Rules above-mentioned, together with all the other Treatises I published in Print during my abode in *America*, from *June 11th 1702*, to *June the 8th 1704*, and some Printed Sermons within the said time, may find them at the most Reverend *Thomas Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury* his Library at *St. Martins*, all bound up together in one Volume, which I presented to the Society some small time after my arrival at *London*.

July 5, Sunday. I Preached again at the Queens Chappel in *Boston* upon *Rev. 3. 20.*

July 8, July 9, Thursday. I went from *Boston* to *Linn*, accompanied with Mr. *Talbot*, and the next day, being the Quakers Meeting day, we visited their Meeting there, having first called at a Quaker's House, who was of my former acquaintance. Mr. *Shepherd* the Minister of *Linn* did also accompany us, but the Quakers, though many of them had been formerly Members of his Church, were very abusive to him, as they were unto us. After some time of silence, I stood up and began to speak, but they did so interrupt with their Noise and Clamour against me, that I could not proceed, though I much entreated them to hear me: So I sat down and heard their Speakers one after another utter abundance of falsehoods and impertinencies and gross perversions of many Texts of the Holy Scripture. After their Speakers had done, they hasted to be gone: I desired them to stay, and I would shew them that they had spoke many falshoods, and perverted many places of Scripture, but they would not stay to hear. But many of the People staid, some of them Quakers, and others who were not Quakers but disaffected to the Quakers Principles. I asked one of their Preachers before he went away, seeing they Preached so much *the sufficiency of the Light within to Salvation*, (without any thing else) did the *Light* within teach him without Scripture, that our Blessed Saviour was born of a Virgin, and died for our Sins, &c. He replied, If he said it did, I would not believe him, and therefore he would not answer me.

After their Speakers were gone, I went up into the Speakers Gallery, where they use to stand and Speak, and I did read unto the People that staid to hear me, Quakers and others, many Quotations out of *Edw. Burroughs's* Folio Book, detecting his vile Errors, who yet was one of their chief Authors, particularly in Page 150, 151. where he renders it *the Doctrine of Salvation that's only necessary to be Preached*, viz. *Christ within*, and that he is a *Deceiver that exhorts People for Salvation to any other thing than the Light within*; as appears by his several Queries in the Pages cited. And where he saith, Page 273. *that the Sufferings of the People of God in this Age* [meaning the Quakers] *are greater Sufferings, and more Unjust, than those of Christ and the Apostles; what was done to Christ, or to the Apostles, was*

chiefly done by a Law, and in great part by the due execution of a Law. But all this a noted Quaker, whose name I spare to mention, (as I generally intend to spare the mentioning of their Names) did boldly defend. But another Quaker who stood by, confessed the last Passage in rendering the Quakers Sufferings greater and more unjust than the Sufferings of Christ, was not well worded, but to excuse it, said, *we must not make a Man an offender for a word.*

✓ July 10. We came to *Hampton*, and were very kindly entertained there. *Hampton* is distant N. Eastward from *Boston* 50 Miles.

July 12, Sunday. Mr. *Talbot* Preached at *Hampton* in the forenoon, and I Preach'd there in the Afternoon on *Acts* 26. 18.

July 15, Wednesday. I Preached the Lecture there on the same Text.

> July 16, Thursday. We went to the Quakers Meeting at *Hampton*, accompanied with Mr. *John Cotton* the Minister of the Parish, and Mr. *Cuslim* the Minister of *Salisbury* Parish, and very many Civil People of both these Parishes came, who were not Quakers, hoping to have heard some fair Dispute betwixt the Quakers and me. At the Quakers Meeting there we heard two Quaker Preachers. The first who spoke was a Ship Carpenter from *Situate*, who spoke about half an hour or more, but very Ignorantly, and most grossly perverting several Texts of Scripture, particularly *Job*. 17. 3. and *Rom.* 1. 19. which he brought to prove, that the ignorant People (to whom he directed his Discourse) as he accounted them, had a little Babe within them, lying in a Manger under the Earth, to which if they would hearken, that little Babe within them (*meaning by that little Babe, the Light within them*) would give them the knowledge of God, which was Life Eternal. He told them he could not read the Scripture, and hoped they would excuse him, if he did not so exactly quote the Words. After him the other Quaker Preacher, who came from *Shrewsbury* in *East-Jersey*, began and continued Preaching very long, above two Hours, and did mightily heat himself; he also most ignorantly spoke many things, and grossly perverted and misapplied many Texts of Scripture, to prove the sufficiency of the Light within to Salvation (*viz.* without Scripture or any thing else.) And as the Quakers ordinary way is in their Preaching every where, they have a set of Texts of Scripture which they commonly bring to prove *the sufficiency of the Light within to Salvation without any thing else*, but which they miserably pervert and misapply, such as *Job*. 1. 9. *Job*. 3. 19, 20. *Job*. 12. 36. *Job*. 16. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. *Rom.* 10. 6, 7, 8. 2 *Cor.* 12. 9. *Titus* 2. 11, 12. Many of which Texts and others he did grossly pervert and misapply to prove his false Doctrine. And the like perversions of Scripture he used against Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, in the common road of other Quakers, as extant in their Printed Books. After he had done, having exceedingly tired and wearied all his Hearers who were not Quakers, I offered to speak, but immediately their Preachers went away in all hast after I began to speak, though I earnestly entreated them to stay; many also of the Quaker hearers went away with them, but some stayed, and all the people who were not Quakers, together with the two *New-England* Ministers abovementioned, did stay, and heard me about the space of an hour resume and refute the heads of the Quaker Preachers discourse, and rescue the Texts of Scripture which they had quoted from their gross perversions and misapplications, both as concerning the

Light within, and the *Holy Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper*. But the day being very hot, and the House not large enough to contain the Auditory, we kept the Meeting in an Orchard joining to the House, where we had some shade of Trees. Among the Quakers who stayed to hear me, one or two endeavoured to interrupt me in my Discourse; but a noted Quaker and Preacher of good repute belonging to their Meeting, did forbid them to make any interruption, telling them, I did not interrupt their Preachers, and therefore they should not interrupt me. I did also read to them many gross Antichristian expressions I had collected out of the Folio Book of *Edward Burroughs* (whom the Quakers have magnified with no less title than that of a Prophet, in their Title page of his Folio Book, published by them after his decease) and I told them if they were willing I would show them the Passages in the Book it self. To this the abovementioned Quaker Preacher replied to me, I needed not to show them to him, for he believed the Quotations were truly made, and that there were great Errors in their Friend's Books. The same Quaker preacher did kindly invite us to his House, with whom I had much Discourse. He told me he approved very well of what he had heard me discourse, and that he did perceive my Doctrine about the necessity of Faith in *Jesus Christ*, in order to Salvation, was the same he had formerly heard me declare in their Meetings when I was among them about Twelve Years past. Some of his Neighbours told me, his manner of Preaching in the Quakers Meetings, was not to speak much, but what he spoke was generally no other than the express words of Scripture, without his putting any Commentary or gloss on them; he has the Character of a sober, honest, and very charitable Man among all his Neighbours, his Name is *Thomas Chase*. At this same Meeting of the Quakers at *Hampton*, one of the Quakers belonging to that Meeting did boldly affirm to me, before many Witnesses, that the Blood of Christ that was outwardly shed upon the Cross could do him no good, and he did extremely blame me, for owning to Mr. *John Cotton* the Minister of *Hampton* Parish, about Twelve Years past, that we were justified and sanctified by that Blood of Christ's Body that was outwardly shed on the Cross, and did earnestly contend that the Blood of Christ, whereby the faithful are said in Scripture to be justified and sanctified, was not any outward Blood of Christ, but the inward Blood of the Light within them, as they had learned from *George Fox*, and *George Whitehead*, and other Quaker Authors, in their Printed Books, whereof I have given a large and full Account, in several of my Printed Narratives at *London*, particularly the first, third, and fourth. I endeavoured to help the said Quaker's Understanding, by informing him, that by our being justified and sanctified by the Blood of Christ, that was outwardly shed, was not meant that it was by any material or outward application of that Blood to us, but by the Merit of our blessed Saviour's Passion and Death, in his being a most satisfactory and acceptable Sacrifice to God for our Sins, the which Sacrifice required that his Blood should be shed; for without the shedding of Blood, there could be no remission of Sins; and all Men who had remission of Sins by that Blood, it was by a true and lively Faith in that Blood; but all that I said or could say to him did not prevail, but he continued strong in his most unchristian assertion, still justifying it, and blaming me for my Christian Doctrine. This with all the other Passages I brought both from their Preachers words, then spoke by them, and quoted

out of their Books, which the Quakers present did not contradict, did greatly satisfy the People there, who were not Quakers, that the Quakers chief Autliors and Preachers were guilty of most unchristian Principles, repugnant to the Fundamentals of the Christian Faith; and that the inferior sort had received their gross Errors from their Leaders Words and Writings.

July 19, Sunday. Mr. Talbot Preached at Salisbury in the Forenoon, and I Preached there in the Afternoon, on *Philip. 2. 13*, where we had a great Auditory, and well affected, as also we had the like at Hampton. The occasion of our having so great an Auditory both at Hampton and at Salisbury was this, as some of them told us, that they had been inform'd concerning us, that *We being Ministers of the Church of England, we would Preach down-right Popery to our Hearers*: But (said they) we came the rather to hear you, to know whether we could hear any Popery Preached by you; but indeed, (said they which were the most Judicious, and most Ancient among them,) *Praised be God we heard no Popish Doctrine Preached by any of you, but good sound Protestant Doctrine, the same which we have heard our Ministers of New-England Preach to us, and which to our great comfort we have believed these Forty Years past, and we still continue to believe.* We replied, we were very glad to find that they were of the same Faith with the Church of England, in these great Fundamentals of the Christian Religion.

July 23, 1702. We came to the Quakers Meeting at Dover (by Piscataway River) distant from Boston North-Eastwards about Seventy Miles, where after some time of silence, we heard their Preacher who was a Taylor, and lived in the Town of Dover: He did not speak long, but exhorted them to keep to the Foundation, and he quoted *St. Paul's* Words, Another Foundation can no Man lay, but that which is laid already, which is *Jesus Christ*. I heard him patiently till he had done; and after he had done, I perceiving, by the sequel of his discourse, that he meant nothing else by *Jesus Christ* being the Foundation, *but the light within them*, and as it is in all Men, according to their common Doctrine. I asked him what he meant by *Jesus Christ* being the Foundation, whether the Light within them only, or the Man *Christ Jesus*, who was, and is, both God and Man without them, and who is also in them as he is God, and is in all Men by his general Presence and Illumination, and is in all the Faithful by his special Grace and Illumination? But to this he would give no positive answer. But seemed greatly surprized, and as a Man astonished at my plain Question; for I found he had no other notion of *Jesus Christ* being the Foundation, but the Light within, which he called God, and said, God was *Adam's* Teacher the first, and will be the last; all which he applyed to the Light within, as it is in all Men, *Jews, Turks, and Infidels*, the same as in the Quakers by their plain confession. I asked him again, did the light within him, without the Scripture, teach him that *Jesus Christ* was Born of the Virgin *Mary*? He replied by asking me, who taught *Joseph* that *Christ* was to be Born of her? I answered him, an Angel: But had an Angel taught him the same? He said the Holy Ghost had taught him. I again asked him, had the Holy Ghost Taught him that without the Scripture? To this he quite demurred, and was at a stand, until a Quaker that was next to him, whispered to him in the Ear, and bid him ask me, who taught *Nebuchadnezzar* that the fourth that was with the three Children in the fiery

Furnace was like the Son of God? I answered him, that case was Miraculous and extraordinary, which he could not pretend unto; nor do the Leaders among the Quakers pretend, that the *Light within them*, without Scripture, teacheth them anything of Christ as he was outwardly Born of a Virgin, or of his Death, Burial, and Resurrection, &c. for it is not needful (they say) to be taught them by the Light within them, and yet the Light within them doth sufficiently teach them all that is necessary to Salvation without any thing else; which plainly proves from their avowed Principle, that they do not think the Faith of Christ's Birth, Death, Burial, Resurrection, &c. necessary to their Salvation; but even this again is contradicted by some of them, who affirm it is necessary to them who have the Scriptures, to have that Faith, and to such not to have it, is a Damnable Sin. After this short Conference with him he went away, and some of the Quakers with him, but many stayed behind, both Men and Women, with whom we had much discourse, wherein they generally betrayed their horrid ignorance, and prejudice, against the very Fundamentals of Christianity. One of them did mightily contend against me, for the sufficiency of the Light within every Man to Salvation, without any thing else, and charged my denial of his Assertion to be Blasphemy; for (said he) the Light within is God, and God could do every thing, and can, and is sufficient to save us without any thing else. I replied to him, there were several things God could not do. This again he charged to be Blasphemy, and bid me give him one Instance of any one thing he could not do. I told him, I could give him diverse Instances; as that he could not Lie, nor be the Author of any Sin, to which he assented. I told him again, as God could not Lie, so nor could he contradict his declared will and purpose plainly delivered to us in the holy Scripture, which was to save us by Jesus Christ, who died for us, *1Thess. 5. 9.* and therefore this being God's revealed Will to save us by Jesus Christ who died for us, to save us without Jesus Christ who died for us, would contradict God's revealed Will given us in the holy Scripture; this Answer did quite put him to silence. After I had thus said, one Mrs. *Knight*, a Quaker belonging to their Meeting, being present, (whose Name I mention to her Praise, and to make it known, that some among the Quakers are not such Infidels, as they more generally are, though all of them, even the best, are involved in great Errors) signified her good liking to my Answer, and said, she thought that I would give that Answer: she also did vindicate my Reputation against another Quaker-Woman there present, who said, they (*viz.* the Quakers) had no good opinion of me, when I was formerly among them in that Town, about Twelve Years past or more. I am sure, said Mrs. *Knight*, that is not true; for Friends then had a very good Esteem of him, and particularly so I had, and was glad that by my Husbands Invitation, he came and Lodg'd one Night at our House. And while we were discoursing about a sinless Perfection, whether it was attainable in this Life; another Quaker-Woman affirmed, that she was perfect to that degree, that she had not any Sin. What (said I) have ye no sin, neither actual nor original? Was ye not Born with original sin? nay, (said she) I was born of Holy Parents, and I knew never any thing but Purity and Holiness. But, said I, *David* came of holy Parents, and yet he said, *Psal. 51. 5. Behold I was shapen in Iniquity, and in Sin did my Mother conceive me.* Were your Parents more holy than *David's* Parents? To this she

answered, what *David's* Parents were she knew not, whether holy or not, but she knew her Parents that they were holy. And this is the very Doctrine of *George Fox* and *Edward Burroughs*, in their Printed Books, that the Children of holy Parents are Born without all defilement of Sin. After this *Mr. Talbot* produced *George Fox's* Will in Print (which as it has received several Impressions at *London*, so it hath had one at least at *New-York* in *America*) and began to read in it, how *George Fox* left his Boots and Spurs, and Clyster-pipe, to *Thomas Lower*; by which *Mr. Talbot* did infer, that it seemed *George Fox* did leave them as holy Relicks. No, said she, viz. the above mentioned Woman who said she had no Sin, they have been silver Spurs, for she had seen silver Spurs, and the Clyster-Pipe was a Golden Pipe: To this I replied, this made *George Fox* very vain and Proud, that his Spurs were silver Spurs; this was a great reflexion on *George Fox*, to say he wore silver Spurs; and that his Clyster-Pipe was a Golden Pipe, this was to render him very Prodigal indeed, who was but a poor Shoemaker Journeyman (whose Master I knew) before he became the Ring-leader of the Quakers, that no less would serve him than silver-Spurs; and as for a Golden Clyster-Pipe, I never heard of any such thing before. We had also much reasoning with diverse of the Quakers in that Meeting, concerning the Sacraments, and particularly that of Baptism. The chief Person that did undertake to dispute with me against Baptism with Water, was a Quaker Justice of that Town, whose Name I spare, as I think fit generally to spare their names (except where I can say something to their commendation, and that is but very seldom) whereas I produced *Matth.* 28. 19. to prove that our Blessed Saviour had commanded the practice of Baptism to his Apostles, and to their Successors to administer it to all Proselytes to Christianity to the end of the World: To this he replied, that Water was not mentioned, and that the Baptism that Christ there commanded, was not outward Baptism with Water, but inward Baptism with the Spirit. I asked him what Teaching was that, which Christ commanded there, *Matth.* 28. 19, 20. He said, it was inward Teaching; but in this another Quaker presently contradicted him, and said, it could not be inward Teaching that Christ commanded the Apostles; for none but God, and Christ, and the Holy Ghost, could Teach inwardly; but the Apostles being but Men, they could but Teach outwardly; I commended his answer, and from thence I inferred against them both, that as the Apostles could not Teach inwardly, so nor could they Baptize inwardly, the latter being as impossible to Men to do as the former; and therefore the Baptism that Christ commanded the Apostles to administer was outward Baptism with Water, and which accordingly they performed either by themselves, or by appointing others to do it by the Authority they had from Christ. This is but a hint of many things that passed in discourse betwixt us, having continued with them for many hours. After we came out of the Meeting, the Quaker-Woman who boasted so much of her sinless Perfection, did invite us to her House, and did kindly entertain us both with Victuals and Drink, and offered us a good Bed to lodge in, it being late. We thanked her for her Hospitality and proffer to lodge us, but we went into our Boat that waited for us, and went down the River that Night to the Town called *Strawberry-bank*, and lodged there at an Inn, or Public House of Entertainment.

Here it is worthy of notice, what some of the Neighbours of the Quakers

of that Town did inform us concerning the Quakers there, viz. how that sometime after Quakerism had got entrance into that Town, and they had set up a Quaker Meeting there, the Quakers invited their Neighbours to come to their Meetings, where they should hear excellent Preachers, who should Preach to them freely without any Cost or Charge, not like their hiring Minister, who put them to great charge to maintain him: Upon this Publication, many or most of the Parish deserted the Minister, and frequented the Quakers Meetings. But not long after, the Contributions that the Quakers gathered in their Monthly and Quarterly Meetings for the Travelling Friends of the Ministry, were so frequent, and rose so high, that they far exceeded what they were to pay their Minister as the Law of the Country required; whereupon they generally concluded to desert the Quaker Meetings, and return to their Minister; for, said they, if this be the way of it, that the upholding the Quakers Ministers that come among us be so chargeable, far above what we pay to the Minister of the Parish, we will go back again to our own Minister Mr. John Pike, and accordingly so they did, and continue hearing their own Minister, who is of good Fame among the Neighbourhood, and whom we intended to have visited at his House, but it happened that he was gone abroad; however such as were more thoroughly leavened with Quakerism, kept up their Meetings, and have Built a Meeting-House to themselves, where we did visit them, and discourse with them as above-mentioned.

July 25, 1702. We Arrived at Salem, and had intended to have visited the Quakers at their Meeting there, the next Day, but we were informed that they had removed their Meeting for that Day from Salem to another Place, of which we could have no notice, though we made enquiry.

July 28. In our way from Salem to Boston, as we stayed some Hours at the Ferry by Newberry, I had much discourse with a sober Carpenter who was a Quaker, his Name was William Clement. He did readily confess to the Fundamentals of the Christian Faith, concerning our blessed Saviour; but had some dispute with me about Baptism, and by the Discourse I had there with him, seemed to be much convinced that it was his Duty to have his Children Baptized, as he had been himself, in Infancy, and had a Resolution to have it done.

August 1. We returned to Boston.

August 2, Sunday. I Preached again at the Queen's Chappel there on Philip. 2. 13.

August 3, 1702. I set out from Boston accompanied with the Reverend Mr. Samuel Myles, one of the Ministers of the Church of England Congregation there, and we arrived at Newport in Rhod-Island the next day, where we were kindly received. Mr. Lockyer the Church of England Minister there and diverse others of the Church came from Newport and met us at the Ferry, and conducted us to the Town, and place of our Lodging. Mr. Talbot stayed at Boston to officiate in the Church there for Mr. Myles, until his return.

August 6. I went to the Quakers Meeting at New-port on Rhod-Island accompanied with Mr. Myles, Mr. Lockyer, and many People belonging to the Church there, some of them being Justices of the Peace, to wit, Mr. Carr, and Mr. Layton.

After one of their Preachers had spoke a long time, and came to an end, having perverted many Texts of Scripture, to prove the sufficiency of the Light within, the inward Teacher, without any thing else, their common Subject; and though they do not so very frequently say, *without any thing else*, yet they always so mean it, and oft so express it, as they have very much of late both in their Discourses and Books. The two particular Texts of Scripture which he greatly perverted, to prove the Quakers false Notion of the sufficiency of the Light within all Men to Salvation, without any thing else, were *Job*. 16. 8. and *Titus* 2. 11. I began to speak, standing up in a Gallery opposite to the Gallery where their Teachers were placed, who were many; having intended in a friendly manner to inform them, how their Speaker had misunderstood and misinterpreted those, and other Texts of Scripture; and I much requested them to hear me a while without interruption, as I had heard their Preacher. But I was instantly interrupted by them very rudely, and they were very abusive to me with their ill-Language, calling me Apostate, &c. and they threatened me with being guilty of the breach of the Act of Tolleration, by which they said their Meetings were Authorized. I told them I had not broken the Act of Tolleration; for neither that Act, nor any Law of *England*, did forbid a Minister of the Church of *England* to speak in their Meetings, if he did not interrupt them, as I did not, nor did I intend so to do. And they who made the interruption were guilty of the breach of that Act, and not I; though upon good enquiry it will be found, the Quakers have not the benefit of that Act, for want of the Qualifications of their Preachers required by the Act.

Mr. *Myles* said I ought to be heard, I being a Missionary into these *American* parts, by the *Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, sent on purpose to endeavour to reduce the Quakers from their Errors, the which Society hath a Patent from the Crown of *England*, and not to hear me, nor suffer me to speak, was a Contempt of Supream Authority. Some of the Quakers having said that Mr. *Myles* affirmed I was sent by the Queen: I told them I had no immediate Mission from the Queen, and I knew not that ever the Queen (whom God Bless and Preserve) had heard of me. But remotely and mediately my Mission was from the Queen, it being from the *Honourable Society*, who had a Patent from the Crown.

After this I applyed my self to their Governour, Col. *Cranston*, who was there present, and frequents their Meetings, but is no professed Quaker; and I said to him, May it please your Honour to command these Men not to interrupt me, but that I may have a Peaceable hearing among such here present who are desirous to hear me, as indeed many such were, not only of the Church People, but of Independents and Anabaptists, as well as diverse of the Quakers, especially the Younger sort of them. These modest words of mine to the Governour (who is chosen by the People, but is not their Governour by the Queen's immediate appointment) some Quakers have so wrested and falsified in Print, that they have affirmed I spoke to the Governour in a commanding way, to compel the Quakers to hear me, which were neither my Words nor Sense; for I only desired him, that by his Authority I might not be interrupted: And if I be interrupted, it behoved me to complain to the *Honourable Society*, that I could not have liberty to speak in their Meeting, and so, what in them lay, to frustrate the end of my

Mission. For where could I have opportunity to inform them, but in their Meetings? Should I go to their Houses, they would not let me come into them. The Governour, at this, went away, and Civilly said to me, he thought I had done better, to have stayed till they had done. I told him, then they would be gone, as they had served me at *Lynn*, at *Hampton*, and at *Dover*. After the Governour was gone, one of their Speakers, who was the Deputy Governour, and had been formerly their chief Governour, took out of his Pocket a Printed abusive Paper full of Lies, having no Name to it, and began to read it in the Meeting, on purpose to drown my Voice, that I might not be heard. The Title of it was, *One Wonder more: or George Keith the eighth Wonder of the World*, Printed at *London* several Years before. Mr. Myles said it was an Infamous Libel, without a Name to it, and it was a shame for such a man as he, being Lieutenant Governour in the Place, to read such an Infamous Libel against any Man, on purpose vilely to defame him.

After he had done, another Quaker Preacher, who had been formerly their Governour, began to Preach; he told the Auditory he had read the Scriptures in three Languages, but neither in *Latin*, *Greek*, nor *Hebrew*: but first Literally, secondly Carnally, thirdly Spiritually. He said the Grace [the Light within all Men] was all-sufficient, which he brought as a Proof for its being sufficient to Salvation, without Scripture, or Christ's Blood shed, without us, or any thing else. He also said, it was to as little purpose to Preach to natural Men, or for natural Men to read the Scriptures, as to Four-Footed Beasts; whereby he not only condemned the Practice of the Apostles, who Preached to natural Men, as Christ commanded them; but also he condemned the Practice of the Quaker Preachers, who both Preach, and write Books to natural Men, whom they call the World in order to Convert them to Quakerism; all this, and many other gross falshoods and nonsensical Words he there uttered. And yet all this the Quakers swallow down, as the Infallible dictates of the Light within them, as they pretend; for as *George Whitehead* hath affirmed in his little Book, called, *The Voice of Wisdom, such Ministers who want Infallibility, and speak not from the Infallible Spirit, are no Ministers of Christ*. And *George Fox*, in his great *Mystery*, calls them, *Thieves, Witches, Conjurers, who speak or write, and not from the Infallible Spirit*; surely by this Quaker-test, their greatest Authors and Leaders are no other, whose Discourses and Books are full of notorious falsehoods, and contradictions to the holy Scriptures.

At last the first Speaker made a long rambling Prayer, full of Tautologies, and vain Repetitions, and presumptuous Boastings, as their manner is, after they have vented forth abundance of falshoods in their Preachings, running down the Scriptures and Sacraments, and the Resurrection of the Body after Death, and other great Doctrines of the Christian Religion, they commonly conclude with their Prayers, Blessing God for his glorious presence among them, and his mighty power that has been with them, to assist, refresh, and comfort them, to which the Quaker hearers do frequently echo to them with several sorts of Hummings and Sounds, whereby to Seal to the Truth not only of the Words, but of the mighty Power and Life that has attended their Speakers. But while they utter such falshoods and contradictions to holy Scriptures, as also such uncharitable Speeches against all other Communions and ways of Worship, and Ministry, but their own; it is impossible that they

can be acted by any divine Life or Power to do this : And yet some Power more than ordinary doth frequently Act them, in their Speakings, and commonly works most strongly among them, when they are vehemently running down the necessity of the Scriptures, or the Sacraments, and Preaching up the sufficiency of the Light within them to Salvation, without any thing else, as I have oft observed. The strong impression their Speakings in their Meetings frequently have (or used to have more formerly than of late) upon their Hearers ; manifestly to be observed by the visible effects of it upon many of them, causing them, some to shed Tears in plenty, some to shake and Quake, some to utter deep Groans, others to Sing ; sufficiently prove that some Power, more than ordinary, doth at times Act them, and this Power doth at times Act and Operate among them, and in them, in a total silence of Words, (as well as when they utter words) in their Assemblies, of which they glory not a little. The most tolerable Construction that can be made of this Power, what it is, or whence it proceeds, seeing it can be no Divine Power, is, that it is some strong natural Enthusiasm, raised by heighth of fancy, and exalted imagination, such as Mr. *Causabon* has described in his Treatise of *Enthusiasm*. But then it must needs be granted, that when they are Acted so furiously and outrageously, to contradict the plainest Doctrines of Christianity, and defame and reproach Christ's sacred Institutions, that Satan acts together with this Power of *Strong Fancy* and *Imagination*, and makes use of it, as its Organ and Instrument, or Conduit of Conveyance. For it's hardly to be conceived, how a meer natural or Animal Power, without the influence of some Diabolical Spirit, can act Men with such zeal and industry to Preach and Propagate most destructive Errors to Mens Perdition. Seeing, according to Holy Scripture, the Devil is the Father of Lies ; and all Damnable Doctrines, are the Doctrines of Devils ; of which they have a great many, as their Words and Books plainly shew. Immediately after their Prayers, all their Preachers went away, and many of the Quaker Hearers, but many of them also stayed, especially the Younger sort, both Men and Women ; and generally all the People who were not Quakers, both those of the Church, and those called Independents and Anabaptists stayed. I told their Preachers, as they were making hast to be gone, it was a shame to them to go away, and leave so many of their Sheep exposed to the *Wolf*, as they have affirmed me to be, but I thank God I am none ; but by their own Argument, by their so flying and running away, do not they prove themselves not to be true Shepherds, but Hirelings ?

I had now full liberty without any interruption to speak, perceiving the Auditory generally desirous to hear me. I recollected and resumed most of the heads of their discourse, such as I could remember, and the Texts of Scripture, which they had grossly perverted and misapplied, and refuted their Perversions and Falshoods ; and thus I continued some considerable time speaking in their Meeting-House, having a considerable large Auditory, all very attentive. Before I had made an end, diverse of the Quaker Preachers returned, and stood quietly and heard me, but said nothing, neither made they any offer to dispute any matter with me. I was informed by some credible Persons, that the occasion of their Preachers returning to the Meeting, while I was speaking, was, that some Quaker Zealot-Women went to their Preachers, and told them, it would greatly reflect on them, to absent

themselves while I was speaking in their Meeting-House, and might expose the Weak Friends to be deceived by me. However after their return, they said nothing, but suffered me to proceed in speaking as long as I thought fit; and thus our Meeting ended Peaceably.

The Quakers had Built a new Meeting-House at *Newport*, large enough to hold Five Hundred Persons, or more, with fair and large Galleries, and Forms or Benches below. But one thing very singular I observed, that on the Top of the Turret of their Meeting-House, they have a perfect *Iron Cross*, two large Iron Bars crossing one the other at right Angles, a more perfect Cross I never saw any where on any Church. I mention this the rather, because *George Fox*, in some of his Printed Pamphlets, makes a great outcry and noise against the *Steeple Houses* in *England*, as he calls them, for having Crosses on the Tops of them, and that it is Popery; what can the Quakers say to this? Are their Brethren of *Rhod-Island* guilty of Popery, for having the Cross on the top of their Meeting-House, which I suppose remains there to this day?

August 9, 1702. Sunday. I Preached at *Newport* on *Rhod-Island*, my Text was *Job. 1. 9.* and I had a very numerous Auditory, not only of the People of the Town, but of many that came from other parts of the *Island* with a desire to hear me. I told my Auditory after I had concluded my Sermon, that I was to have a publick Meeting the 14th Instant at the Colony House in *Newport*, to detect the Quakers Errors out of the Printed Books of their chief Authors, and that I had obtained leave of the chief Governour Collonel *Cranston* to keep the Meeting in that House; and that I was to give notice to the Quaker Preachers to meet me there about the first Hour after Noon, if they thought fit to defend their Principles and Authors.

August 10. I sent a written Paper to the Quaker Preachers there, to meet me at the Place and Time abovementioned, to which they sent me their Answer soon after, that they would meet me, so that things should be carried fairly, and each Party should have liberty to speak an Hour without interruption, and two Moderators should be chosen, each on a side, to keep good order; to which I consented, though I told them, an hour at once was too long, yet I would yield to their Proposition, rather than that the Meeting should fail.

August 14. We Met about the first Hour after Noon, the time appointed: They allowed me to begin my Charge against them, and the Hour Glass was turned to measure the time. I brought with me *George Fox's* Book, called the *Great Mystery*, and diverse other Quaker Books, viz. *Richard Claridge* his Book, called, *Lux Evangelica Attestata*, and *Mr. Pen's* Book, called, *Primitive Christianity*. I spent my first Hour mostly in reading to them, and to the Auditory, which were some Hundreds of People, both of the Town and Country, many Quotations out of *George Fox's* great *Mystery*, full of most dreadful Errors and Heresies, and detecting the gross absurdity of them, contradicting the Holy Scriptures; and in the conclusion, before my hour was quite spent, I told them, I was to expect from them a particular answer to each Quotation I had read to them, and I proffered to them, that if they questioned my true Reading, they might Read them, laying the Book open before them. And for better Method's sake, I offered to Read again the quotations to them singly one by one, and let them give their Answer to each.

single quotation, whether they owned them to be according to their Principles, yes, or no, seeing *George Fox* was the first and most Authentic Author among them, whom the Quakers at *London* have in Print called, the *Apostle of this Age*. But instead of any such performance by them, to the great disappointment of all the Auditory who were not Quakers, nor Quakerly affected, such as the far greatest part of the Auditory was not, they gave not the least Answer directly, or indirectly, to any one of the quotations I had read to them, nor gave they any reason of excuse why they declined to give any Answer to them. But as they had projected it before hand, one of chief Note among their Speakers, viz. the Deputy Governour abovementioned, did read to the Auditory, the Printed sheet, called, the *Christianity of the People called Quakers*, &c. and after that was fully read, he read one or two other scurrilous Libels, having no Name to them, that some Quakers had Printed against me, about the Year 1700, when I joined to the Church of *England*, one of which was that abovementioned, called, *One Wonder more: or George Keith the eighth Wonder of the World*. Having thus spent their Hour, all their Speakers rose up to be gone, pretending the Agreement was but for two Hours in all, which I denied; and the Moderator chosen by them, to whom I appealed, gave it against them, that the time was not limited to two Hours in all, but to one Hour to one side at a time.

So I began my second Hour, and I first shewed how unfair and unreasonable they were, to give no Answer to my Charges I had given out of *George Fox*, and other approved Authors, with whom they pretend to be one in Doctrine, and that they are not varied in a tittle from their first Principles; but as *God is the same, and the Truth is the same, so his People* (the Quakers) *are the same*; so one of their approved Authors has lately Printed in his Book at *London*; after this I proceeded to reply to what was fit to be said, to those Printed Libels, their chief Speaker had read against me. And first, as to the Printed sheet, called, *The Christianity of the People called Quakers*, asserted (as they say) by *George Keith*; which is a deceitful contrivance of the Quakers, as if I had composed that sheet in form and manner as it is there Printed, which is altogether false. The sheet, I grant, contains some quotations, collected by the Quakers out of my former Books many Years ago, when I was among them; all which, so far as they were contrary to sound Doctrine contained in the holy Scripture, I had in Print retracted several Years ago; and therefore they did not now affect me. Though none of those quotations, however erroneous, contradict the Foundation of the Christian Faith, concerning our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, his Person, and twofold Nature, and Offices of Prophet, Priest, and King, and the necessity of Faith in him, as he outwardly came in the Flesh, died for our Sins, and rose again, &c. in order to Mens Salvation. Whereas the System of Quakerism, set forth in *George Fox's* great Mystery, and other Quaker Authors, is a point blank contradiction to this Faith.

Next, As to their Printed Libel, called, *One Wonder more*, &c. having no Name to it of any Person or People, I was not obliged to take notice of it; and it contained several notorious falshoods, as that I had said, in the Book called, *Help in time of Need*, that I had taken the *Scots* League and Covenant, and that Libeller positively charges me with having taken it, both which are utterly false; for I being Born in the Year 1638, I was not capable

of taking it, when it was given, viz. about the Year 1643, by reason of my *non-age*, and it was never given in a National way since, in *Scotland*, that I know of: Again, that Libeller falsely accuseth me that I had said, I was not changed in my Perswasion in any thing since I had left the Quakers, from what I had, when among them. For, on the contrary, I have owned in Print that I was changed in my Perswasion and Judgment in several things, and had Printed a Book of Retractation of many Errors I had been in, whilst I was among them. But, I thank God, I never had the worst of their Errors, nor any (that I can remember) that contradicted the necessity of Faith in Christ Jesus, who is both God and Man, in order to Mens Salvation, to which the Quakers Fundamental Principle, *that the Light within them is sufficient to Salvation without any thing else*, is a perfect contradiction. This vile Antichristian notion that sets up Deism, and overturns the Christian Faith, I never had, and I challenge my greatest Adversaries to prove it against me. Let the Quakers Retract and Renounce their Errors, as I have done mine, to God's Praise, who has so enabled me, and I shall no more charge them therewith. And whereas they had upbraided me with my changing, I told them many Quakers had made as great changes as I had, and particularly *Richard Claridge*, now a great Author among them, who was first an Episcopal Preacher, then an Anabaptist Preacher, and now a Quaker Preacher.

After I had thus replied to their malicious Libels Read against me, I proceeded to read diverse other Quotations out of *Richard Claridge's Lux Evangelica*, and Mr. *Pen's Primitive Christianity*, and so continued detecting the gross absurdity of their assertions, till my second Hour was almost spent; and I renewed my demand to them, to give their Answer to what I had further both read and said in my second Hour.

But nothing did they say, to any one thing I had said; but after a long time of silence, they began to Preach, one after another, after their common way, intermixing therewith false accusations against me, that I did pervert their Friends Words, and charged them falsely, but did not give one Instance to prove I had done so. And after they had continued their second Hour, Preaching and Railing against me, they went away.

Before the People that were not Quakers went away, I told them, I purposed to have another publick Meeting in the same place the 17th Instant, to begin about Eight a Clock in the forenoon, to detect the Quakers great Errors, particularly in their rejecting the Divine Institutions of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and of this I gave notice to the Quaker Preachers, desiring them to come and defend themselves if they could, they should have a fair hearing; but not one of them came. However many People of the Town came, both Church People and Dissenters, who (with great attention and satisfaction) heard me prove the Divine Institution of both Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and refute the Quakers Idle and absurd evasions and glosses, whereby they use to pervert the plain Texts of Scripture upon those heads, as they do upon all others controverted by them.

And here I think fit to give a List, or Catalogue, of the chief and most scandalous quotations I did read to the Quakers and Auditory present, at the abovesaid Meeting at *Newport* on *Rhod-Island*, out of *George Fox* his Great Mystery, *Richard Claridge* his *Lux Evang.* attest. and Mr. *Pen's Primitive Christianity*.

The Quotations out of *George Fox's Great Mystery, &c.*

I. Pag. 246. Christ, God and Man, Flesh and Spirit, is in the Quakers.

II. Pag. 149. Whole Christ, God and Man, is in Men.

III. Pag. 211. Christ is not absent from his Church, as touching his Flesh.

IV. Pag. 322. The Flesh of Christ is in them, because they Eat it.

V. Pag. 322. The Flesh of Christ came down from above.

VI. Pag. 250. And the Devil was in thee, and thou saith, thou art saved by Christ without thee, and so hast recorded thy self to be a Reprobate.

VII. Pag. 246. He Quotes *Isai.* 9. 6. to prove, that God the Father took upon him Man's Nature.

VIII. Pag. 9. He will not allow, that Christ is to come to Judgment without us, at the end of the World; but saith, Christ is come to *Judgment* and he blames his Opponent, for having any such expectation;—*who are come to Christ the Light, the Life, they need not go forth*, viz. to look for a Christ without them.

IX. Pag. 350. The Scriptures are not the means, nor the Rule of Faith. The means of Salvation is not ordinary, nor outward.

X. Pag. 302. The Spirit is the Rule, saith Christ.

XI. Pag. 229. He blames the Ministers of *New-Castle*, and saith, they are not fit to be Ministers who know not the State of Souls from Eternity to Eternity.

XII. Pag. 281, and 318. He pleads for a Perfection in fulness, above any degree, before the death of the Body; and saith, he witnessed it. And pag. 282, 197. He pleads for a Perfection, as God is Perfect, in *equality* and not in *quality* only. Like to this is what he saith to his Opponent.

Pag. 67. Again: Thou makest a great pudder, that any one should witness he is *equal* with God. And in his Answer he proves his equality with God against his Opponent, from the *Westminster* Catechism.

Pag. 127. He giveth the same Proof that he is *equal with God*, from the Assemblies Catechism made at *Westminster*; his Opponent being some Presbyterian or Independent, who owned that Catechism: But that Catechism doth not say, that *George Fox*, or any meer Man, was equal with God; but that the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are equal with God the Father; which is orthodox Doctrine. But the Mystery of *George Fox's* Argument did conflict in this, that he was the Son, and consequently he was equal with God. The dispute betwixt him and his Opponent, was not, whether the Son, viz. the second Person of the Holy Trinity, was equal with God the Father, for his Opponent owned that.

XIII. Pag. 73. None can know Christ by the Scriptures.

Pag. 168. Them that never heard the Scripture outwardly, the Light that every Man hath that cometh into the World, being turned to it, with that they will see Christ, with that they will know Scripture, with that they will be led out of all delusions, come into Covenant with God, with which they will come to Worship God in the Spirit, and serve him.

Pag. 47. The Light in Men sufficient to Salvation, without the help of any other means or discovery.

XIV. The Quakers are the only Ministers of Christ, since the Apostles days.

The Quotations I did then read out of a Book of *Richard Claridge*, called *Lux Evangelica attestata*.

I. Pag. 17, 18, 19. He saith God doth afford to all Men, even in the ordinary way of his Providence, such a manifestation of his Light or Spirit, as is sufficient to lead and Guide the *Faithful* into all truth necessary to Salvation, without Scripture. Note, by *Faithful*, he means *Faithful to the Light within* them, who have not the Scripture.

II. Pag. 49. Faith in Christ, as outwardly, (he saith) is no essential part of the Christian Religion.

III. Pag. 26. He denies that Christ's Body is the same in Substance he had on Earth.

IV. Pag. 90. He justifies that Assertion of Mr. *Pen*, in his Preface to Mr. *Barclay's* Folio Book, pag. 26. Oh Friends! great is the Mystery of Godliness, God manifest in the Flesh; — and if that be a Mystery, how much more is the Work of Regeneration a Mystery, that is wholly inward and Spiritual. And to confirm it, the said *R. C.* calls Christ within the Mystery of that Mystery, viz. of Christ without.

The Quotations I did then read out of Mr. *Pen's* *Primitive Christianity*.

I. Pag. 30. Concerning the *Light within* all Men, he saith: If it reveal God, (which he affirms from *Rom. 2. ver. 7*, to 17. in pag. 73, 74.) to be sure it manifests Christ.

II. Page 50, to 55. The Heathens have the same Light in them, that true Christians have.

III. Pag. 78. All Religion is but one in the many modes and shapes of it: if Men be obedient to the Light within. Note, this takes away all real and substantial distinction betwixt Deism, and Christianity, and betwixt natural and revealed Religion.

August 16, Sunday. I Preached in the Church at *Newport* on *Rhod-Island*, on *Acts 26. 18.* having Preached on the same Text, the *Wednesday* foregoing, in the same plaee.

August 24. Being the Tenth Day after the Conference I had with the Quakers at *Newport* on *Rhod-Island*, a Quaker Preacher Woman, living at *Newport*, who has been a Speaker in the Quakers Meeting upwards of Forty Years, writ a long Letter to me, which I have by me, where, after diverse severe Charges against me, in meer generals, she blames me for saying to the Quaker Preachers at *Portsmouth*, which is at the other end of the *Island*, where I went to visit them, at their Meeting there *August* the 13th, that they did not Preach Christ enough, as he was outwardly Crucified and lifted up on the Tree of the Cross; and whereas I had said unto them, that they should direct their Hearers, to look by Faith to Christ, as he was Crucified, and lifted up on the Tree of the Cross, in order to be spiritually healed, as the *Israelites* in the Wilderness were directed by *Moses* to look to the *Brasen Serpent*, to be healed Bodily, after they were bit by Serpents there, for which I had quoted *Job. 3. 14.* This most ignorant Woman Preacher, in her said Letter to me, denies that the lifting up of Christ in *Job. 3. 14.* is to be meant of his lifting up on the Tree of the Cross, or that People should be directed to him for healing, as he was there lifted up.

To overthrow my assertion she gives diverse Reasons.

I. That lifting up, *Job. 3. 14.* is the same with that whereof he said, I,

when I am lifted up, will draw all Men after me : but that was not his lifting up on the Cross.

II. The Enemies of God, did lift him upon the Tree, &c.

III. He is not now upon the Tree, nor did he long stay there.

IV. It would be a great fallacy, and known Error, for any to Preach to People, that they should look for him upon the Tree, seeing he is not there, but risen.

Some time after I received her Letter, I writ an answer to her, and laboured therein to convince her of her gross ignorance, as well as of perverting both my Words and Sense, as if what I had said to the Quaker Preachers at *Portsmouth*, where she was present, that they were to Preach to People, to direct them to look to Christ for healing, as he was lifted up on the Tree, did purport, that they were to go on Foot to *Jerusalem*, to look to him with their Bodily Eyes, than which there could be no greater perversion of Words. And if this be not a wilful perversion in her, she is most extremely ignorant, to think that there can be no looking to Christ, as he suffered on the Tree of the Cross, but by the bodily sight, seeing it is very common in Scripture, to express Faith in God and in Christ by looking to him.

And her pretended Argument from *Job*. 11. 32. is most evidently against her, for that his lifting up, *Job*. 12. 32. is to be understood, his lifting up on the Tree, whereon he was Crucified, is clear from *V*. 33. *This he said, signifying what manner of Death he should Die.* She was so mightily pleased with her Letter to me, that lest it should miscarry, some Months after I received it in *Pensilvania*, she sent me a duplicate of it, as if it had been some Jewel.

This Letter of hers is a fresh Instance, beside many more, to prove that the Quakers have no real devout regard to Christ, as he suffered Death for our Sins, and rose again without us, &c. in order to our Salvation, as the necessary object of Faith. They do commonly say, they believe all that is written of Christ, his Birth of the Virgin, his Life, Miracles, Death, Burial, Resurrection, Ascension, &c. But the fallacy lies here, that all this Faith (they say) is but Historical, and not the saving Faith; they believe it as they believe any other History, but they think it not necessary to Salvation, and that because it is necessary, it is to be Preached; nay, *George Whitehead* a great Author among them, hath said in his Book, called, *Light and Life*, *That to confide in Christ without us, is contrary to Deut. 30, and Rom. 10.* And the like he saith in *Truth defending*. And as plainly as any of them, Mr. *Pen* hath declared himself, *Quakerism a new nickname*, &c. pag. 6. *Faith* (saith he) *in the History of Christ's outward manifestation is a deadly Poison these latter Ages have been inflicted with to the destruction of godly living.*

August 23, Sunday. I Preached at *Naraganset*, (that lyes on the Continent, but is not far from *Rhod-Island*) at the House of Mr. *Opdyke's* where I had a considerable Auditory, my Text was *Titus* 2. 11. The People there are very desirous, that a Church of *England* Minister be sent to them.

August 27. I Preached at *Little Compton*, alias *Scaconot*, that lyes on the Continent also, not far from the *Island*, at the House of *Henry Head*, where I had a large Auditory; my Text was *Jer.* 31. 33. They are there also very desirous, that a Minister be sent to them. Mr. *Lockyer* went a long with me, and read the Prayers at both Places.

August 30, 1702. Sunday. Being accompanied with Mr. *Lockyer*, we crossed the Ferry at *Portsmouth* in the Morning, in order to be at *Swansey*, on the Continent, to Preach there, as accordingly I did; Mr. *Lockyer* read the Prayers; there was a large Auditory. My Text was 1 *Thess.* 1. 5. They greatly desire a Minister to be sent unto them.

As we were crossing the Ferry at *Portsmouth* on *Rhod-Island*, by the good Providence of God we escaped a great danger; we had essayed to cross the Ferry the Day before, but the Wind was so strong, it was not safe to try it, hoping the next day would be more Calm; but the Wind little abated the next day, so that both Wind, and Sea, were very boisterous; when we were about half over the Ferry (that is of a considerable breadth) our Mast and Sail were beat down by the Wind, the Mast at its fall, touched gently my shoulder, and did me no harm; we had no ability to get up our Sail again, there being but one Negroe Man to manage the Boat, and we were in all three Passengers, and having three Horses in the Boat. So for some time we remained there much tossed by the Waves of the Sea, and were in danger to be driven out to the Sea and overwhelmed. After some time a Boat came off from Land to help us, and to Tow us to Land. But the Rope they gave us broke, and the Rope we gave them did also break, and so we were left helpless. But a Quaker of my former acquaintance, whose Name is *John Burden*, who had also a Ferry-Boat, came with all Speed in his Boat to relieve us, and Towed us to Land, having several able Men with him in the Boat, to manage her. After we landed, I offered Money to his Men, but he would not permit them to receive any. I thanked him very kindly for his help in our great Danger, and said to him, *John*, ye have been a means under God to save our natural Life, suffer me to be a means under God to save your Soul, by good information to bring you out of your dangerous Errors. He replied, *George*, save thy own Soul, I have no need of thy help; then, said I, I will pray for your Conversion; he replied, the Prayers of the Wicked are an abomination; so uncharitable was he in his opinion concerning me, (as they generally are, concerning all who differ from them) though Charitable in this action.

The next Day, we crossed the Ferry in his Boat: After our landing he entertained us civilly at his House, with whom I had much Discourse, and I laboured much to inform him, how that the Quakers Principle, that the *Light within every Man was sufficient to Salvation without any thing else*, did plainly overthrow the Christian Faith, and set up meer *Deism* or *Heathenism* in the room of Christianity. But I could not prevail to convince him. He had a great many of the Quakers Printed Books lying in a Window in his House, which I looked upon, and asked him that he would sell them to me, for they would be useful to me in that Country; but he earnestly refused, and said, I should not have them, though I should give double Money for them: Why, said I? Because (said he) thou wilt do Mischief with them; he meant, that I would expose the Quakers Principles, and make them known, what they are, out of their own Books; which the Quakers are loath should be known, and therefore when Quotations are produced out of their Books, though ever so fairly Quoted, they use confidently to deny, there are any such in their Books, when the Books are not present to lay before them.

September 6, 1702. Sunday. I Preached again at *Newport* on *Rhod-*

Island, on *Job*. 12. 36. Mr. *Talbot* also Preached there several times, and commonly wherever we Travelled, the one of us Preached in the Fore-noon on the *Sundays*, and the other in the After-noon, except when the days were short, that there was no Sermon usual in the Afternoon; and sometimes, for the greater Service in diverse places, one Preached in one part, and one in another, at the same time.

The time that we remained at *Newport*, on *Rhod-Island*, Mr. *Carr*, and Mr. *Laiton*, Inhabitants on the *Island*, both of them of the Church of *England*, and of good repute among their Neighbours, shewed us several Commissions in writing, given to them, by Quaker Governours, with their Hands and Seals affixed, Commissionating them to be Military Officers, to fight against the *Indians*, and *French*, in the times of the several Wars the *English* had with them; to Kill and destroy their Enemies. The Quaker Governours Names, who gave these Commissions to several, to be Military Officers in the Quaker Government, whose Commissions in the Original Signed and Sealed by them, we saw, and read, are, 1. *William Coddington*. 2. *Walter Clark*. 3. *John Eston*. 4. *Henry Bull*, all Preachers but the first; *Walter Clark*, and *John Eston*, were alive when we were there, and I suppose still are alive, the other two were dead; true Copies of which Commissions, are now in the Custody of a Person of Quality in *England*, and can be produced if occasion require it. This I thought fit to make known, that it may evidently appear, how contrary the Quakers Practice, where they have the Government, is, to their professed Principle, that it is unlawful to them, to fight with a Carnal Weapon, so much as in their own defence. The like Commission I have seen in the Original, given by some Quaker Magistrates at *Philadelphia*, in *Pensilvania*, about fifteen Years ago, giving three Persons, there Commissions to be Captains, to go with their Companies to recover a Sloop by force of Arms, that some Privateers had stolen out of the Harbour.

That it is the Quakers professed Principle that they cannot Fight, or Kill, in their own defence, is evident from several Declarations of their Leaders and Authors in Print, but especially from Mr. *Pen's Key*, which has been oft reprinted. In Pag. 34, 35. he saith, They (i. e. the Quakers) cannot Kill or slay their own kind; for Proof of which he quotes 2 *Cor*. 10. 3, 5. *The Weapons of our Warfare are not Carnal, &c.* This again was contradicted by the Quakers Practice in *Pensilvania*, who by his Authority or Allowance put several Persons to Death judicially, for suspected Murthers. (to several of which they had no Evidence made either by Witness, or by their Confession, whom they caused to be put to death.) And as to that Text Mr. *Pen* has quoted in his *Key*, 2 *Cor*. 10. 3, 5. for a Reason why the Quakers cannot use a Carnal Weapon. *Query*, Is not a Gallows, or Gibbet, on which the Quaker Judges in *Pensilvania* (some of which were Preached also) caused some to be hanged for suspected Murther, a Carnal Weapon as really as a Sword, Gun, or Spear?

The like Contradiction, the Quakers are guilty of, in their late common Practice, of their Solemn calling God to Witness about worldly matters, contrary to their Professed Principle, published in Print by Mr. *Pen*, and several other Quakers, in their Treatise of Oaths. In that Book Mr. *Pen* saith, *To attest the Name of God in any Terrestrial Matter, is a breach of Christ's Command, Matt. 5. 34, 37.*

Again, in Mr. Pen's *Key*, which hath had several impressions (Pag. 36. of one impression) he saith, *The Quakers can go no further than Yea, and Nay*, [viz. in their declarations in Civil Judicatures, &c.] This Mr. Pen knoweth is contradicted, (if not by himself) by the frequent practice of Quakers, both in *England* and *America*, who, beyond their Yea, and Nay, solemnly call God to Witness in their affirmations before Magistrates, which, in the judgment of the most judicious, is the substance of an Oath, and without all controversie is more than Yea, and Nay. And this the prevailing Party of the Quakers in *England* have not only practised, but with no small endeavour have Petitioned to be granted unto them, by Act of Parliament, and which they have obtained. It is true, there is a small Party of Quakers opposite to this Practice, who think it is a going off from their Ancient Testimony of Yea, and Nay. But the other Party has carried it against them. And yet they would have it believed, they are all in perfect Unity of Principles, whereas they are much divided, as in their Principles about Swearing and Fighting, so in diverse others. A Quaker of good Note among them, has not only declared for Baptism, as being an Institution of Christ, but has actually received it, but not by any Minister of the Church of *England*, (as I am informed) which I wish he had done, if he was not formerly Baptized. I am also informed, that he has declared his mind concerning the Lord's Supper, that it is of Divine Institution. I hope God in due time will further enlighten him to see, how grosly the Quakers have erred in other things, as much as in their throwing away those Two Divine Institutions, and calling them, worldly Rudiments and beggarly Elements, which Mr. Pen said, in Print, *The Quakers have been led to reject by the same Spirit by which Paul (and the Apostles) were led to reject Circumcision*; yet I have not heard that the Quakers have cast him out of their Communion, for his taking up, what both he, and they, had so long thrown away. I hope he is not of his Brethrens Opinion, that *the Light within him, and within all Men, is sufficient to Salvation, without any thing else*; for if he were, I cannot see, what need he could think he had, either of Baptism, or the Lord's Supper, or of the Scriptures, or of Christ without him, and his precious Blood, and Sacrifice upon the Cross for our Sins, and his continual Intercession for us in Heaven with the Father; all which are something else, than the Light within him.

I happened in *America*, while I was there Travelling, to see a Book lately Printed, called *New-England Judged*, having a Printed Appendix to it, by John Whiting Quaker, who has set up of late for a great Author among them, and who is extreemly ignorant as well as confident, to utter Falshoods and abusive Slanders. In his said Appendix, he utters a notorious Falshood upon me, as if at *Philadelphia*, about the Year 1692, I had fained my self a Prisoner, and to make this Fiction to be believed, I had gone to the Porch of the Prison, the Prison door being shut against me, and from the Porch of the Prison, had writ and dated a Paper of complaint against the Quakers for my imprisonment; and to make his Reader take the greater notice of it, he has caused the following Words to be printed on the Margin in great Black Letters; *Note, George Keith's-Mock Imprisonment*. Now to prove the notorious falshood of this, I need go no further than a Book of one of his Brethren, viz. *Samuel Jennings*, Printed at *London* 1694, called by him, *The State of the Case, &c.* wherein, though he has uttered many falshoods, con-

cerning the State of the Case, about our differences in Principles of Religion, in the Years 1691, and 1692, whereof I had largely detected him in my Printed Reply to his Book; yet he saith true, in what he did Report in his Book, concerning two Persons, whom the Quakers had put in Prison, the one for Printing a sheet of mine, I called an *Appeal*, &c. and the other for selling one or two of them when Printed; the Name of the Printer is *William Bradford*, the Name of the other is *John Mackcomb*. Now concerning them the said Quaker, *Samuel Jennings*, Reports, that *they signed a Paper from the Prison, when they signed it in the Entry common to the Prison, and the next House*. Thus he gives the true matter of Fact, and tells truly who Signed that Paper in the Entry or Porch, which were those two abovenamed persons, but mentions not me, as being concerned in Signing that Paper, either in the Entry or Porch, or any where else. And to be sure if I had been one of the Persons, who had Signed that Paper, he would have told the World of it, as thereby thinking to have some great matter against me. For he chargeth it upon these two abovenamed Persons, *William Bradford*, and *John Mackcomb*, that it was deceit in them to *Sign a Paper from the Prison, when they were not in the Prison*, but in the Porch or Entry of it, as he saith. In my Answer to him, I have shewed it was no deceit, nor had any thing blame-worthy; the Case was this. They were Prisoners by a Warrant from some Quaker Justices, for the Fact abovementioned, and had been detained in Prison for some time, and were ordered to be kept in Prison until the next Court, unless they gave security by Bonds to Answer at the next Court. After some time the Jaylor by favour let them go home, but still they were Prisoners, not being released by any Judicatory; and the Quaker Justices delaying to bring them to a Tryal, they went to the Prison to Write, and Sign their Petition from the Prison, to have their Tryal at the next Sessions; but it happened that the Jaylor was gone abroad, and had the Key to the Prison with him, so that they could not get in. Now I see no deceit or insincerity in this, more than in the common Practice of many Quakers, who have printed Records of their suffering Imprisonment (for not paying Tithes) some Years, and yet they oft had liberty to go home, by favour of the Jaylors, to my certain Knowledge. But whether *William Bradford* and *John Mackcomb*, were guilty of deceit or not, is not material to the present Case of *John Whiting* his Vile Slander, as if I had been the Person, or one of the Persons, who had Writ that Paper from the Porch or Entry of the Prison. This is sufficient Proof, that what *John Whiting* has thus Printed against me, was not from the infallible Spirit, and that he is therefore by *George Fox's* Sentence, a Deceiver.

September 10, 1702. We came from *Newport* on *Rhod-Island* and crossed the Ferry over to *Naraganset*, and lodged that Night at Mr. *Balfures* House, who Entertained us very kindly and hospitably, and next day we Travelled about 25 Miles, and lodg'd at Mr. *Sextons*, an Inn-keeper; and next day we safely arrived at *New-London* in *Connecticot* Colony, and Government, which stands by a Navigable River.

Septemb. 13, Sunday. Mr. *Talbot* Preached there in the Forenoon, and I Preached there in the Afternoon, we being desired so to do by the Minister, Mr. *Gurdon Saltenstall*, who civilly Entertained us at his House, and expressed his good affection to the Church of *England*, as did also the

Minister at *Hampton*, and the Minister at *Salisbury* abovementioned, and diverse others *New-England* Ministers did the like. My Text was *Rom. 8. 9.* The Auditory was large, and well affected. Col. *Winthrop*, Governour of the Colony, after Forenoon Sermon, invited us to Dinner at his House, and kindly Entertained us, both then, and the next day.

Sept. 15, 1702. We hired a sloop to carry us from *New-London* to *Long-Island* over the Sound, being about Six Leagues Broad, and that day we safely arrived at a Place on *Long-Island*, called, *Oyster-Ponds*, about Noon, after that we came on Horseback that Day 24 Miles, and lodged at Mr. *Howel's* an Inn-keeper, the next Day we Travelled 45 Miles, to *Seatauket*, and lodged at Mr. *Gibs*, Inukeeper; the next Day, being the 17th Instant, we Travelled 32 Miles, all upon *Long-Island*, and arrived at *Oysterbay*, where we were kindly received, and hospitably entertained by Mr. *Edward White* at his House, on free cost, for several Days, where we staid to rest and refresh us. He was a Justice of Peace, and had been formerly a Quaker, and his Wife had been a Quaker also, and was not quite come off from the Quakers.

Septemb. 20, Sunday. At the Request of Mr. *Edward White*, and some other Neighbourers in the Town, having used the Church Prayers before Sermon, I Preached on *Titus 2. 11, 12.* And that Day Mr. *Talbot* Baptized a Child, at the request of the Child's Mother, her Husband being from home.

Septemb. 24, 1705. I went to the Quakers Meeting at *Flushing* on *Long-Island*, accompanied with Mr. *Talbot* and the Reverend Mr. *Vesey*, the Church of *England* Minister at *New-York*, and diverse other Persons belonging to *Jamaica* (a Town on *Long-Island*,) well affected to the Church of *England*. After some time of silence, I began to speak, standing up in the Gallery, where their Speakers use to stand when they speak; but I was so much interrupted by the Clamour and Noise, that several of the Quakers made, forbidding me to speak, that I could not proceed. After this, one of their Speakers began to Speak, and continued Speaking about an Hour, the whole was a ramble of nonsense and perversion of Scripture, with gross reflections both on the Church, and the Government there. Several times speaking of Christ, he said, *while Christ was in that Prepared Body*, which is a common Phrase among them; whereby they plainly intimate, they do not believe he is now in that Body, or that he has any thing of that Body, which he had on Earth. Nor do they own that Christ has any Body but his Church, or such a Body as he had from all Eternity, and is every where; all which hath been sufficiently proved out of the Printed Books of their most noted Authors. He said, they (*viz.* the Quakers) believed in that very Christ that died at *Jerusalem*; and a little after he said, that, that Christ, was the Seed that was oppressed by Sin in Men. He Preached against all Creeds, and accused all their Adversaries that they kicked against the Spirit. This was a reflexion upon the Church of *England*, because she doth not hold, that Men have those extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit, to Preach, and Pray, as the Quaker Preachers pretend to have; but as they have it not, it is evident they have an extraordinary impudence to father all their ignorant and nonsensical Expressions, and perversions of Scripture, (which they commonly utter in their Meetings) upon the Holy Ghost, which is a most dreadful Sin. He said, Vice was set up, which was a reflexion upon the Government there, because

some were lately made Justices of the Peace on *Long-Island*, that were not greatly affected to Quakerism. After he had done, he went away out of the Meeting in all hast, fearing (I suppose) he should be questioned about the things he had said. I stood up again to speak in their Meeting, but they made a new interruption, and threatened me with being guilty of the breach of the Act of Toleration, and that by my so doing, I had put my self Twenty Pounds in the Queen's Debt; I told them, I had not broke the Act of Toleration, for I made no interruption, but was silent all the while their Preacher was speaking; but they had broke the Act of Toleration, by interrupting me, when I began to Speak; they told me, I had no right to Speak in their Meetings. I answered, I had better right to Speak in these Meeting-Houses, than any of their Speakers had; at this they seemed greatly to Wonder; and asked how I could make that appear, for the House and Ground was theirs, which they had bought with their Mony, and to which I had contributed nothing: And one of them was so hot, that he commanded me to go out of the House, for it was his House, and for me to stay in his House, against his Will, was contrary to Law, and he could Prosecute me. I Answered him, it was not his Property; all who have a Mind to come into that House at Meeting time, may come, it being appointed for a Religious Meeting-House, where all have a common Right; and according to the Act of Toleration, ye are bound to keep your Doors open where ye Meet; and if ye shut them against me, or any, we may prosecute you by Law. But, said they, How has thou a better right to speak in our Meeting-House than we? I told them, in a double respect: First, that Meeting-House was appointed for the service of Truth, (which is their own manner of Phrase,) and that what was Truth, should be spoken in it, and not falshood and error; and therefore, while I speak Truth in it, and your Speakers speak not Truth, but falshood and errors, I have a better right than they. Secondly, None of your Speakers have any right to Speak in your Meeting-Houses, because ye have not your Meeting-Houses Licensed, as the Act of Toleration expressly requires; nor have any of your Preachers qualified themselves as that Act express, viz. to Sign to Thirty-four of the Articles of Religion of the Church of *England*; this they have not done, nor can do, because the Quakers Principles are contrary to most of them, or rather indeed to them all, whereas I am qualified, as the Act requires. They accused me, that I came not in Love to Preach to them, but was hired by the Bishops to come, and that the Love of Money brought me to *America*, and not Love to their Souls. I told them it was a false accusation.

I owned it, that God had raised up Friends to assist me with Money, in such a chargeable Undertaking; but this was no more than what the Quakers at *London* did, who largely supply the Travelling Friends who come over from *England* into *America*, with Money out of their National Stock, beside what they gather up in the several Meetings in *America*, which they visit. They replied, they never knew any Mony given to any Travelling Friends, by their Meeting. And they asked me, if I had any Mony from them, while I was a Travelling Friend among them? Yes, said I, I have had from this very Meeting. They asked of whom, and when? I told them, of an honest Woman, yet living not far distant; they replied, Art not thou a Treacherous Man to tell this? Why, said I, to tell the Truth, in answer to your Question.

It is a thing well enough known to themselves, that they have frequent Collections, at their Monthly, and Quarterly Meetings, one chief use whereof is, to furnish the Travelling Friends with Mony.

One of the Quakers at that Meeting in *Flushing*, that made the interruption, did openly accuse me in the Meeting, that I had defrauded the Poor of 50 Pounds of Mony, which *Miles Forster* had delivered to me to give the Quakers at *London*, for the use of their Poor; being part of what Colonel *West* had left to them by Legacy in his Will, (whereof *Miles Forster* was the sole Executor.) The which Scandalous accusation, the Quakers of *Long Island* had industriously spread over the Country against me; and the same was objected against me, by a Quaker at *Burlington* in *West-Jersey*, in the hearing of many present. But as I then declared, and I now declare, I had no Mony delivered to me by *Miles Forster*, to give to the Quakers at *London*, whether Poor or Rich. At my coming from *America*, in the Year 1693, the said *Miles Forster* gave me a Bill of 40 Pounds *English* Mony to be paid me at *London*, to my own proper use, (he being indebted to me, in some part of the like Sum.) But the Mony of this Bill, was no part of the Poores Mony, but was *Miles Forster's* own Mony, which he drew by Bill, upon a Person at *London*, that did owe him a far greater Sum; the which Bill was duly paid to me. When he gave me that Bill, he told me what was the occasion and cause, that moved him to do it, which was this, That to his certain knowledge, Col. *West*, out of the special respect and love he had to me, by his reading my Books, about the time the difference betwixt the Quakers of *Pensilvania*, and me, about matters of Religion began, had designed to give me some considerable Benefaction; and in order to that, when he lay sick at *Miles Forster's* House at *New-York*, he desired *Myles Forster* to Write to me to come to him. I was then living with my Family at *Philadelphia*, distant about an Hundred Miles from *New-York*. After I received this Message, I made all the hast I could to go to *New-York* unto him. But it so happened, that Col. *West* was Dead and Buried before I arrived. To answer the intent of Col. *West*, *Myles* told me, he gave me that Bill, to be paid to me at *London*, as some gratification to me, for the respect Col. *West* had to me, and also for the labour, and charge, I was at in my Journey, to come unto him. But none of the Money of that Bill, was any part of what Col. *West* left in his Will to the Poor of the Quakers at *London*, but was *Myles Forster's* own Money, which was owing to him at *London* by the Person on whom he drew that Bill. If *Myles Forster* paid himself again that Money he gave me to my own proper use, out of that part of Col. *West's* Estate, that was left in Legacy to the Poor of the Quakers at *London*, *Myles Forster* was to be accountable to the Quakers, if they have any right to it, for his so doing, and not I; for it was simply *Miles Forster's* benefaction to me, though he gave it to me on Col. *West's* Account; Col. *West* having left to him, not only a considerable Legacy, as being his Executor, but had also left to him in his Will, full Power to dispose of what Money was left to the Poor of the Quakers at *London*, to what Quakers, or what sort of Quakers he thought fit; for no Names of Quakers, nor sort of Quakers were mentioned in the Will, nor no Name of any Meeting of Quakers mentioned therein, (there being at that time two sorts of Quakers at *London* opposite to one another) and *Miles Forster* informed me, that much, if not most of what was left by Col. *West* in his

Will to the Poor of the Quakers at *London*, was depending on a Condition expressed in the Will, that was not performed, and by somewhat that happened could not, nor even can be performed; and consequently the far greatest part thereof, which was much more than the contents of that Bill which he gave to me, did wholly belong by right to him, being the Executor. But the Quakers and *Miles Forster*, are to debate the case betwixt them. The Quakers Lawyers at *New-York*, have sufficiently informed them, that they can have no Claim or Action against me, for what I received of *Miles Forster*. And *Miles Forster's* Lawyers, have declared their Mind in the Case, that the Quakers can have no right to sue him, for what he gave to me, whether he gave it out of the Money left in Col. *West's* Will to the Poor, or otherwise. Because, by the Will, he had Power to give to me what part of it he pleased, as well as to any other. And when I was lately with *Miles Forster*, at *Amboy* in *East-Jersey*, where he now lives; he told me some *London* Quakers had sent their Letter of *Attorney* to some Quakers of *New-York* Province, to demand of him the Poores Money, that was left to their Poor of *London*, by the Will of Col. *West*, and that they of *New-York* and he had some Meeting about it; and that he asked them, By what Right these Quakers at *London* did demand that Money, more than any other Quakers there, seeing their Names were not in the Will, nor the Names of any other, either of Persons, or Meetings. But to this they could give no satisfactory Answer, and so the Matter remains in suspence betwixt them.

September 27, 1702. Sunday. I preached at *Hampsted* on *Long-Island* in the Afternoon, where was such a Multitude of People, that the Church could not hold them, so that many stood without at the Doors and Windows to hear; who were generally well affected, and greatly desired that a Church of *England* Minister should be settled among them; which has been done, for the Reverend Mr. *John Thomas* is now their Minister. My Text was, *Luke* 10. 42.

September 28. We arrived at the Ferry by *New-York*.

September 30, Wednesday. At the Request of Mr. *Vesey*, the Minister at *New-York*, I preached at the Weekly Fast, which was appointed by the Government, by reason of the great Mortality that was then at *New-York*, where above *Five Hundred* died in the Space of a few Weeks; and that very Week, about *Seventy* died. My Text was, *Jam.* 5. 13.

October 1. From the Ferry by *New-York*, we came to *Reedhook* on *Long-Island*, where we waited for a fair Passage, and next Day we got over to *Staten-Island*, and from *Staten-Island* to *Amboy* in *East-Jersey*.

October 3, Sunday. I preached at *Amboy* in *East-Jersey*; the Auditory was small: My Text was *Tit.* 2. 11, 12. But such as were there, were well affected; some of them, of my former Acquaintance, and others who had been formerly Quakers but were come over to the Church, particularly *Miles Forster*, and *John Barclay* (Brother to *Robert Barclay*, who published the Apology for the Quakers) the Place has very few Inhabitants. We were several Days kindly entertained by *Miles Forster* at his House there.

October 10, 1702. Sunday. We went to the Meeting of the Quakers at *Toponemes*, in Freehold in *East-Jersey*, who used to keep a separate Meeting from the other Quakers, for their gross Errors; and joined with me and my Friends in the Separation, about the Year 1692; and it happened to be their

Yearly Meeting, where diverse came from *West-Jersey* and *Pensilvania*: One of their Preachers pray'd and preached before I began. After he had done, I used some of the Church Collects I had by heart, in Prayer; and after that, I preached on *Heb. 5. 9.* There was a considerable Auditory of diverse sorts; some of the Church, and some Presbyterians, besides the Quakers; they heard me without any Interruption, and the Meeting ended peaceably. Their two Speakers lodged in the same House with me that Evening, at the House of *Thomas Boels*, formerly a Quaker, but is now of the Church. I had some free Discourse with them about several weighty things: I told them, so far as they used their Gifts to instruct the Ignorant, and reclaim them from the vile Errors of Quakerism, they were to be commended; but that they had taken upon them to Administer Baptism and the Lord's Supper to any, they were greatly to be blamed, having no due external Call, or Ordination, so to do.

October 11, Monday. We met again the next Day, and had the like Auditory: Their other Speaker aray'd and preached, and after that, I pray'd, using the same Collects as the Day before, and preached on *1 Thes. 5. 19.* without any Interruption, and the Meeting peaceably ended. I could blame nothing in the Matter of their second Speaker, nor in the former, except where he said in his Discourse, *That they who were in Christ, need not fear Hell.* I endeavoured to clear the Matter in my Discourse, by distinguishing betwixt an Absolute Fear of Hell, such as the Wicked ought to have, and a Conditional Fear, which Good Men, even such who are in Christ, ought to have; and about this he and I had some private Discourse also betwixt us, but he was dissatisfied, and would not own, *That any who were in Christ ought to have any Fear of Hell,* so much as Conditional.

October 17, Sunday, I preached at *Midleton* in *East-Jersey*, where, before Sermon, Mr. *Talbot* read the Church Prayers, and I preached on *Mat. 28. 19, 20.* One main part of my Sermon being to prove Infant-Baptism to be included in the Apostles Commissions, as well as that of Adult Persons, there being several of the Auditory who were Anabaptists, who heard me civilly, without any Interruption; but most of the Auditory were Church People, or well affected to the Church.

October 24, Sunday, 1702. I preached at *Shrewsbury* in *East-Jersey* at a House near the Quakers Meeting-house, and it happened that it was the Time of the Quakers Yearly Meeting at *Shrewsbury*: My Text was *2 Pet. 2. 1, 2.* The Church Prayers being read before Sermon, we had a great Congregation, generally well affected to the Church, and diverse of them were of the Church, and that Day I sent some Lines in Writing to the Quakers at their Yearly Meeting; which Mr. *Talbot* did read to them in their Meeting, wherein I desired them to give me a Meeting with them some Day of that Week, before their Meetings were concluded; in which Meeting, I offered to detect great Errors in their Authors Books, and they should have full Liberty to answer what they had to say in their Vindication. But they altogether refused my Proposition; and several Papers pass'd betwixt us: In some of their Papers, they used gross Reflections on the Church of *England*, as much as on me. We continued our Meetings three days, as the Quakers did theirs. And the second Day of our Meeting at the same House, where we had formerly met, I detected the Quakers Errors out of their printed Books,

particularly out of the Folio Book of *Edw. Burroughs* Works, collected and published by the Quakers after his Death, and did read the Quotations to the Auditory, laying the Pages open before such as were willing to read them, for their better Satisfaction, as some did read them.

Some of the Quotations were such as follow.

Page 126. (i. e. the Ministers) *Prophecy and Preaching would soon be ended, if they had not the Scripture to preach their Imaginations upon.*

Page. 273. *Quakers Sufferings greater and more unjust than the Sufferings of Christ and the Apostles.*

Page. 19. *He denies a written Word.—No other Word (saith he) do I own but Christ.*

Page. 402. *He will revoke if any can prove, that the Scriptures call themselves the Word.*

Page. 484. *The Spirit of God, the only standing Rule to walk by, not the Scriptures.*

Page. 292. *The Flesh of Christ's Body Infinite.*

Page. 515. *God and the Spirit, not Persons, but Infinite Beings.*

Page. 698. *They (i. e. the Quakers) are One with the Father in Nature.*

Page. 413. *All that Christians practise is become Idolatry.*

Page. 27. *That which sinned could not be saved, &c.*

October 26, 1702. Tuesday. I preached again at *Shrewsbury* on *Mat. 7. 13.* In all these Meetings at *Shrewsbury*, *Middletown*, and *Toponemes*, or where ever else, on *Nethersinks*, *Mr. Lewis Moris*, and diverse others of best Note in that Country, frequented the Congregations and Places where we preached, and did kindly entertain us at their Houses, where we lodged as we travelled too and again; particularly *Mr. Moris*, *Mr. Innes*, *Mr. Johnston*, *Mr. Boels*, and *Mr. Read*; *Mr. Innes* being in Priest's Orders, has oft preached among them, and by Preaching, and Conferences frequently with Quakers and other sorts of People, as also by his pious Conversation, has done much Good among them, and been very instrumental to draw them off from their Errors, and bring them over to the Church.

October 29, 1702. We arrived at *Burlington* in *West-Jersey*.

November 1, Sunday. We preached in the Town-House at *Burlington*, (the Church not being then built) and we had a great Auditory of diverse sorts, some of the Church, and some of the late Converts from Quakerism. *Mr. Talbot* preached before Noon, and I in the Afternoon. My Text was, *John 17. 3.* Col. *Hamilton*, then Governour of *West-Jersey*, was present both Forenoon and Afternoon, and at his Invitation we dined with him.

November 3. At *Burlington* I detected the Quakers Errors out of their great Authors, *George Fox* his great Mystery, and *Edward Burroughs* Folio Book, and others, having given the Quakers Preachers Notice two Days before, to come and defend their Principles and Authors; but none of them would appear in the Cause.

November 5. We arrived at *Philadelphia*, and were kindly received by the two Ministers there, and the Church People, and especially by the late Converts from Quakerism, who were become zealous Members of the Church.

November 8, Sunday. I preached in the Church of *Philadelphia*, at the Minister's Request, on 2 *Pet. 3, 15, 16.* in the Afternoon. *Mr. Talbot* preached there in the Forenoon. And again I preached another Sermon, on

the same, that Evening, after six a Clock, (it being usual once a Month to preach an Evening-Sermon in that Town.) We had a very great Auditory, so that the Church could not contain them, but many stayed without and heard.

That Week a Meeting of the Clergy being appointed to meet together at *New-York* by general Consent, we accordingly did meet, being Seven in number; at our Meeting we drew up an Account of the State of the Church in these *American* Parts of *Pensilvania*, *West* and *East-Jersey*, and *New-York* Province; a Copy whereof we sent to the Honourable Society at *London*, for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Colonel *Nicolson*, Governour of *Virginia*, to encourage us to meet, was so generous to bear our Charges, (I mean of all of us that lived not at *New-York*) beside his other great and generous Benefactions to the Building and Adorning many Churches lately built in these Parts, whereof a particular Account has been given to the Honourable Society.

November 15, 1702. I preached at *New-York* on *Revel. 3. 20.* being *Sacrament-Day*.

November 22, Sunday. I preached again at *New-York*, on *Rom. 6. 17, 18.* in the Forenoon, and Mr. *Talbot* in the Afternoon. My Lord *Cornbury*, Governour of *New-York* and the *Jerseys*, was very kind to us, and at his Invitation, we did eat at his Table both *Sundays* and other Times.

November 26, Thursday. I Preached at *Hampsted* on *Long-Island*, on *Acts 26. 18.*

November 29, 1702. I Preached again at *Hampsted*, on *Heb. 8. 10, 11, 12.*
Sunday, December 3, 1702. I visited again the Quakers Meeting at *Flushing* on *Long-Island*, having obtained a Letter from my Lord *Cornbury*, to Two Justices of Peace to go along with me, to see that the Quakers should not interrupt me, as they had formerly done: But notwithstanding the Two Justices that came along with me, to signifie my Lord *Cornbury's* Mind, by his Letter to them, which was read to them in their Meeting by Mr. *Talbot*, they used the like interruption as formerly, and took no notice of my Lord *Cornbury's* Letter, more than if it had been from any private Person. They renewed their former accusation against me, that I had broke the Act of Toleration; I replied, I had not broke it, for I did not interrupt any of them; they answered, I interrupted their silent Worship; I said, I knew no Clause in that Act, that forbid the interruption of their silent Worship. I brought the Printed Act of Toleration with me to their Meeting, and Mr. *Talbot* did Read several Passages out of it to them, to shew that they had neither qualified their Meeting-Houses, nor their Preachers, as the Act required. But notwithstanding they objected the Act of Toleration against me; when I objected it against them, they said, that Act did not extend to *America*; Behold their Partiality! We stayed and heard three of their Speakers one after another, though it was very grievous to us to hear so much nonsense, and perversion of Scripture, uttered by them; and all this upon pretence of being moved by the Spirit of God. Their chief Speaker, who is a most ignorant Person, said, *Balak had sent Balaam to Curse the People of God*: His Sense and perverse Application of that historical Passage of Scripture, is easie to understand without a Commentary. After they had done, they generally went away, Speakers and others; but many, who were not Quakers,

stayed, and heard me resume and detect the gross Perversions and Misapplications of the Scriptures, which they had made. And after this, I detected out of a Book of *George Whitehead*, called, *The Divinity of Christ*, his vile Error concerning Christ, both with respect to his Godhead and Manhood, and I did read the Passages out of his Book in the Hearing of the Auditory. In his said Book, he blames his Opponent, *Thomas Vincent*, for affirming, that the Son proceeded from the Father by an eternal Act of Generation, and chargeth it with Confusion and Nonsense. Also in the same Book he brings many Places of Scripture, all which he grossly perverts, to prove that Christ suffered as God. And in the Appendix to his Book, he blames his Opponent, *Th. Danson*, for saying, *Christ, as Man, had a created Soul and Body*; and from his so saying doth infer, by way of Query, Doth not this render him a Fourth Person? And *George Fox* in his Preface to that Book, most ignorantly and perversely argues against the Three Persons in the Godhead, inferring, by way of Query, (their common way of Disputing) Doth not this render them Four Persons? Just as *John Whiting*, a late Author among them, in his Book called, *Judas and the Chief Priests*, doth ridicule that Passage in the Litany of the Church of *England*, *O Holy, Blessed and Glorious Trinity, Tkree Persons and One God*; inferring, that from this there should be Four Persons; for that Three and One are Four: Whereas in the Act of Toleration, there is an express Clause that excludes all such from the Benefit of the Act, *That either in their Speaking or Writing, deny the Holy Trinity, as taught and professed in the Church of England*: And yet these very Persons that thus revile and ridicule the Doctrine of the *Holy Trinity as taught in the Church of England*, are mighty Pleaders for their Liberty by the Act of Toleration; as if not only their Meetings and Preachings were Tolerated, but Authorized by the Act.

December 6, 1702. I Preached at *Oysterbay* in the Town-House, on *Rom.* 10. 7, 8, 9. And we were kindly entertained at the House of Mr. *Edward White* abovementioned.

December 13. I preached at *Staten-Island* in the Town-House, on *Titus* 2. 11, 12.

December 20, 1702. I preached at Dr. *Johnston's*, at *Nethersinks*, on *Rev.* 22. 14.

December 25, Friday, being Christmas day. I preached at the House of Mr. *Morris*, on *Luke* 2. 10, 11. And after Sermon, diverse of the Auditory received with us the Holy Sacrament; both Mr. *Morris* and his Wife, and diverse others. Mr. *Talbot* did administer it.

Decemb. 27, Sunday, 1702. I preached in *Shrewsbury Town*, near the Quakers Meeting-House, at a Planter's House, and had a considerable Auditory of Church People lately converted from Quakerism, with diverse others of the Church of best Note in that Part of the Country. My Text was *Heb.* 8. 10, 11.

January 1, Friday. I preached at the House of Mr. *Thomas Boels* at *Freehold in East-Jersey*: My Text was *Isaiah* 59. 20, 21. Before Sermon, after the Church Prayers, I baptized all his Children; two Sons and three Daughters. He was formerly a Quaker, but is now come over to the Church; also a Son of *Samuel Dennis*, a late Convert from Quakerism.

January 3, Sunday, 1702. I preached again at his House, on the same

Text, and before Sermon Mr. *Talbot* baptized two Persons belonging to the Family of *John Read*, formerly a Quaker, but was lately come over to the Church with all his Children; one Son and two Daughters. His two Daughters were baptized by Mr. *Talbot*, October 24, 1702. As also the same Day were baptized *William Leads* and his Sister *Mary Leads*, late Converts from Quakerism to the Church: And some Days before, at the House of *John Read*, Mr. *Talbot* baptized the Wife of *Alexander Neaper* and his three Children. He had been a Quaker, but was come over to the Church.

January 4, 1702. I came to the House of *Robert Ray* in *Freehold* in *East-Jersey*, accompanied with *Thomas Boels*, and lodged at his House that Night. At his and his Wife's Desire, I baptized all his Children; some Boys and some Girles, in number Five: they both had been Quakers, but he was not then come throughly off from Quakerism.

January 10, Sunday. I preached at *Burlington* at the House of Mr. *Revel*, on *Mat.* 6. 33. And I baptized a Man's Child who was a Churchman, where I had a large Auditory.

January 11. We came to *Philadelphia*, and lodged at the House of Mrs. *Welch* all the Time we happened to be at *Philadelphia*, until we went from *Pensilvania* to *Virginia* and *North-Carolina*, in the Months of *April* and *May*, 1702. She had been a Quaker for many Years, and of good Repute. About the Years 1691 and 1692, it pleased God, by my Means, through the Illumination of the Holy Spirit, to give her and her Daughter (who was educated in Quakerism) to see their Errors and forsake them; and also many others in that Place about that time; who afterwards gradually came off from Quakerism, and at last came clearly off, and joined to the Church, whereof they are become zealous Members. She entertained us both at her House, (*viz.* Mr. *Talbot* and me) all the time, abovementioned, and also after our Return, so long as we stayed there, *gratis*.

January 17, Sunday. I preached at *Philadelphia*, on *John* 3. 5. in the Forenoon, and Mr. *Talbot* preached in the Afternoon. I preached again on the same Text, an Evening Sermon, that begun after the sixth Hour at Night.

January 24, Sunday, 1702. I preached at *Philadelphia* on *Mat.* 5. 17. both in the Forenoon and Afternoon; Mr. *Evans* the Minister of *Philadelphia* having that Day been at *Chester* in *Pensilvania*, to accompany Mr. *Talbot*, who was to preach there the first Sermon in the Church after it was built.

January 31, Sunday. I preached at *Philadelphia*, on *Mat.* 5. 17. being my third Sermon on that Text; and the same Day at the sixth Hour at Night, I preached there on *1 Cor.* 11. 28.

February 7, Sunday, 1702. I preached at *Chester* in *Pensilvania*, in the New Church, on *Mat.* 16. 18.

February 9, Tuesday. I preached a second Sermon on the same Text at *Concord* in *Pensilvania*, at the House of *John Hanon*.

February 11. I preached a third Sermon on that Text at the House of *Thomas Powel* in *Chester* County; both these Men, *John Hanon* and his Wife, and *Thomas Powel* and his Wife, had been Quakers, but are become zealous Members of the Church, with diverse others their Neighbours.

February 12, 1702. I had a Dispute with Mr. *Killingsworth* an Ana-

baptist Preacher, at the House of *Thomas Powel*, before a great Auditory. The Subjects of our Dispute were, First, About Set Forms of Prayer. Secondly, About the manner of Baptizing, whether by Dipping or Sprinkling? Thirdly, Whether Infants of Believers are proper Subjects of Baptism? Fourthly, Concerning Ordination. It had a good Effect upon several present; and I hope upon himself; for by a Letter I received sometime ago from Mr. *Talbot*, this Mr. *Killingsworth* is become well affected to the Church, and has proffered Ground to build a Church upon, and Wood to build it, upon his Land where he lives, at *Salem* in *West Jersey*.

In the first Week of *February*, 1702, I had a Meeting with the Separate Quakers and their Preachers, who left the Quakers Meetings for their gross Errors, and joined with me about the Year 1691. They met at my Lodging in *Philadelphia*, at my Request; and the next Week thereafter, we had another Meeting at the same place. I told them, that the Reason why I desired to have a friendly Meeting and Conference with them, was, that I might answer their Objections against their Conformity to the Church of *England*, and particularly their Objections against Infants Baptism: Also I had some Discourse with one of their Preachers, to convince him of his *Antinomian* Notion, and the great Error and Hurt of it, *viz. That they who are in Christ, ought not to fear Hell in any respect, not so much as Conditionally.* He was very earnest and warm in the Defence of it, and pressed it very much, that that matter should be first discoursed upon, thinking to have some Advantage against me in that Point; but the Success proved the contrary, so that his maintaining of it, offended diverse of his Hearers, that soon after they left him, and came over to the Church. I asked him, If they who were in Christ, could possibly fall from that good State. He said, they might possibly fall from it. I replied, then there is the more Cause of Fear; as they who are in a Castle, yet they have just occasion of Fear, conditionally, lest if they should go out their watchful Enemies should destroy them; and Fear is very useful to them to keep them within. And as God Almighty had indued all living Creatures with a natural Fear, that is of great use to them to preserve their natural Life; so he had indued all his Children with a spiritual Fear, that is as useful and as necessary to them to preserve their spiritual Life. And as Hope is necessary to keep Men from Despair, so Fear is necessary to keep them from Presumption. I mentioned also several Texts of Scripture to him, and desired him to consider them, *viz. Job 31. 24. 1 Cor. 9. 27. Heb. 4. 1. Rom. 8. 31.* But he continued resolute in his erroneous Opinion. Next we proceeded to discourse about other matters, as, What were their Objections against their Conforming to the Church, and against Infants Baptism? I laboured very much, in Love, to satisfie them about all those matters; but I found they were resolute to keep up their Separate Meeting, though it be dwindled away and diminished to a very small Number from what it was at the Beginning, after the Separation, about 1692, and which continued several Years, until a Church of *England* Congregation was set up at *Philadelphia*; soon after which, most of that Party, both in Town and Countrey, and also in *West* and *East-Jersey*, and some in *New-York*, came over with good Zeal, and according to good Knowledge, to the Church, praised be God for it.

February 14, Sunday. I preached at *Philadelphia*, on *Acts 26. 22, 23.* at the Evening Lecture, after Six at Night.

February 21, Sunday, 1702. I preached at *Burlington in West-Jersey*, on *Rom. 10. 7, 8, 9.* and *Feb. 22.* I baptized the Wife of *Mr. Rob. Wheeler* and his three Children, and five others : in all 9 Persons. He and his Wife had been Quakers, but are come over to the Church. He did most kindly and hospitably entertain us at his House, *gratis*, the several times that we travelled to and fro in those Parts : And the like kind and free Entertainment he gives to all Ministers of the Church that travel that way.

February 28, Sunday. I preached at *Philadelphia* on *Mat. 5. 17.*

March 4. I had a publick Meeting at *Philadelphia*, at the House that formerly belonged to *Zacharia Whitbane*, to detect the Quakers Errors, by plain Quotations out of their approved Authors, particularly *Mr. Pen's Sandy Foundation* ; having before given intimation to the chief Preachers of the Quakers at *Philadelphia*, to defend their Principles and Authors, if they could ; but none of them would appear in the Cause. One *William Southsby*, who is a sort of Preacher among them, told the Auditory, he was not come to dispute, but to complain against me, that I had said, he denied the Resurrection ; and he came to clear himself, and desired leave to read a short Paper, wherein he gave Account of his Faith of the Resurrection. After he had read his Paper, which contained some Words he had Transcribed out of *1 Cor. 15.* and some other Texts of Scripture ; I asked him, *Did he believe the Resurrection of that Body of his standing before us ?* He said, *He would not Answer to that ensnaring Question.* By this it plainly appeared to the Auditory that were not Quakers, that he did not really believe the Resurrection of the Body, even when he seemed to confess it, after the manner of all Hereticks, who profess to give their Faith in Scripture Words, but quite contrary to the true and real sense of the Scripture, as *Arius, Sabellius, Nestorius, Eutyches, Pelagius, &c.*

March 7, 1702, Sunday. I Preached at *Philadelphia*, on *Philip. 2. 13.*

March 10, 1702. I had a publick dispute at *Philadelphia*, with one *William Davis*, who had been formerly a Quaker ; but some time after he left them, he set up for a new Sect-Master, to draw Disciples after him, and Published a Book full of Blasphemous Notions, as that there are three Gods ; and that none of these three Gods are any where but in Heaven ; and that Christ as God, suffered upon the Cross ; with diverse other gross Blasphemies ; a particular Account of which, I have given in Print, Bound up with other Printed Tracts, which I did present to the Honourable Society.

March 14, Sunday. I Preached at *Philadelphia* a second Sermon on *Phil. 2. 12, 13.*

March 21, Sunday. I Preached at *Philadelphia*, on *2 Cor. 12. 9.*

March 28, Sunday. I Preached at *Philadelphia* a second Sermon on *2 Cor. 12. 9.*

April 4, Sunday. I Preached at *Chester in Pensilvania* on *Titus 2, 11, 12.*

April 8, Thursday. I Preached at *New-Castle*, on *1 Thess. 5. 19.*

April 11, Sunday, 1703. I Preached at *New-Castle*, on *Jude 20.* *Mr. Talbot* Preached there in the Afternoon, and Baptized three Children of *Mr. James Claypool* (who had been formerly a Quaker) and another Child of a Churchman. And at our return to *New-Castle* from *Virginia*, I Baptized the said *Mr. James Claypool*, he was much afflicted with a *Palsie*.

April 18, 1703. I Preached at *York Town*, by *York River*, on *Acts 20, 21.*

April 20, 1703. We arrived at *Williamsburgh* in *Virginia*, (having come by Water in a Sloop, from *New-Castle* to *York River*), and were very kindly received there, and entertained by Col. *Nicholson*, then Governour of *Virginia*.

April 21, Wednesday. I Preached in *Williamsburgh* Church, before the Convocation of the Clergy then Assembled, on 1 *Job*. 1. 7.

April 25, Sunday. I Preached at *James-Town* on 1 *Job*. 1. 3. at the request of the Reverend Mr. *Blair* Minister there, and Commissary, who very kindly and Hospitably Entertained us at his House.

May 2, Sunday, 1703. I Preached at *Kicketan* Church by *James River*, on 2 *Cor*. 3. 18.

May 4, Tuesday. I Preached there the Thanksgiving Sermon, on *Psal*. 18. 48, 49. the Minister, the Reverend Mr. *Wallis*, being then in *England*.

May 9, Sunday. I Preached at a Chappel in *Elizabeth* County in *Virginia*, on *Psal*. 1. 1. 2, 3.

May 10. We took our Journey from thence to *North-Carolina*.

May 16, Whitsunday, 1703. I Preached at the House of Capt. *Sanders* in *Corretuk* in *North-Carolina*, on *Rom*. 1. 16.

We designed to have Travelled further into *North-Carolina*, but there was no Passage from that Place by Land convenient to Travel, by reason of Swamps, and Marishes; and we had no way to go by Water but in a Canow over a great Bay, many Miles over which we essayed to do, but the Wind continuing several Days contrary, we returned to *Virginia*.

May 23, Sunday, 1703. I Preached at the Church in *Princess Anns* County in *Virginia*, on *Heb*. 12. 1. and I Baptized Eight Children there. Mr. *Talbot* Preached the same Day at a Chappel belonging to the same County, and Baptized Ten Children.

The whole County is but one Parish, and is about Fifty Miles in length; the People are well affected, but they had no Minister, and greatly desire to have one; and as they informed us, the Minister's Salary being paid in Tobacco, (as it is generally all over *Virginia* and *Maryland*) the Tobacco of that County was so low, that it could not maintain him.

May 30, Sunday, 1703. The Reverend Mr. *Blair* Commissary, Preached at *Kicketan*, where I was an Hearer, having no occasion that Day to Preach any where in that County.

June 6, Sunday. Mr. *Talbot* Preached at *Kicketan*, we stayed there about Ten Days, at my Daughters House at *Kicketan* by *Jamas River*; she is fully come off from the Quakers, and is a zealous Member of the Church of *England*, and brings up her Children (so many of them as are capable through Age,) in the Christian Religion, Praised be God for it.

June 13, Sunday. I Preached at the Church of *Abington*, on the *North-side* of *York-River*, the Reverend Mr. *Smith* is Minister there, and did Read the Church Prayers. My Text was, 1 *Thess*. 5. 19. I lodged at Major *Burrell's* House, and was kindly Entertained. Mr. *Talbot* Preached at *Williamsburgh*.

June 20, Sunday. I Preached at *Hampton* Church in *Virginia*, on *Jam*. 1. 22.

June 27, Sunday. Mr. *Talbot* Preached at *York-Town* by *York-River*, where I was present with him; we were kindly Entertained there at the Collector's House several Days, waiting for Passage up *Maryland-bay*.

June 28, 1703. We sailed in a Sloop from *York-Town*, up *Maryland-bay* to *West-River*; the Master of the Sloop was a Quaker, whose Name is *Thomas Sparrow*. After our Landing, he kindly Entertained us at his House that Night, and refused to take any thing either for our Passage or Entertainment at his House. And as to our Provision on Board the Sloop, the Governour of *Virginia* sent us in Plenty. I had much Discourse and Reasoning with the said *Thomas Sparrow*, both aboard the Sloop, and at his House, especially about Baptism and the Lord's Supper, but he used the same evasions to the Texts of Scripture I brought for them, as the Quakers commonly use.

July 1, 1703. We came to *Annapolis* in *Maryland*, where we were kindly received and Entertained by Esquire *Finch*, then President of *Maryland*, and Sir *Thomas Lawrence* the Secretary there.

July 4, Sunday. I Preached at *Annapolis*, on 1 *Thess.* 1. 5. and had a large Auditory well affected; my Sermon at the request of a worthy Person who heard it, was Printed at *Annapolis*, mostly at his Charge; and Copies of it sent by him, to many parts of the Country. It is Bound up with other Printed Sermons and Tracts, in the Book abovementioned, which I Presented to the Honourable Society, soon after my arrival into *England*.

July 7, 1703. At the desire of some Persons of best Note in that part of *Maryland*, I went to the Quakers Meeting at *Herring-Creek* in *Maryland*, to have some friendly Conference with them. The aforesaid Esquire *Finch*, Sir *Thomas Lawrence*, and several Justices of the Peace, and many Persons of good Note, came along with me to the Quakers Meeting there, and also the Reverend Mr. *Hall*, the Minister of the Parish, and diverse other Ministers of the neighbouring Parishes. While the Quakers were all silent; after some time, I stood up to speak among them, intending a brief Discourse on *Job.* 7. 38, 39. I had spoke but a very few Sentences, when they interrupted me very rudely; and notwithstanding the kind and gentle Entreaty of Esquire *Finch* and some others there present of their kind Neighbours, praying them to hear me, by no means would the Quakers suffer me to proceed in my Discourse. They told the Auditory, I was none of them, and they had disowned me. I asked them for what? But they would give no Reason for their so doing. One of them stood up, and accused Mr. *Hall* the Minister of the Parish, and also the Sheriff, of Theft; And being inquired what the Theft was, whereof he accused them. He answered, that the Sheriff had given some Tobacco of his, to the said — *Hall*, which was none of his. The Case was this. The Sheriff having a quantity of Tobacco belonging to this Quaker in his Custody, as is usual in that Country. The Sheriff, in Kindness and good Neighbourhood to the said Quaker, rather than to distress upon him, according to the Law, paid to Mr. *Hall* so much out of the Quakers Tobacco, as was due to Mr. *Hall* by the said Quaker, by an Act of the general Assembly, and confirmed by the Queen. And when some present said to him, his calling it Theft, reflected on the general Assembly, he still persisted in it, that it was Theft. I did again offer to Speak, but they did interrupt me again, and abused me with reviling Speeches in meer Generals, as the manner generally of the Quakers is, to all who Endeavour to reform them from their Errors, and especially to any who with a good Conscience upon Divine Conviction, have forsaken their Erroneous ways, to

whom they are most outrageous, as the *Jews* were to *St. Paul*, after his Conversion to Christianity. The aforesaid Persons, my worthy Friends, who came with me to the Quakers Meeting, finding that the Quakers would give me no hearing in their Meeting, desired me to Preach to them my Sermon which I had begun upon, (but was interrupted by the Quakers) at a Chappel very near to the Quakers Meeting, where they would gladly hear me before they went away, on that Subject, to which I readily agreed. Mr. *Hall* the Minister of the Parish did begin with the Church Prayers, and after the Prayers, I Preached my Sermon to them, in the said Chappel, (where was a great Auditory of both Men and Women) the same in Matter, as near as I could, which I had designed to deliver in the Quakers Meeting; for I made no use of Notes at that time, knowing that if I had used Notes, the Quakers would have made the greater exceptions, and have said, I was only a Minister of the Letter, as their manner is to object against them, who make use of Notes; and I doubted not but that God would assist me, to deliver what was proper and Edifying, though I had no Notes at that Time. Though I oft made use of Notes in my Sermons which I Preached, and continue to do, and I do well approve of it.

The Matter which I mainly insisted upon, in my Discourse on that Text, *Job*. 7. 38, 39. was, that though we had no Warrant from this, or any other place of Holy Scripture, to expect those Miraculous and extraordinary Inspirations of the Spirit given to the Apostles, which enabled them to Preach without Study, and to Speak with Tongues they had not learned by Industry, yet we had sufficient ground from many Texts of Holy Scripture, to believe, that God continues to give to all the Faithful, such plentiful Inspirations, Influences, and Assistances of his Holy Spirit, as are necessary to their Sanctification, and to their continual Growth and Progress therein, and to enable them to serve him acceptably, and comfortably, in all Duties of Holiness and Righteousness, and especially to assist them in their Prayers and Thanksgivings to Almighty God, in the due Use of the Means of Grace; and to assist the Ministers of his Word, in their Preaching and Praying, and in all other Parts of their Ministerial Calling.

And I shewed, that the Ministers and People of the Church of *England*, had a better Belief, Trust, and Hope of the inward Assistances of the Holy Spirit, than the Quakers had, notwithstanding the Quakers proud and presumptuous Affirmations and Pretensions to the Spirit above others. For (said I) the Quakers, and the Quaker Preachers, have such a Distrust of the Spirit's Assistance to pray, or give Thanks vocally, that they think, or pretend they oft have it not: and for that Reason given by them, they oft neither pray in their Families, nor at their Meals. And for want of the Spirits Motion and Assistance, as they pretend and profess, so as to enable them, either to Preach or Pray in audible Words, they used to have many silent Meetings, where one Word is not uttered among them from first to last; and in many Places they have them still. And it is certain, that generally in the Quakers Families, there is no vocal Prayer used at all, and rarely, even in their Preachers Families. But none of them use constant Prayer in their Families, either twice or once a Day, that ever I heard of, and some not once in a Year, in the Family, whatever they do in their Publick Meetings for Ostentation. The Reason of this Omission, which they think not to be any

Sin, is, that the Spirit doth not move or assist them. But what Spirit is that, but a Spirit of Ostentation and Vain-Glory, that moves them so frequently to pray in their Publick Meetings, and so rarely, not once in a Year, in their Families? Now whence doth this proceed, that they pray so seldom in their Families and in some of their Meetings, but either from their great Distrust, (as is said) or from a political Contrivance of their first Authors, the more to make their Proselytes believe, they waited for some extraordinary Inspiration and Impulse: For they had wont to say, *That they who could pray or preach at set Times, have not the true Gift of Prayer or Preaching.* And yet it is sufficiently known, that many of them are arrived at that Confidence, to preach and pray in their way of Rhapsody, at any time, in their Meetings; and they have their ordinary Set-times, especially at *London*, when to begin and when to end; so that if any of their Preachers happen to transgress the ordinary time, they oft get some Reprimand. Such of them who had not arrived at this Confidence and Conceit of their Ability, to preach or pray at any time, except when the Spirit moves them, I compared them to a Mill that stands by a small Brook, or Run of Water, that has oft so little Water as cannot make the Wheels of the Mill to go, till there come afresh, they know not when.

Whereas the Faithful of the Church of *England*, both Ministers and People, and in all true Christian Churches, have no such Distrust of the Assistance of the blessed Spirit of God, but believe that blessed Spirit will never be wanting to them, to give them his Assistance in some Measure and Degree, more or less, according to his good Pleasure; sufficient to enable them to perform all requisite Duties unto God acceptably.

Another thing I insisted upon from the Words of the Text, was, That these inward Aids and Assistances of the Holy Spirit given to the Faithful, were only promised to them who believed sincerely in Jesus Christ, both God and Man, who is now in Heaven without us, our blessed Mediator and Intercessor with the Father; and who believe that he is to come in his Glorified Body, the same in Substance he had on Earth, (in which he suffered Death for our Sins) to be the Judge both of the Quick and Dead, at his Coming and Appearing visibly without us, as really as he visibly ascended into Heaven, in the Sight of his Disciples. And that therefore the Quakers who generally have not this Belief in Jesus Christ, as above declared, (as hath been fully and evidently proved, and can still be proved out of the printed Books of their noted Authors.) But instead of the true Christian Faith in Jesus Christ (according as the Holy Scripture hath set him forth) have set up a Belief only in the Light within them, as the said Light is in all Men. These, I say, can lay no Claim to any such Assistances of the Holy Spirit, as are only promised to sincere Believers in Jesus Christ, according to the Words of the Text, *Job. 7. 38, 39. He that believes in me, out of his Belly shall flow Rivers of living Water. But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive,* (to wit, that very Man which they both saw with their outward Eyes, and heard with their outward Ears) who, as he was visible as Man, yet was invisible as he was God: And that it is said in the following Words, *The Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified:* that is, He was not given, until after His Ascension, either in that Plenty and Variety of miraculous Gifts, or in that Plenty and large

Measure of the ordinary Gifts and Graces of the Spirit, as were afterwards to be given to the Faithful after his Ascension.

July 10, Saturday. I preached at *Herring-Creek Church*, at the Request of Mr. *Hall* the Minister, on the two Sacraments, my Text was, 1 Cor. 12, 13.

July 11, Sunday. I preached at Mr. *Colback's Church* in the next Parish a second Sermon on *Job*. 7. 38, 39.

July 14. I crossed *Maryland-Bay* over to the Eastern Shore, accompanied with Mr. *Hall* abovementioned, from *Annapolis* to *Kent-Island*: We had a fair and easie Passage, in the Space of three Hours. Mr. *Talbot* had gone up the Western Shore to preach at several Places on that side, and after some time to come to me.

July 15. We travelled from *Kent-Island* to the House of the Reverend Mr. *Lilingsstone*, where we were kindly entertained some Days.

July 18, Sunday. I preached at Mr. *Lilingsstone's Church* in *Talbot County*, on *Eph*. 2. 10, and had a great Auditory, and well affected.

July 21, Wednesday. I preached at Mr. *Bourdly's Church*, on *Rom*. 10. 7, 8, 9. and had a great Auditory, and were kindly entertained at his House.

July 25, Sunday. I preached at the Church of *Shrewsbury* in *Maryland*, on 1 Cor. 3. 11, 12. where was a large Auditory out of diverse Parishes: But that Parish of *Shrewsbury* had no Minister, nor have had for some considerable Time past. We were kindly entertained by Mr. *Blays* at his House in that Parish, some Days. On *Sunday* in the Evening, I had some Discourse with a Quaker who came from *London* and sold Goods to the Planters, for Tobabco. I found him so extream ignorant, that I could not perswade him, that our Blessed Saviour, as he was *Man*, had a created Soul. I asked him, If he himself had a created Soul? This also he denied. I mentioned that place of Scripture to him, *The Soul that Sinneth shall die*: And could a Soul sin, that was not created? If the Soul of Man be not created, it must be God, and God could not Sin. But no Reasons can prevail with them, however so plain, who are given up to strong Delusion, as indeed they too generally are. This Discourse I had with him in the Hearing of another Quaker, who came with him, at the House of Mr. *Blay*, who was present.

July 28. I crossed *Sasafrax-River*, (Mr. *Hall* having gone home) and came that Day to the Reverend Mr. *Sewils*, Minister of *Cecil-County* in *Maryland*, where Mr. *Talbot* came to me. Mr. *Sewil* kindly entertained us at his House, and accompanied us to the Mannor, by *Bohemia River*, where we lodged, and were kindly entertained by the Master of the House, who was a *German*.

July 29. We came from thence to *New-Castle*, by *Delaware-River*, and were kindly entertained at the House of Mr. *Robert French*, some Days.

August 1, 1703, Sunday. I preached at *New-Castle*, on *Heb*. 5. 9. and had a large Auditory of *English*, and some *Dutch*: They have had a Church lately built, and the Reverend Mr. *Rosse*, a Missionary from the Honourable Society, has been sent to them, which they greatly desired.

August 2. I came to *Upland*, alias *Chester*, by *Delaware-River*, Mr. *Talbot* having gone before to preach there, August 1.

August 3, Tuesday. I preached in the Church at *Chester*, a second Sermon on *Titus* 2. 11, 12, 13, 14. and had a considerable Auditory: we were kindly entertained at the House of Mr. *Jasper Teates* there.

August 4. We came from *Chester* to *Philadelphia*, where we were kindly received and entertained by our Friends, and especially by Mistress *Welch*, at whose House we again lodged as formerly.

August 8. Mr. *Talbot* preached in the Forenoon at *Philadelphia*, and I preached there in the Afternoon, on *2 Cor.* 12. 9.

August 15, Sunday. I Preached at *Philadelphia* on *1 Job.* 5. 3.

August 22, Sunday. I preached at the New Church at *Burlington*, on *2 Sam.* 23. 3, 4. My Lord *Cornbury* was present and many Gentlemen who accompanied him, both from *New-York*, and the two *Jerseys*, having had his Commission to be Governour of *West* and *East-Jersey*, Read at the Town-House there, some Days before. It was the first Sermon that was Preached in that Church.

August 29, Sunday. I preached again at the Church in *Burlington*, on *Jam.* 1. 22.

Sept. 5, Sunday. I preached at *Philadelphia*, on *Acts* 2. 41, 42. being Sacrament Day.

Sept. 12, Sunday. I preached at the Church in *Burlington*, a Second Sermon, on *Jam.* 1. 22. Mr. *Talbot* preached that Day at *Chester* in *Pensylvania*.

Sept. 15. I preached at *Will. Hewlins* in *West-Jersey*, on *Tit.* 2. 11.

Sept. 19, Sunday. I preached at *Philadelphia* in the Afternoon, on *Mat.* 16. 6.

Sept. 21, Tuesday. I preached at *Philadelphia*, on *Jude* 3. This week being the time of the Quakers yearly Meeting at *Philadelphia*, the Minister of *Philadelphia*, the Reverend Mr. *Evans*, with the consent of the Vestry, having agreed together with us, to have both Prayers and Sermons at the Church in *Philadelphia*, all the Days that the Quakers had their Meetings in that Week, which use to continue three Days; there happens commonly in that Week to be a great concourse of People at *Philadelphia*, not only Quakers, but also of many others, as at some great Fair.

Sept. 21, Tuesday. Mr. *Talbot* went to the Quakers Meeting at *Philadelphia*, that met at the New Meeting-House, called, the *Banck-Meeting*, about 9 of the Clock in the Forenoon, and began to read a Paper to them which I had Writ, containing some Observations on the Attestation, taken and Signed by some of the most noted Quakers in *West-Jersey*, in order to their being made Members of the Council in the Province of *West* and *East-Jersey*. The Quakers were so rude, that they pushed him on the Breast, and drove him by violence from the threshold of the Door, where he stood; yet he continued Reading, till he had finished it; but by the Tumult that the Quakers raised he was little heard. After which, I went in to their Meeting-House, and stood up on a Bench to Read it in their hearing within doors, but I had scarce read three Lines, till a Quaker, whose Name I spare, pulled it out of my Hand with great violence, and some of them overturned the Bench I stood upon, but I had no hurt, Praised be God; for as I was falling, some that were not Quakers supported me with their shoulders till my Feet gently touched the Ground; another Person that was no Quaker, pulling the said

Paper out of the Quakers hand, it was torn in two pieces betwixt them; but by the order of a Justice of Peace, who was no Quaker, the Quaker returned to me that torn piece of the Paper which he had kept. Of this Rude and Disorderly Carriage of the Quakers at the said Place, the said Day, diverse Persons of good Credit gave an Affidavit before a Justice of Peace at *Philadelphia*. I need not here recite the Contents of my Observations on these Quakers Attestation, for the like Observations have been made by another hand, and published in Print lately, in these *American* parts, and perhaps may be Reprinted at *London* ere long.

Sept. 26, Sunday. I preached in *Burlington* Church, a third Sermon, on *Jam.* 1. 22. in the Forenoon, and Mr. *Talbot* in the Afternoon.

October 3, Sunday. I preached in *Burlington* Church, on *Heb.* 8. 10, 11, 12. both Forenoon, and Afternoon, and read the Prayers before Sermon.

October 10, Sunday, 1703. I preached at *Toponemes* in *Freehold* in *East-Jersey*, on *Acts* 2. 41, 42. and had a considerable Auditory, diverse of them late Converts from Quakerism to the Church. Mr. *Innesse* abovementioned did read the Prayers. Mr. *Talbot* staid to preach in several places in *Pensilvania*, and *West-Jersey*, for some time.

October 17, Sunday. I preached at *Shrewsbury* near the Quakers Meeting there, on *Psal.* 103. 17, 18.

October 24, Sunday. I preached again there, on *Heb.* 8. 10, 11. And Mr. *Innesse* Baptized two Men and a Child.

October 31, Sunday. I preached at *Amboy* in *East-Jersey*, on *Titus* 2. 11, 12, 13, 14.

November 3. I preached at *And. Craig's* in the Township of *Elizabeth Town*, on 2 *Pet.* 1. 5. and Baptized his Four Children.

November 4. I Baptized the Children of *Andrew Hemton*, eight in Number; He and his Wife are come over from Quakerism to the Church. And November 3, I Baptized Seven Children of a Widow Woman there.

November 7, Sunday. I preached at *New-York*, on *Acts* 2. 42. and that Sermon was soon after Printed at *New-York*, at the desire of some who heard it, and did contribute to the Charge of its Printing.

November 14, Sunday. I preached at *Jamaica* on *Long-Island*, on *Heb.* 8. 9, 10.

November 17, Wednesday. I preached at *Oysterbay* on *Long-Island*, on *Jude* 20, 21. And *Novemb.* 19. there I Baptized Mrs. *White*, Wife to Mr. *Edward White*, and all his Children, viz. three Sons and five Daughters. He and his Wife were formerly Quakers, but are come over to the Church. And the same Day I Baptized Mrs. *Jones*, Wife to Captain *Jones* of that Township.

November 20, Saturday. At *Oysterbay*, I Baptized *John Townsend*, a Justice of Peace, and his three Children. And Mr. *Nathaniel Cole*, and his Wife, and his three Children. There had scarce been any Profession of the Christian Religion among the People of that Town; they had scarce any Notion of Religion but Quakerism: The Quakers had formerly a Meeting there, but many of them who lived in that Town, became Followers of *Thomas Chase* (not the *Thomas Chase* of *Hampton* in *New-England* abovementioned) and were called, *Chase's Crew*, who set up a new sort of Quakerism, and among other Vile Principles, they condemned Marriage, and said, it was of

the Devil, perverting that Text of Scripture, *The Children of the Resurrection neither Marry, nor are given in Marriage*; and they said they were the Children of the Resurrection; and indeed, as the Author of the *Snake in the Grass* has well observed; This Mad sort of Quakers, called *Chase's Crew*, did but consequentially practice, what the followers of *George Fox* held very generally in Principle, viz. that they were come already to the Resurrection, and had their vile Bodies already changed; so *George Fox* has expressly Taught in Print, in a Printed Treatise of his about the Supper, where he will have the Lord's Supper now to be only inward.

November 21, Sunday. I preached at *Hampsted Church* on *Long-Island*, on 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. and Lodged that Night at *Isaac Smith's* House, Four Miles distant from the Church, and there I Baptized a Young-Woman of his Family, and a Boy, and a Girl of his Relations, and a Neighbours Child, a Boy. This *Isaac Smith* had been formerly a Quaker, and was scarce then fully come off, but came and heard me Preach, and was well affected, and did kindly Entertain me.

November 28, Sunday. I preached at *New-York* on 1 *Cor.* 12. 13. and that Sermon also was Printed at *New-York*, at the desire of some who heard it, and contributed to the Charge of Printing it; and by the Blessing of God, both these printed Sermons have been serviceable to many in these *American* Parts, and to some also in *England*, to reclaim them from their erroneous Opinions about the two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's-Supper.

December 5, Sunday, 1703. I preached at *New-York*, on *John* 12. 35, 36.

December 12, Sunday. I preached at *Amboy*, at my Lord *Cornbury's* Lodging, where he was present, and many with him. My Text was *John* 12. 35, 36.

December 19, Sunday. I preached at the House of Col. *Townfly* in *Elizabeth-Town*, both Forenoon and Afternoon, on 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. Many of that Town having been formerly a sort of Independents, are become well affected to the Church of *England*, and desire to have a Minister of the Church of *England* sent to them: There I baptized a Child of Mr. *Shakmapple*.

December 25, Christmas-day. I preached at *Amboy* in *East-Jersey*, on 1 *Tim.* 3. 16.

December 26, Sunday. Mr. *Talbot* preached there on *Psal.* 125. and baptized a Young Man, called *John Brown*, who had a Quaker Education, and a Young Woman.

December 21, 1703. I preached at Capt. *Bishops* by *Ravai-River* in *East-Jersey*, on *Jude* 20. and baptized a Child of *Robert Wright*.

December 29, Wednesday. I preached at the Independents Meeting-House in *Woodbridge*, at the Desire of Mr. *Shepherd*, and some others there, on 1 *Tim.* 3. 16. After Sermon Mr. *Shepherd* kindly entertained us at his House.

December 30, Thursday. I preached at *Piscataway* in *East-Jersey*, on *Rom.* 10. 6, 7, 8, 9.

January 2, Sunday. I preached at *Amboy* on *Heb.* 8. 10, 11.

January 9, Sunday. I preached at the House of Dr. *Johnston* on *Nether-sinks*, on *Psal.* 119. V. 113. and had a considerable Auditory.

January 16, Sunday. I preached at Mr. *Morris* House at the *Falls* of *Shrewsbury* in *East-Jersey*, on 2 *Cor.* 5. 17.

January 23, Sunday. I preached again at Mr. *Morris* House on 2 *Pet.* 1. 5.

January 30, Sunday. I preached at the House of Mr. *Thomas Boels* in *Freehold* in *East-Jersey*, on 1 *Cor.* 15. 58.

February 6, Sunday. I preached at the House of Mr. *John Read* in *Freehold* in *East-Jersey*, on *Psal.* 119. 96.

February 13, Sunday. I preached at *Burlington* Church in *West-Jersey*, on 1 *Cor.* 15. 58.

February 20, Sunday. I preached at *Philadelphia* both Forenoon and Afternoon, on *Psal.* 119. 96, 97.

February 27, Sunday, 1704. I preached at *Trinity-Chappel* at *Franckfort* (alias *Oxford*) in *Pensilvania*, on 1 *John* 2. 24. As I returned from *Franckfort* to *Philadelphia*, that very Day, about the 4th Hour in the Afternoon, being *Sunday*, both I and those in company with me, observed that a Corn-Mill belonging to some Quakers was Grinding, which they told me, is very common there.

March 5, Sunday, 1704. I preached at *Philadelphia*, on *Luke* 2. 29, 30, 31, 32, in the Afternoon.

March 12, Sunday. I preached at *Philadelphia* on 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2.

March 16, Thursday. I preached at *Trinity-Chappel* at *Franckfort*, on 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2.

March 19, Sunday. I preached at *Philadelphia* a second Sermon on 1 *Tim.* 2. 2, 3, 4.

March 26, Sunday, 1704. I preached both Forenoon and Afternoon, at *Burlington* Church, on 1 *Cor.* 15. 58. two other Sermons, being my last I preached there.

April 2, Sunday, 1704. I preached at *Philadelphia* on *John* 4. 24. being my last Sermon I preached there.

After my Return from *East-Jersey* to *Philadelphia*, about the middle of *February* 1703. for the Space of Six Weeks, I remained mostly at *Philadelphia*, and was very kindly and hospitably entertained by Mr. *Joshua Carpenter*, at his House, where I lodged all that time, until I began my Journey from *Philadelphia* towards *Virginia*, to take Passage for my Return to *England*. Mrs. *Welch*, with whom I lodged formerly, having been Sick and Weak all that time; but some time after it pleased God to restore her to Health.

During the most part of Winter, in the Year 1703. Mr. *Talbot*, by my free Consent, did travel in diverse other Parts in *Pensilvania*, *West* and *East-Jersey*, Preaching and Baptizing many in those Parts where I was not with him. For the greater Service of God and his Church, we did oft travel separately, (being still one in Heart and Affection) and I had very good Friends that travelled with me in his Absence, to accompany me from place to place, in all those places where I travelled.

April 9, Sunday. I preached at *Chester* Church in *Pensilvania*, on *John* 4. 24. being my last Sermon there.

April 12, Wednesday. I preached at *Newcastle*, on *Jude* 20.

April 16, Easter-Sunday. Mr. *Talbot* preached at Mr. *Bourdlly's* Church in *Maryland*, where I had preached before *July* 21, 1703.

April 23, Sunday. I preached at *Annapolis* in *Maryland*, Col. *Seamour* Governour of *Maryland*, being present, who very kindly entertained us at his House both then and at other times, during our Abode there, as we waited for Passage down *Maryland-Bay* to *James-River* in *Virginia*.

Mr. *Talbot* accompanied me from *Philadelphia* to *Annapolis* in *Maryland*, where with true Love and Affection, we did take our Farewell of one another, and he returned to serve God and his Church, as formerly, especially in *Pensylvania*, *West* and *East-Jersey*, where he was like to have the greatest Service and Success: And some time ago, the Right Reverend *Henry*, Lord Bishop of *London*, has writ to him to fix at *Burlington*, to be Minister of the Church there, where is now a large Congregation; and where, not long ago, there was little else but Quakerism or Heathenism.

April 26, 1704. I sailed down *Maryland-Bay* to *Virginia*, in Captain *Pulman's* Ship, who very kindly entertained me and Mr. *John Barclay*, my good Friend with me: He, in true Love and Affection, travelled with me from his dwelling House at *Amboy* in *East-Jersey*, to *James-River* in *Virginia*, and he staid with me until he saw me aboard the Ship, *June 8.* where we took our Farewell.

May 2, 1704. We arrived at *Kicketan* by *James-River*, and staid some Days at the House of my Son in Law there.

May 7, Sunday. I preached at *Williamsburgh* Church in *Virginia*, on *1 Tim. 2. 3. 4.* Col. *Nicolson*, then Governour of *Virginia*, being present, who kindly entertained us.

May 14, Sunday. I heard Mr. *Grace* preach in *Kicketan* Church, on *Luke 23. 43.*

May 21, Sunday, 1704. I preached at *Kicketan* on *Acts 20. 21.*

May 28, Sunday. I preached in the Queen's Ship, called, *Dread-Nought*, Capt. *Evans* Commodore to the *Virginia* Fleet bound for *England*.

June 4, Whitsunday. I preached again in the Commodore-Ship, on *Job. 16. 7.*

June 8. I came aboard the Commodore, and was kindly and generously entertained by Capt. *Evans* at his Table, all the Voyage, gratis, and I lodged (near to him) in the great Cabin.

August 6, 1704. We arrived safe at the *Downs*, praised be God our Preserver.

August 6. Having taken my Leave of Captain *Evans* at the *Downs*, I came aboard a Merchant-Ship, whose Commander was Captain *James Thomas*, and sailed in his Ship until we arrived into the *Thames*, about ten miles from *London*, being kindly entertained by him: And that Evening, being the *14th* of *August*, I came to my Family in *London*, safe and well, notwithstanding of the false Prophecy of some of the Quakers, *That I should never see England any more, after my Departure out of it, in April, 1702.* The abovementioned Captain *James Thomas*, my good Friend, some Years ago came off from Quakerism (wherein he was educated) and his Wife also, and are come over to the Church. He was baptized above three Years ago, by the Reverend Mr. *Stubs*, in *St. Alphage* Church by *Zion-College*, whereof he is Minister; to whose Baptism I was one of the Witnesses.

Thus I have given an entire Journal of my two Years Missionary Travel and Service, on the Continent of *North-America*, betwixt *Piscataway-River*

in *New-England*, and *Coretuck* in *North Carolina*; of extent in Length about Eight hundred Miles; within which Bounds are Ten distinct Colonies and Governments, all under the Crown of *England*, viz. *Piscataway*, *Boston*, *Rhod-Island*, *Connecticut*, *New-York*, *East* and *West-Jersey*, *Pensilvania*, *Maryland*, *Virginia*, and *North-Carolina*.

I travelled twice over most of those Governments and Colonies, and I preached oft in many of them, particularly in *Pensilvania*, *West* and *East-Jersey*, and *New-York* Provinces, where we continued longest, and found the greatest Occasion for our Service.

As concerning the Success of me, and my Fellow-Labourer Mr. *John Talbot's* Ministry, in the Places where we travelled, I shall not say much; yet it is necessary that something be said, to the Glory of God alone, to whom it belongs, and to the Encouragement of others, who may hereafter be employed in the like Service.

In all the places where we travelled and preached, we found the People generally well affected to the Doctrine that we preached among them, and they did generally join with us decently in the Liturgy, and Publick Prayers, and Administration of the Holy Sacraments, after the Usage of the Church of *England*, as we had Occasion to use them.

And where Ministers were wanting, (as there were wanting in many Places) the People earnestly desired us to present their Request to the *Honourable Society*, to send Ministers unto them, which accordingly I have done: and in answer to their Request, the Society has sent to such Places as seemed most to want, a considerable Number of Missionaries.

Beside the general Success we had, (praised be God for it) both in our Preaching, and much and frequent Conference with People of diverse Perswasions, many of which had been wholly Strangers to the Way of the Church of *England*; who, after they had observed it in the Public Prayers, and reading the Lessons out of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and the Manner of the Administration of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, were greatly affected with it, and some of which declared their great Satisfaction and the Esteem they had of the Solemn and edifying manner of our Worship and Administration, far above whatever they could observe in other Ways of Worship known to them.

To many, our Ministry was as the sowing the Seed and Planting, who, probably, never so much as heard one orthodox Sermon preached to them, before we came and preached among them, who received the Word with Joy; and of whom we have good Hope, that they will be as the good Ground, *That bringeth forth Fruit, some Thirty, some Sixty, and some an Hundred Fold*. And to many others it was a Watering to what had been formerly Sown and Planted among them; some of the good Fruit whereof we did observe, to the Glory of God, and our great Comfort, while we were with them, even such Fruits of true Piety and good Lives, and sober and righteous Living, as prove the Trees to be good from which they did proceed.

Many or most of those who had born the Name of *Separatist Quakers* (for their leaving the Meetings of the Quakers, because of their Opposition to the great Fundamentals of the Christian Faith, and had embraced the Doctrine they heard preached by me, concerning the Way of Salvation by Faith in Jesus Christ, both God and Man, as he outwardly came in the Flesh,

died for our Sins, and rose again, &c. about the Years 1691 and 1692, and had set up distinct Meetings), we found had joined with the Church of *England* Congregation at *Philadelphia*, before our Arrival, when we came among them: they received us with great Joy and Satisfaction to hear us preach what tended to their farther Confirmation in the Christian Faith, and in Communion with the Church of *England*. And they expressed the great Benefit they had received by my several Epistles I wrote to them from *London*, about the Years 1698 and 1699, to answer the Scruples and Objections some of them had made to me in some of their Letters, against joining with the Church of *England*, which they told me, gave them great Satisfaction, by the Blessing of God, to join with the Church, and with which they joined soon after. And the like Service my Epistles did to others of their Friends, in *East* and *West-Jersey*, and other Parts of that Country, to whom they had imparted them, at my Desire.

The Reverend Mr. *Evan Evans*, the Minister of the Church of *England* Congregation at *Philadelphia*, informed me, that (beside the considerable Number of Converts to the Church from Quakerism, that the former Minister, the Reverend Mr. *Claiton* had baptized) by his Account, since he was Minister there, he had baptized of Men, Women, and Children, in *Pensilvania* and *West-Jersey*, of *English* and *Welsh*, about Five hundred; many, or most of them, having been Quakers, and the Children of Quakers, and Quakerly affected; and beside these, many who had left Quakerism, and had joined to the Church, had been baptized in Infancy, not having been born of Quaker Parents.

Since our Arrival into those *American* Parts, by the Blessing of God upon our Labours among them, in *Pensilvania*, *West* and *East-Jersey*, and *New-York* Province, there have been, by modest Computation, at least two hundred Persons baptized of Quakers, and their Children, and Servants, and of such who were Quakerly affected, by Mr. *Talbot*, and Mr. *Evans*, and by me, and some by the Reverend Mr. *Vesey*, Minister of *New-York*, in that Town. And beside these, many who had been baptized in Infancy, have come off from Quakerism and joined to the Church in these Countries, since we travelled and preached among them, and had much Conference with diverse of them in private from House to House. Diverse also of Dissenters formerly disaffected to the Church, who were not Quakers, are become well affected to the Church, and her Publick way of Worship, and Administration of the holy Sacraments, as well as to the Truth of Her Doctrine, since our Labouring among them, both in *East* and *West-Jersey*, and else where; so that, God be Praised, almost in all these Countries where we Travelled and Laboured, in some of which there was little to be observed but Quakerism, or Heathenism, which are much one (and if we may believe some of the Quakers great Authors, they are altogether one, viz. the Religion of the Quakers, and of such Heathens, who were obedient to the Light within them, but without all Faith, and Knowledge of Christ, as he came in the Flesh). I say, in all these Countries almost, by the Blessing of God on our Labours, there are good Materials prepared for the Building of Churches, of living Stones, as soon as, by the good Providence of God, Ministers shall be sent among them, who have the discretion and due qualifications requisite to Build with them. The Truth of which some of the late Missionaries have

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found, to their great Comfort, who, as soon as they Arrived into these Parts, unto which they were sent, did find a People prepared to receive them ; so that what others had Sown before them, they have Reaped, and I hope will more abundantly Reap.

In *Pensilvania*, where there was but one Church of *England* Congregation settled, to wit, at *Philadelphia* (and even that but of few Years standing) at our Arrival there ; there are now, Blessed be God, Five Church of *England* Congregations supplied with Ministers, and who have convenient Churches, where the People assemble constantly every Lord's Day to the Prayers and Sermons, and where the Holy Sacraments are duly Administered, according to the Church of *England*. The places in *Pensilvania*, where these Churches are set up, are, the first, *Philadelphia*, the second *Chester* or *Upland*, the third *Frankfort* alias *Oxford*, the fourth *New-Castle*, the fifth *Apoquimene*.

At *Philadelphia*, they have Prayers in the Church, not only on the Lord's Days, and other holy Days, but all *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* weekly, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered Monthly, and the Number of the Communicants considerable. The Church is commonly well filled with People every Lord's Day, and when they are fully assembled, both of the Town and Country that belong to that Congregation, they may well be reckoned, by modest Computation, to amount to Five Hundred Persons of Hearers. But sometimes there are many more ; and generally the Converts from Quakerism, are good Examples, both for frequenting the Church Prayers, and frequent partaking of the Lord's-Supper, with zeal and devotion, and also of sober and virtuous Living in their daily conversation, to the frustrating the lying Prophecies and Expectations of the Quaker Preachers especially, who used to Prophecy, that whoever left the Profession of Quakers, after that should be good for nothing, but as unsavoury Salt, to be trod under foot of Men. But to God's Praise be it said, they may be generally compared with the best Quakers for their Morals, and far to exceed many of them in that respect ; and which greatly casts the Ballance, *that the Morals* of those converted from Quakerism, both in *England* and *America*, or any where else, are Built on the Foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, *Jesus Christ being the head corner Stone*, which the Quakers Morals (no more than the Heathens) are not Built upon.

At *Burlington* in *West-Jersey*, Twenty Miles distant from *Philadelphia*, on the other side of *Delaware-River*, there is now a settled Congregation, with a fixed Minister, to wit, the Reverend Mr. *John Talbot*, my Fellow Labourer, where there is a large Congregation, and a considerable Number of Communicants, many of them having been formerly Quakers, and Quakerly affected, or such as were of no particular denomination. And such of them as had not been Baptized in Infancy, have received Baptism, partly by Mr. *Evans*, and partly by Mr. *Talbot*, and some of them by me. Mr. *Talbot* has Baptized most of them who have been Baptized, since our Arrival among them, and particularly all the Children, both Males and Females, of *William Budd*, who formerly was a Quaker-Preacher, but is come over from Quakerism, to the Church, with diverse others of the Neighbourhood, in the Country about the Town of *Burlington*, who come usually to the Church at *Burlington* on the Lord's-Day ; some of them, Six, Eight, and some of them Ten, or Twelve Miles, and some of them more.

In some other Places they are about Building Churches, both in *West* and *East-Jersey*.

The place at *Franckfort* in *Pensilvania*, where the Congregation Assembles on the Lord's-Day, is called, *Trinity Chappel*, it was formerly a Quaker Meeting-House, Built, or fitted by Quakers, but some time ago has been given to the Church, by such who had the Right to it : Some Land adjoining was given by a Person well affected to the Church, for the use of the Minister, who should reside there, for a House, Garden, and small Orchard.

I can say little to any Success we had in *America*, amongst the other sort of Quakers, though, as the above-written Journal sheweth, I Laboured much among them, in true Love, and good Will ; but they being misled, and prejudiced by their Leaders, seemed too generally to reject my Labour of Love ; however, I am not without hope, that the Seed that God had enabled me to Sow among them, will in some of them, in due time, take Root downward, and bear Fruit upward, though little of it doth yet appear.

There are now Thirteen Ministers in the Northern Parts of *America*, all placed within these two Years last past, and generally Supported and Maintained by the *Honourable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*.

In all the Places where we travelled, the Governours of all the several Provinces, did very kindly treat us, and give us all possible Countenance and Encouragement that we could desire or expect.

Here followeth an Account of the several Treatises I wrote and published in Print, in North America, within the Time of my Abode there, in the Years 1702, and 1703, to 1704.

- I. **M**Y Sermon I preached at *Boston*, on *Ephes. 2. 20.* printed there.
- II. My printed Sheet, in a Letter to Mr. *Samuel Willard*, a Preacher at *Boston*.
- III. My Reply to Mr. *Increase Mather's* printed Remarks against the Six Rules I gave in my Sermon, on *Ephes. 2. 20.*
- IV. My Answer to Mr. *Samuel Willard's* Reply to my printed Sheet.
- V. My Answer to *Caleb Pusey* Quaker, his Book against me, which he abusively called, *Proteus Ecclesiasticus*.
- VI. The Account of the blasphemous Notions of *William Davis*, who after he left the Quakers, set up for a Sect-Master.
- VII. My Answer to a second Book of *Caleb Pusey* against me.
- VIII. My Sermon preached at *New-York*, on *Acts 2. 41, 42.*
- IX. My Sermon preached at *New-York*, on *1 Cor. 12. 13.*
- X. My Sermon preached at *Annapolis* in *Maryland*, on *1 Thes. 1. 5.*

All these bound up in one Book, I humbly presented to the Society, soon after my Arrival at *London*: The Book it self may be found at the Library of the most Reverend *Thomas Lord Arch Bishop of Canterbury*, by *St. Martins* in the *Fields*, where the Society useth to meet.

APPENDIX.

The Six Rules above-mentioned, in the first Sheet of the foregoing Journal, are these following.

The First Rule.

WHATEVER is enjoyn'd by our Superiours, if it contradict not God's Commands in Holy Scripture, ought for Conscience sake to be obey'd, according to 1 *Pet.* 2. 13, 14, *Rom.* 13. 5. *Heb.* 13. 7, 17. And if what they enjoyn, be not made a Command of God, or an Article of Faith, or a Means of Grace.

The Second Rule.

Whatever Church holds the Fundamentals of Christian Religion, and has the Word of God duly Preach'd, and the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's-Supper duly Administered; such a Church is a true Church of Christ; and to separate from such a Church in external Communion, and in external Acts of Worship, is a Sin, the which Sin is the Sin of Schism, that is very heinous, *Rom.* 16. 17. 1 *Cor.* 12. 25. 1 *Cor.* 1. 10, 13. and nothing can excuse from the Guilt of that Sin, unless when anything is enjoyn'd to Persons that is really sinful and contrary to God's Commands given us in the Holy Scriptures; not what Men, by Prejudice of Education, or by wrong Information, say is Sin, but what really is so, and can be clearly proved to be so out of the Holy Scriptures. And if they cannot join in one or some external Acts of Worship, because sinful; yet in other Acts they ought to join that are not sinful.

The Third Rule.

What Things we see amiss in particular Persons, are not to be charged upon the whole Church, unless the Church do justify those Persons in those Things; and what we can't amend, we ought to bear; for there is no Christian Society upon Earth but has some particular Persons that do amiss; and all Dissenters, when particular Failings of particular Persons are objected to them, give the like Excuse.

The Fourth Rule.

To join in external Acts of Publick Worship, where the Matter is found, tho' there be a great Mixture of unsound Members with others found, is no Sin, but our Duty, for which we are warranted both by the Practice of the Prophets, and other holy Persons in the Ancient *Jewish* Church, who never did separate from the Publick Worship of God when the Matter of it was found, notwithstanding that Things were very much amiss amongst them in Practice: And also by the Example of *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth*, and all other holy Persons that were then in the *Jewish* Church, and by the Example of our Saviour himself and his Apostles, who frequented the Temple Worship, performed in the Synagogues before our Saviour's Passion, that put an end to Circumcision, and Sacrifices, and other Types of the Old Testament.

The Fifth Rule.

Whatsoever Things were commanded of God, or allow'd and practised lawfully under the Old Testament, that were neither any Part of the Ceremonial Law, nor of the Jewish Polity peculiar to that Nation, are still binding to us under the New Testament, or allow'd and practiced lawfully; and a Proof out of the Old Testament, in all such Cases, is as good as a Proof out of the New.

The Sixth Rule.

Set Forms of Prayer and Thanksgiving (where the People pray Vocally with the Minister) are a Duty as well under the New Testament as the Old; and that it was practised under the Old, is clear from *Isa.* 29. 13. *Joel* 2. 17. *Hos.* 14. 2, 3. *Mat.* 15. 8, &c. And under the New Testament our Saviour gave a Form of Prayer to his Disciples, which he commanded his Disciples to say; and *John* the Baptist taught his Disciples a Form of Prayer, *Luke* 11. 2. And many of the Dissenters use the Form of *Benediction* after Sermon, *The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ*, &c. And they use the Form of Words that Christ taught, both in Baptism and the Lord's-Supper. Under the Old Testament they were to pray with the Spirit, and with Sincerity of Heart and Affection, as well as under the New; and therefore if praying in a Form was not then inconsistent with praying by the Spirit, no more is it now.

F I N I S.

[In continuation of the story of the Church's progress, as well as in further illustration of Mr. Talbot's character, we resume here the publication of his letters.]

Mr. Talbot to Mr. Keith.

"N. York, October 20th, 1705.

"REVEREND SIR :

"We received advice from Barbadoes that your Fleet was arrived, a confirmation of which we shall be glad to have from yourself. We the clergy in these Provinces, Pensilvania, N. Jersey, and N. York, being convened here by the directions of my Lord Cornbury and his Excellency Governor Nicholson, to make a representation of the present state of affairs of the Church, which we have drawn up, in a scheme, and transmitted to your venerable Society signed by the twelve apostles, I mean to do in this Letter as I do in my Travels, touch and go from place to place, and tell you such things as I thought not so proper for the Public view. I got some hundreds of Fr. Buggs Books printed, which I had endorsed with a challenge and so was bound to answer it; but I could not provoke the friends to it by no means. No they say, as they used to do, that they will answer in print. Then I offered to take the two Almanacks by Dan. Leeds and Caleb Pusey and prove them by Friends Books. I challenged y^e latter at y^e head of his Regiment to come forth and see himself proved a Lyar, in y^e very same book and page where he most impudently charges G. K. D. L. and y^e eight ministers of your Church of England. But all I could get of them at present was this sorry paper, "False News from Gath," which I intend to answer with "true news to Gath," Ashdod and the rest of the uncircumcised, unbaptized Philistines; at length I appointed a meeting at Church, whether they would come or no, and there I exposed their errors before all men, women and children that were there; but none answered a word, though several Quakers were there, whilst I, Mr. Sharpe and Mr. Nichols examined y^e "Bomb," and D. L. Almanack by their books, and proved y^e quotations true. I have hired a chamber at Burlington, where I keep the present collection of friends books; several of them came to me there and were satisfied, but some desired me to set down my quotations book and page, which I promised to do at my leisure, particularly to one of their friends of y^e ministry whom I believe will come off. I have forgot his name, he lives near Peter Chamberlain's in Pensilvania. Mr. Sharpe was very jealous to bring y^e Quakers to stand a tryal; he carried one of y^e Bombs into their meeting, and read a new challenge which I sent them, to answer what they they had printed; but all in vain. Sam. Jennings stood up and said, 'Friends let's call upon God;' then they went to Prayer and so their meeting broke up. Since, I have read several scandalous Letters from several Quakers, whereby I see they are preparing War against me; one was from W. Bakeshaw, the same villain that pulled y^e paper out of your hand last yearly meeting at Philadelphia. He said there was not a word of truth in the Bomb, and he would answer it but none appeared. Mr. Nichol, Mr. Sharp and I preached in our turns, proper sermons to warn y^e people of their errors, and heresies; so we kept up y^e Christian yearly meeting so happily begun by

you at Philadelphia. Mr. Nichols gives his service to you, he is indeed an ingenious man, and will prove in all appearance an able hand against Quakerism. I have promised to set him up with friends, goods, &c. ; we mean to go down to Chester and give him a broad side there if the Governour will give us leave. They are all out at Philadelphia as much about Government as ever they were about religion. There is Charter against Commission and Major against Governour. They have 2 sheriffs, Captain Fenny appointed by Governor Evans, and young John Budd by y^e Major. Now the Governour proclaimed their proceedings null and void, but G. Jones told him it was not he nor his, neither that should take away their Charter ; so much for State affairs, you may hear all perhaps one of these days in Westminster Hall, meanwhile here's a Government divided against itself ; God preserve his Church and let them that have the watch look out. There is a new meeting house built for Andrews, and almost finished since you came away, which I am afraid will draw away great part of the Church, if there be not y^e greatest care taken of it ; Mr. Rudman serves there some times, but chiefly at the Country Church (in Oxford near Frankfort) with good success ; but he has met with some disturbance from Edward Eaton, who has been very peevish and scandalous in words and writings, for which he was presented to y^e Grand Jury, but it was hard to persuade them to find the Bill ; but what will come of it I know not.

"Mr. Sharp and I have gone the rounds several times from Burlington to Amboy, to Hopwell, to Elizabeth Town, to Staten Island in our turns, with good success, God be blessed, in all places. He has gathered a Church himself at Cheesquaks, where he preached several times, and baptized about forty persons. Now I am alone, for my Lord Cornbury has preferred him to be Chaplain of Her Majesty's Fort and Forces at N. York. I saw his Commission signed this day in y^e room of Mr. Mott who dyed about 3 months ago. I was loth to part with my good friend and companion in travel, but considering how he had been disappointed at home, I would not hinder his preferment abroad, hoping that the good providence of God and y^e venerable Society will supply his place.

"The Assembly sat at Burlington in September, but did nothing that my Lord desired them, so he dissolved them and called another there in October. Now I hear that Mr. Wheeler our good friend is chosen instead of Thomas Gardener. It seems their interest goes down thereabouts. Sam. Jennings complains that a man can't turn friend of truth now but he is ridiculed out of it. I hope the venerable Society will take Mr. Bradford's case into their consideration. It has cost me Ten pounds and more out of my Pocket to print some small books to give away, where I could not stay that the Church might be served and the Printer employed, without setting forth those that are erroneous. I know you will not forget y^e Reverend Mr. James, who has been so zealous for y^e service of y^e Church, since you put him upon it. I count him as my father now you are gone, and indeed our Convocation had been at a Loss for a Foreman had not he supplied the place by his gravity and wisdom. I have drawn another Bill upon Mr. Hodges, not knowing when I should have so good opportunity ; besides I have been at more than ordinary charge for horses and cloaths, for I never received any from England since I came out of it. As for that parcel that my Friend Mr. Gillingham

sent by Capt. Innifer, I can't hear what is become of it. My horse you know dyed at Burlington and y^e Quakers recorded it as a judgment upon me. Ben. Wheat set it down in his Almanack, such a day of y^e 1st month, John Talbot's horse dyed, and Barnet Laue haled him into the river. But I was more sorry for the mare that you were so kind to give me, for she dyed before I came over the Bay in Maryland. I hope y^e venerable Society will see good to take you into their number, for it may be of use to them to have one there that has been here. I hope the Letter will come safe to your hand by Mr. Robert Owen minister of a church in Maryland who is a very honest Gentleman. And indeed so are all the Missionarys in general, especially the English one Mr. More, the only countryman we have amongst us, a man according to my own heart, I'm sorry he's to go so far off as y^e Mohocks, God knows whether we shall see him again. I had y^e same call and had gone to the same place, but when I saw so many people of my own nation and tongue, I soon resolved by God's grace to seek them in y^e first place, and if we could not recover those that were fallen, yet by God's help we may keep them out of y^e pit of Quakers and Hereticks who have denied y^e Faith and are worse than Indians and Heathens who never knew it.

"As for a Suffragan we are all sensible of y^e want we have of one, and pray God send us a man of peace, for otherwise he will do more harm than good, as proud, ambitious, covetous men used to do, troubling the State and perplexing the Church, and then they run away, and leave all in the lurch. I saw our honored friend, Coll. Nicholson, last month at Burlington, where he staid a week or ten days. I was obliged to him every way, particularly for his friendly advice in a case that was difficult to me at that time, but I shall not mention names because I am resolved, by God's grace, to take heed what I say of any man, whether good or bad.

"Coll. Nicholson took Bills of Mr. Bass for the money in hand, £70, Pennsylvania money, and gave it all to the Churches in these Provinces, with Bills of Exchange to make it up £100 sterling, besides what he subscribed to the Churches to be erected at Hopewell, Elizabeth Town, Amboy and Salem. We have made it appear that he has exhibited to the Churches in these Provinces about £1000: besides, what he has given to particular persons and the poor would amount to some hundreds more, which we did not think fit to mention. He is a man of as much prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude as any Governor in America, without disparagement to any, and of much more zeal for the house and service of God. I have seen four of them together at Church in Burlington, but in the afternoon their place had been empty had it not been for the Honorable Governor Nicholson; so that I can't but observe the example of his piety in the Church, is as rare as his bounty towards it; no wonder then that all that love the Church of England are fond of Governor Nicholson, who is a true son, or rather a nursing father, of her in America. I hope you will do him all the service you can at home whereby you will oblige all the Churches abroad.

"Mr. Urquhart is well chosen for the people of Jamaica, and indeed I think none fitter than the Scotch Episcopal to deal with Whigs and Fanaticks of all sorts. Had not Stuttgart been allowed to preach he had brought them all to the Church almost by this time; but now they resort most to a barn that is hard by, and will not pay Mr. Urquhart what is allowed by Law, though

my Lord Cornbury has given his orders for it. Mr. John Lillingston designs, it seems, to go for England next year; he seems to be the fittest person that America affords for the office of a suffragan, and several persons, both of the Laity and Clergy, have wished he were the man; and if my Lord of London thought fit to authorize him, several of the Clergy both of this Province and of Maryland have said they would pay their tenths unto him, as my Lord of London's Vicegerent, whereby the Bishop of America might have as honorable provision as some in Europe. Ah, Mr. Keith, I have wanted you but once, that is ever since you went. I pray God supply your place with such another, who will pass through all Governments serving the Church, without giving offence unto the State. I hope, good Sir, you will excuse this long Letter. I had not time to write a short one; therefore, *amicitia nostra*, I desire that you would take all in good part that comes from

"Your most faithful friend

"And humble servant,

"JOHN TALBOT."

[We next find Mr. Talbot in England, whither he had gone on business of the church, as his letters will explain.]

Mr. Talbot to the Society for Propagating the Gospel.

"London, March 14, 1706.

"*May it please the Reverend and*

Right Honorable Society for Propagating the Gospel:

"After I had travelled with Mr. G. Keith through nine or ten Provinces between New England and North Carolina, I took my leave of him in Maryland. The Assembly then sitting offered me £100 sterling to go and Proselite their Indians; but my call was to begin at home, and to teach our own People first, whose Language we did understand; so I returned to Burlington to finish the Church which was happily begun there. Mr. Sharpe came to my assistance where I left him to supply that hopeful and infant Church, whilst I went to East Jersey for Amboy, Elizabeth Town, Woodbridge and Staten-Island. This we did by turns about half a year till Mr. Mott dyed who was Chaplain of the Queen's Fort and Forces at New York. I was offered this place also, where I should have Board and Lodging and £130 per annum, paid weekly; but nothing could tempt me from the service of the Society who were pleased to adopt me into their service, before I had the honour to know them. Mr. Sharpe was glad to embrace this offer; so I travelled alone, doing what good I could, till last Summer, I met with Mr. John Brook who brought me a letter from my Lord of London and orders to fix at Burlington, as I did till November last. There was a general meeting of the Missionarys who resolved to address the Queen for a suffragan Bishop, that I should travel with it, and make known the requests of some of the Brethren abroad, whose case we had recommended formerly by Letter to the Venerable Society, but without success. It will be four years next June since I associated with Mr. Keith. I was allowed £60 per annum for three

years, but for the last I had nothing neither here nor there. I have no Business here but to solicit for a Suffragan, Books and Ministers for the propagating the Gospel. God has so blessed my Labors and Travels abroad that I am fully resolved by his Grace to return, the sooner the better, having done the Business that I came about; meanwhile my Living in Gloucestershire is given away, but I have no reason to doubt of any Encouragement from this famous Society who have done more in four years for America than ever was done before; and your Petitioner will ever pray. God bless all our Benefactors in Heaven and Earth, and reward them for ever, for all the Good they have done to the Church in general and in particular to

"Your most humble servant and

"Obedient Missionary,

"JOHN TALBOT."

Mr. Talbot to the Secretary.

"London, April 16th, 1707.

"HONORED SIR:

"I have received several letters from my friends in America who long for my return, which I was forward to do once and again, but Satan hindered me by raising lies and slanders in my way. But I have cleared myself to all that have heard me, and I hope you will satisfy the Honorable Society that I am not the man to whom that dark character did belong. Mr. Keith has known my doctrine and manner of life some years, what I have ventured, suffered and acted for the Gospel of Christ abroad and at home. I desire his letter may be read to the Honorable Board, and that they will be pleased to dispatch me, the sooner the better, for the season is far spent, and the ships are going out, and if I go at all, I would go quickly. I know the wants of the poor people in America. They have need of me or else I should not venture my life to do that abroad which I could do more to my own advantage at home. I should be glad to see somebody sent to North Carolina. I hope the Planters' letters are not quite forgotten. 'Tis a sad thing to live in the wilderness like the wild Indians without God in the world.

"Your humble Servant,

"JOHN TALBOT."

Mr. Talbot to the Secretary.

[Written after his return to America.]

"Philadelphia, 20th August, 1708.

"HONORABLE SIR:

"I have written several letters to you from Boston and New York by Brothers Brookes and Moore; but I am afraid they are all lost

together; they have been nine months gone, and we saw them not since, nor any news of them. I met them at Boston and would persuade them to return, but all in vain; they had been so dragooned that they had rather be taken into France than into the Fort at New York. I have carried on ever since at Burlington as well as I could, and I thank God with success wherever I am; but I cannot stay long at any place, because there are so many that want, certainly the present state of that province is worse than the first; we have lost our labour and the Society their cost, there being several Churches and no ministers in all East Jersey to supply them, so that they fall away apace to Heathenism, Quakerism and Atheism, purely for lack of looking after. Mr. Brooks and Mr. Moore are much lamented, being the most pious and industrious Missionaries that ever the Honorable Society sent over; let the adversaries say what they will they can prove no evil thing against these men. I have heard all sides and parties, what can be said pro or con. Mr. Honeyman is outed, Mr. Nicholls scouted into Maryland; he had come home had I not dissuaded him, and I could have hindered all the rest of these scandals and disorders but that we had no Bishop nor hopes of any; you would not hear of it, therefore I said you must hear worse and worse still, if aught can be worse than that the bodies and souls of men are ruined and undone, and the Bounty of the Society lost, for lack of an overseer of the poor Church in America; without which the Gospel cannot be planted, nor any good work propagated in the World. The Bible you sent to Hopewell I was willing to take to Burlington till more came over, because ours is worn out; they that come I hope will bring Books with them. I shall write more particularly by the next opportunity. God bless all our friends of the Honorable Society, remaining theirs and

“Your humble servant,

“JOHN TALBOT.”

Mr. Talbot to the Secretary.

“Burlington, 24th August, 1708.

“HONORABLE SIR:

“It is now nine months ago since I parted with Mr. Brooks and Mr. Moore at Boston; I sent letters by them, but we are much afraid all are miscarried. I was always glad to see them but much surprised to meet them both there; they told me what hardship they met with from the Governors of New York and Jersey, and how they escaped out of their hands; I was for converting them back again, telling them the dangers of the sea and the enemy, but poor Thorogood* said he had rather be taken into *France* than into the Fort at New York; and if they were sunk in the sea, they did not doubt but God would receive them, since they were persecuted for righteousness, that is for Christ's sake and his Gospel, and doing their duty to the best of their knowledge. Truly as it was in the beginning so I find it in the end; all

* The Rev. Thorogood Moore is meant.—Ed.

that will live Godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution ; but *somebody* must answer for these things at home or abroad. If I could have given them any hopes of a Bishop or Suffragan to direct or protect them, I believe they would not have gone ; nay, I would have hindred them ; but, alas ! I had no such hopes myself : I came over to be as good as my word rather than on any encouragement to do any good ; meanwhile, I am pure from the Blood of all men ; ye are my Witnesses that I pleaded with all my soul to send an overseer of this poor Church, but you would not hear ; therefore is this evil come upon us. I don't doubt but by God's mercy their souls are not miscarried, they are in peace where'er they be I don't doubt ; but we Christians in Jersey are most miserable ; we have Churches now but no ministers to open them, and if the gate of Heaven be shut, the gates of Hell will soon prevail against us.

"This comes to you in the bosom of Mr. Moore's which he gave me at Boston, which was the last that I had of him ; he is much lamented, as indeed they are both ; as for Thorowgood, I never knew his fellow of his age, nor ever shall again I fear ; nothing can make this country amends for their loss but a good Bishop ; but alas ! that is *rara avis in terris*, &c. I preached the Gospel at Marble-Head, where the people offered to subscribe some hundreds of pounds to build a Church ; but I have resolved to build no more Churches till there are more ministers to serve the Churches that are built. I preached at Stratford as I came along in Connecticut Colony, where was a numerous auditory, and Mr. Muirson had forty Communicants there the first time ever the Holy Sacrament was rightly administered ; and upon the Islands, Rhode Island, Long Island, and Staten Island, I preached till the Winter broke up, when I got to Amboy and Elizabeth Town, where had been nobody since Mr. Brook left them, who was an able and diligent Missioner as ever came over ; I got home about our Lady day, where I was very welcome to all Christian people, but alas ! I could not stay, I am forced to turn Itinerant again, for the care of all the Churches from East to West Jersey is upon me ; what is the worst is that I can't confirm any nor have not a Deacon to help me. My Clerk is put in prison, and was taken from the Church on the Lord's day upon a civil action of *meum and tuum*. I don't know how soon I may be seized so myself, but I bless God I fear no evil so long as I do none ; *Exurgat deus dissipentur inimici*, &c. I hear there is another Governor coming for these provinces ; people are sorry it is another Lord, for they say there never came a good one into these parts. I may say of them as the Quakers did of me, 'Thee comest for money,' but I proved them Liars, for I have taken no money of them nor yet of others since I came. I shall say no more on this point but refer all to Mr. Moore's letter, which I hope will have some weight with the Honorable Society, because they are the last words of their best Missioner when he was in prison for the Gospel of Christ and for a good conscience. His humble proposal is that the Honorable Society would use their interest with the Queen that we might have men of morals for Governors, if not of Religion ; I say the same, and pray God direct them all for the best ; so I desire your prayers for,

"Sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"JOHN TALBOT."

Mr. Talbot to the Secretary.

"Burlington, 30th June, 1709."

"SIR :

"I received your long letter and find *Certamen est de lana Caprina*. For your moderation, which is nothing in the world but a name which St. Paul never used in all his Epistles nor anything like it, but one where 'tis wrong translated ; it should be let your gentleness be known to all men, which I am for as much as anybody, towards man and Beast too ; but if you mean *moderation in Religion*, as one said here, 'I don't care whether I go to Heaven or Hell.' Good sir pardon your servant in this thing, but let us not differ about words, but follow the things that are for peace, and things whereby we may plant the Gospel and edify the Church of God. I am very glad to find by the President's letter, that the members of the Honourable Society are convinced, that a head is necessary to the body, but if he don't make haste he will come too late, for here is nothing established, but such a moderation to all that is good, and such a toleration of all that is evil, yea of the most damnable Heresies, which by the way is a damnable Toleration, and worse than the worst persecution that ever was in the world ; for that only destroyed men's bodies, but these destroy body and soul in Hell for ever, which is damnable with a vengeance and will make the last State of poor America worse than the first, if not timely prevented. Is it not strange, that so many islands should be inhabited with Protestants, so many provinces planted by them—so many hundred thousand souls born and bred up here in America ; but of all the Kings, Princes and Governours, all the Bishops and Archbishops which have been since the Reformation, they never sent out anybody here to propagate the Gospel ? I say to propagate it by imparting some spiritual gift by ordination or confirmation. I thought the Society had set up to supply these wants, and to take off this horrible scandal from the Protestant Churches, but truly they would not hear of it till they had lost their best missionaries (may lose all the rest for ought I know before it be legally obtained). What ! is there a law against the Gospel ? Let it be taken out of the way as Popish and Antichristian ; we can't Baptize anybody hardly now for want of God fathers and God mothers, for who will be bound where they are not like to be discharged ? I can't get children here to be catechised, for they are ashamed of anything that is good, for want of school masters to teach them better. There is one Mr. Humphreys come over with my Lord Lovelace, I suppose not unknown to you by Mr. Congreve ; he is a pretty sober young man and graduate of Dublin college ; I have got him £20 subscribed, but that is not enough for one that has a family. If the Society please to add so much to it as they think fit, it will be as good a work as they can do. Mr. Evans liked him so well that he would have had him for a free school at Philadelphia, but that wanderer Mr. Ross, has got in there I believe by this time, for they would not be quiet till they got poor Mr. Chub to resign. I pity Mr. Jenkin's case, and I hope the society will restore him, for he is young enough to move pity and to amend ; or if he cannot live there, let him be Itinerant in this province and I will help him what I can ; the churches in east Jersey are falling to the ground for lack of looking after, I can't go there above

once or twice a year to administer the Holy Sacrament that they be not quite starved. It had been better not to have put these poor people to the charge of building churches, than have nobody to supply them, I can't get so much as a Reader here for any of them, and it were to save their souls. You that live at home in ease and plenty, little do you know what they and we do bear and suffer here, and how many thousand souls are legally lost whilst they at home are legally supplying them. Who will answer it to Jesus Christ who will require an account of us all, and that very speedily too, meanwhile He has charged all to take care of his flock not by constraint but willingly, not for filthy Lucre but of a ready mind; then they who don't care whether they go to Heaven or Hell will have no reward for that moderation. I find in your books that one Mr. Sergt. Hooke is willing to give the tenth of his Land to the Church at Hopewell; pray let him send me a power and I will take care of it, and get him a purchaser for the rest. I have got possession of the best house in America for a Bishop's seat; the Archbishop told me he would contribute towards it and so I hope will others; pray let me know your mind in this matter, as soon as may be, for if they slip this opportunity, there is not such another to be had. Our church here does flourish, God be praised, and the town too is much more populous than it was; I hope we shall soon be out of Debt, meanwhile I take nothing of them, there is my moderation; besides I bless God, I have kept the peace where nobody else did or could, and that is no sign of immoderation: now I have shown you my moderation by my works, pray show me yours that I may learn more how to approve myself as I ought.

"Yours &c.

"JOHN TALBOT.

"Pray for God's sake send us some books of all sorts, especially Common Prayer books.

Mr. Talbot to the Secretary.

"Burlington, 27th September, 1709.

"SIR:

"Though I have sent you several letters of late, yet I can't omit so good an opportunity as this by Mr. Hamilton of giving my duty and service to the Honorable Society; my comfort is I have always told them the truth both at home and abroad, though I was not believed till it was too late. When I reflect on the progress of the Gospel (I will not say the Church for we never had it here, nor never shall till there comes over a propagator to plant and to build it up) a cloud of melancholy thoughts throngs upon me; for when the Shepherds are smitten the sheep of the flock must need be scattered abroad. Mr. Moore, Mr. Brooks, Mr. Muirson, Mr. Reedman, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Urquhart, all worthy men, dead in less than two years, and almost all the rest run away, as Black, Crawford, Nichols; Ross is a wandering star, we do not know where he will fix; meanwhile he does not well to supplant and under-

mine, let him be confined to some place where there is need, and not stay altogether in the town to do more hurt than good; there's Mr. Evans, Mr. Ross, and Mr. Chub all at Philadelphia, and none else in that Province, where the Society have sent most; at Chester there's none, at New Castle none, at Appoquimony none, at Dover hundred none, at the whorekills none, and the people in all these places so abated of their zeal, that I'm sure it had been much better to have sent none at all, than none to supply the death and absence of these men. Here is not one come to supply the loss of these 10 missionaries, and if there does come any what will they do but find great discouragements, and the last state of their several places worse than the first; wherefore my advice is, with humble submission to my superiors, to keep their money and give us leave to come home, and send no more till they think fit to send a propagator of the Gospel; for otherwise their planting the Gospel is like the Indians planting gunpowder, which can never take root, but is blown away by every wind. Poor brother Jenkins was baited to death with musquitoes, and blood thirsty Gal-Knippers,* which would not let him rest night nor day, 'till he got a fever at Appoquimony, came to Philadelphia, and died immediately of a Calenture; my brother Evans and I buried him as well as we could, it cost us above £20 for, poor man! he had nothing, being out of Quantum with the Society, and his bills protested. If you please to call to mind, I told the Society when I was there, that those places must be served by Itinerants, and that it is hardly possible for anybody to abide there, that is not born there, 'till he is musquito proof; those little things are a great plague in some parts, and when a man is persecuted in one place he should have leave to go to another, or else, he has very hard measure, especially in these parts where our life is a kind of Penance both winter and summer, and nobody can tell which is the worst, the extreme heat or cold. I hear Mr. Vaughan is arrived at Boston, but is not yet come into this province, he will have enough to do to supply Mr. Brook's charge at Elizabeth Town, Amboy, Piscataway, who have had none since he left them; but I have done for them, may be once in a quarter or so; somebody occasionally passing by that way, but poor Hopewell has built a Church and have had no minister yet; and he had need be a good one that comes after Mr. Moore; there be many more in England but none so good as to come over and help us, that I can see or hear of. As for the account of what Indians we have converted, truly I never saw nor knew any that were Christians indeed; but I know there are hundreds, yea thousands of our white folks, that are turned Infidels for want of looking after. Let them that have the watch look out and see what they will answer; for he that is higher than the highest regards. I have received nothing from the people in this province, nor will not till they be out of debt for building the church. I leave honest Mr. Hamilton to give you a farther account of our affairs, and how we do; he has been one of our benefactors and given us £10. I hope when he returns, the Society will be so kind as to send us some Common Prayer books which we very much want here and at Hopewell, Maidenhead, and everywhere. I pray God direct and prosper the designs of the sacred Society, that Religion and learning, piety and virtue, may be established among us for all generations: so I rest sir,

"Your's &c.

"JOHN TALBOT.

* Ganni-nippers, a large species of musquito.

"I hope you will put the Society in mind of what we have often desired, a school master, for there is none in Town nor in all the province that is good; and without, we can't instruct the children as they ought to be in the Catechism, for they will not be brought to say it in the Church till they have been taught at school."

Messrs. Evans and Talbot to the Society.

"Burlington, December 4th, 1712.

"RIGHT REVEREND AND RIGHT HON. SIRS :

"It is with the greatest satisfaction that we received from our brother Henderson the account of your zeal, care and diligence in relation to the Church at Jamaica; your favourable reception of the memorial we signed with the rest of our brethren on that account will encourage us to use the utmost of our efforts for the interest of the Church, though for our reward here, we expect little other than what the effects of the malice and rage of the Church's enemies will afford us. In these parts of the world the great enemy of mankind hath for many hundred years ruled with an uninterrupted sway, and we are sensible that he doth and will use all the means possible to hinder and discourage the Missionaries, whose business it is to promulgate the Gospel, and by that means to deliver his Captives from the greatest slavery into the glorious liberty of the Sons of God. Our Great Master hath, in these parts, raised us up some faithful friends of all ranks who are zealously affected both to us and the work we are engaged in, and nothing now seems more wanting to establish the Church, in a flourishing state, than the residing of a Bishop amongst us in these parts; which we are in hopes it will not be long before we are blessed with, since we are informed the Honorable Society have closed the bargain for the house at the point, and directed the fitting it up for the reception of a Bishop. We are sorry any accident should have altered so charitable and good a design, and therefore you may imagine it was with no little concern that we beheld the damage done by fire, on one part of the house, since the closing of the bargain (though before any possession was given to any person on account of the Society). On the 23d October, in the afternoon, by the foulness of the chimney and carelessness of one Stiles, who kept possession for Mr. Tatham, the fire took on the top of the Roof, but by the industry and care of all sorts of people was extinguished with the loss of part of the Roof of that part of the house that lieth next the Town, and little other damage. His Excellency the Governor, by his letter to Mr. Talbot of the 3d November, 1712, hath directed him to repair the house and make it habitable for a Bishop; which since it could not be done this winter, as your Honours may see by the enclosed certificate, we thought it more advisable to acquaint the Society thereof, as also our opinion that it would be less chargeable and more certain, if the Society would please to give order to some person in this Town to manage that work, and believe Mr. Secretary Bass hath already (without any directions) taken

care to provide some things necessary for the covering the House and fencing the Garden, &c., and whose zeal for the interests of the Church, and particularly for the coming over of a Bishop, we believe is not unknown to the Honorable Society, if his letters of the 22d May, 1711, with the enclosed papers, were communicated to the Society. We herewith send the Honorable Society the carpenter's opinion about the repairs, and believe that the sending Glass, Sheet Lead, Nails, &c., from England would be both better and cheaper than to purchase them here. We earnestly pray for a blessing on your pious endeavours for the Glory of God and good of his Church, and remain with all imaginable deference,

"Right Reverend and Right Honorable,

"Your most obedient and faithful

"Humble Servants,

"EVAN EVANS.

"JOHN TALBOT."

Mr. Talbot to the Secretary

"Burlington, October 28th, 1714.

"SIR :

"I sent a letter by Mr. Evans, wherein I desired leave of the Honorable Society to come home. I have been long enough in these parts to see iniquity established by law, and that by some of your own members, and what good can your Missionaries do? I have been sick a long time this fall with a burning fever, which made me so weak that I could scarce speak. I could not preach, nor read prayers, so the service of God ceased. In all this Province of West New Jersey there never was any minister of Christ's Church settled but myself. I have built three Churches since I came here, but have nobody to keep them, nor myself neither. We have had a very sickly time this year; I have buried more than in ten years before; and many Church people died that had nobody to visit them when sick, nor bury them when dead. Let them that have the watch look out, 'tis they must give account; I am clear of the blood of all men, abroad and at home, and so I hope to keep myself. The Society were once upon a good resolution to send Deacons to be School Masters; if they had done so to Burlington, to Bristol, to Hopewell, they might have kept the Church doors open, for they could read the Prayers and Homilies, Baptize and Catechize, they could visit the sick and bury the dead; but now they must bury one another; they have no where to go but to Quakers' meetings, which are as bad as Indians'; there's nothing but powawing and conjuring to raise a Devil they cannot lay again; and now that this wickedness is established by law, what should we do here any longer? They do declare in the presence of God Almighty, they don't swear, call him to witness all they say is no more than yea or nay.

"The Church at New Bristol, over against Burlington, was opened about St. James' day, and so called St. James' Church, by the Rev. Mr. Philips,

who preached the first sermon. The Church was full of people from all parts, who were liberal contributors to it. I went now and then to preach there on Sundays in the afternoon before I was sick, but since that I have not been able, so the Church has been shut up, almost ever since it was opened. The Church at Hopewell has been built these ten or twelve years, and never had a minister settled there yet, though they have sent several Petitions and Addresses to the Society; but I understand since, that Hopewell, Maidenhead, &c., were kept under the thumb for Cotton Mather and the rest of the New England Doctors to send their emissaries; and those hirelings have often come there, and as often run away, because they were hirelings, and cared for no souls but themselves.

“As for the Church at New Bristol, it was first begun by the zealous Thorowgood Moore, of pious memory; and when he was taken away by this same cursed faction that is now rampant, I was unwilling any of his good works should fall to the ground, so I crossed the water at my own cost to serve those poor people, who lived in Darkness and the shadow of death, in the midst of Heathenism, Atheism, and Quakerism; but it pleased God by our preaching the word in season and out of season, some came to believe and were baptized, they and their children, and two of the Chief people there, Mr. John Rowland and Mr. Anthony Burton, were willing to undertake to build a Church, which since they have done, and I believe they will endow it too if they get a minister before they die. I gave them five pounds and a pulpit of black walnut, which cost as much more, to encourage them; I promised to lay their case before the pious society, that they may take some care of them, that they be not a reproach to the heathenish Quakers, who are too apt to reflect upon us, ‘where is your Priest, where is your Minister, and where is your Church, it may serve us for a meeting house,’ &c. *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis dici potuisse et non potuisse repelli.*

“But the History of the Church at Burlington, &c., has been so much better done by Colonel Jeremiah Bass, Esq., Secretary of this Province, and transmitted home, by the hands of the Honorable General Nicholson, that I need say no more at present, but desire the prayers and blessing of the venerable Society for their

“Most humble and faithful Missionary

“And servant,

“JOHN TALBOT.”

History of the Church at Burlington, New Jersey, by Jeremiah Bass, Esq., delivered by General Nicholson.

[Mr. Bass was her Majesty's Secretary of the Province of Jersey.]

SOLI DEO GLORIA.

“After a long season of Ignorance, Superstition, and Idolatry had covered this Province, it pleased that Infinite Being whose goodness is over all his

works, and who hath promised to give unto our Blessed Saviour, the Immaculate Jesus, the Heathen for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the Earth for his possession, to illuminate these Provinces with some Rays of his Glory and Goodness, by sending the glorious light of the Gospel amongst us. The first European inhabitants of this River were the subjects of the King of Sweden, who in their first settlement in this River, brought with them the Religion of their country, in which, to their commendation, and the care of their Missionaries, they have yet continued; few of them having at any time from their first settlement to this day, apostatized from their Christian faith, to the envy of Quakerism.

“The next Inhabitants were the Dutch, who having taken the River from the Swedes, introduced their Laws, Government, and Religion, which again suffered an alteration, by the coming in and conquest of these parts by the English, who in their first settlement of this Province, seemed to mind more the business of their Trade and Plantation, than that great concern of their souls. There being in the Western Division, no settled Society or Congregation of any of the Church, or any Dissenters, except Quakers; and although some Reverend Divines, as they occasionally passed through this Province, preached the Gospel and administered the ordinance of Baptism to some few persons, and by that means sowed the seeds of the Gospel, that have since sprung up around us, and excited the desires of some of the inhabitants to make a more diligent enquiry into the true way of worshipping God, and had in some measure taken off those prejudices that most of the inhabitants laboured under, by education, example and reading the Books and hearing the discourses of such as had misrepresented both the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England; yet we cannot properly begin any History of the Church but from the arrival of the Reverend Mr. Edward Portlock, who at the desire of several of the Proprietors of the Eastern Division of this Province, came over, ordained by the Right Reverend Henry, Lord Bishop of London, to take the care and cure of souls, as rector of a Church, to be built at Perth-Amboy, the metropolis of the Eastern Division of this Province, who arrived in this Province, and made his application to the Governor, for the Proprietor, in the year —; who with the consent and approbation of the Agents, for the Proprietors, called the Council of Proprietors, set apart one of the Houses (that had been formerly built at the charge of the general Proprietors) for the peculiar service and worship of God, according to the Laws of England, which House, by the Contribution of several pious and well-disposed persons, was soon covered, and glazed, and fitted with seats and a Pulpit, and Mr. Portlock put into possession of the same, (which by the way is the only Church they have to this day at Perth-Amboy); in the interim, Mr. Portlock preached sometimes at the Governor's House, sometimes at a House belonging to Mr. Dockaray of London, merchant, sometimes in the neighbouring Towns of Woodbridge, Piscataway, Elizabeth Town, and when the Governor's business called him into the Western Division, accompanied him to Burlington, where the Public Town House was allotted him for that service. This good work was at the same time carried on by the Rev. Mr. Vesey, in the Eastern Division, and the Rev. Mr. Clayton, Minister of Christ Church, Philadelphia. These beginnings of Light, which through the blessing of God were not unsuccessful, and the division that at this time

happened amongst the people called Quakers, by Mr. George Keith's opposing some of their principal errors, occasioned several pious and well disposed Christians to think of erecting a place in Burlington, peculiarly dedicated and set apart for the service and worship of God, according to the usage of the best of Churches, the Church of England; who were herein much encouraged and assisted by the pious discourses and sermons of the Rev. Mr. Evan Evans, Rector of Christ Church in Philadelphia, who frequently came over into this Province, preached and baptized both Infants and Adult persons, and the Rev. Mr. John Talbot, our worthy Minister, a Missionary of the Honorable Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; this good work was very much forwarded by the generous contribution of his Excellency Francis Nicholson, Esq., then Governor of Virginia, who we must own to be our first and best Benefactor, and indeed he gave life and motion to the whole work, by a generous contribution of near £50, to be laid out towards that service; and since, I have the just occasion to mention that worthy patron of our Churches (in whose commendation on this score too much can hardly be said). I may be therefore bold in affirming, that no Church in these parts hath wanted assistance towards its foundation, reparation, or beautifying but hath on application tasted of his bounty; no Missionaries or Ministers, that have had the happiness of his acquaintance, have parted from him without some mark of his favour; nor no devout and pious member, in any exigency or distress, has applied to him for relief or support in vain. On this encouragement, and the assistance of some considerable benefactions of £50, from the members of the Church at Philadelphia; £12 10s. from the Rev. Mr. Myles at Boston, and the courteous care and diligence of Mr. Robert Wheeler, of Burlington, merchant, since deceased, (who has sometimes been in advance above £150, out of his own pocket), and the contributions of several other persons, who though not particularly mentioned, will be rewarded by Him, who has promised a reward for a Cup of Cold Water, given to a Disciple, in the name of a Disciple.

“The Church of St. Mary in Burlington, in the Western Division of the Province of New Jersey, had the foundation stone laid by the Rev. John Talbot, Missionary from the Honorable Society for propagating the Gospel, on the 25th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1703; being a day sacred to the memory of the Annunciation of the Conception of our Blessed Saviour to the Virgin Mary, which gave name to the Church. This beginning was carried on with that Industry and Diligence, chiefly by the said Mr. Wheeler, that it was inclosed, covered, ceiled, and glazed, and the Holy Sacrament administered therein, by the Rev. Mr. John Talbot, on Whitsunday, the 4th of June, 1704; the Divine Service having been read and Sermons preached in the said Church ever since the 22d of August, in the preceding year, 1703. Thus the work of God and his Church was carried on amongst us, with great alacrity. The Burying ground purchased for the Church, containing in all about three acres, being well fenced in, and Pews and Seats in the Church, the members began to think it convenient to form themselves into a regular Society, according to the Law and Customs of England, and therefore addressed themselves by Petition to his Excellency, Edward, Lord Cornbury, (since Earl of Clarendon), Her Majesty's Governor

of this Province, and a real friend of our Church, who on the 4th October, 1704, granted his Warrant for a Patent to Incorporate them, under his Privy Seal, with all requisite and necessary powers for their encouragement and support. The Church thus settled, under the care of the Rev. Mr. John Talbot, through the Blessing of God, on his ministry, grew and increased so that we had subscriptions made, and the foundation laid, for a Church at Hopewell, in the upper part of the County of Burlington, which hath been since finished, which was for some time supplied by the Rev. Mr. May, but is now without any minister. We had another begun at Salem, which by some unhappy accidents, hath been since discontinued, though not without some hopes of being revived, when it shall please God to send some one amongst us, that careth for the welfare, and seeketh the good of the Churches; to both of which Churches we find his Excellency, Colonel Nicholson, one of the first and chiefest Benefactors; and here I cannot omit mentioning the Honorable Colonel Cox, then one of Her Majesty's Council for this Province, who was one of the first subscribers to our Church at Burlington, and has given the like assistance to that at Hopewell, together with the assurance of settling 200 acres of Land, out of the nighest and most convenient part of his Land, contiguous to the said Church, for a glebe for the Minister, whenever it shall please God a missionary be sent over, to take care of that Church, or sooner if it be desired. I might also mention the Churches of Chester, New Castle, Dover River, Apoquimony, Oxford, and Bristol, that about the time, were either begun or finished; but designing to confine myself to Burlington only, I purposely omit any particulars of them. Our Reverend Minister's affairs calling him for England, in the year of our Lord 1705, he appointed the Rev. Mr. Thorowgood Moore to serve the Church in his room, a person of morals, exemplary meekness, piety and charity. Our Vestry thought it their duty, by the Rev. Mr. Talbot, to send home Addresses to Her Majesty, and a Letter of Thanks to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Honorable the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which are too large to be inserted in this Essay. Our Church for some time found no considerable alterations by the absence of our worthy Rector; but that enemy of our happiness, who had been many times heretofore sowing the seeds of Division and Dissension amongst us, (which through the care and prudence of our Rector, were not suffered to grow and increase) took advantage of his absence, and stirred up such a flame, that had almost broken us to pieces, and occasioned the unhappy removal both of Mr. Moore and the Rev. Mr. Brooks, Rector of the Church in Elizabeth Town, (erected chiefly by the care and diligence of Colonel Richard Townly, who has given the ground it stands on, and a place for a Burying Ground,) who have not been heard of since their departure from Marble-Head, in the year 1707. But I willingly pass over this subject, too sad to be insisted on, charitably hoping that all who were any ways the unhappy authors of it, have since blotted out their sins by repentance, and I have good cause to believe that had we been so happy, to have enjoyed an Ecclesiastical Governor, to have dispensed the censures of the Church, and to have determined differences, that will sometimes unavoidably occur, betwixt Ministers and Members, and betwixt Ministers and the People, this mischief had been prevented or cured; it is no wonder if our Communicants grew remiss and slack in their duty, if

too many fell away in scandalous sins of schism, if error and heresy increased, if scandals were both taken and given (as there were in this case), when the Ecclesiastical sword was wanting, to punish evil-doers, to resist the unruly, to reduce the erring, and to cut off the obstinate and heretics. By this unhappy absence of our Rector, who was then in England, and of Mr. Moore who was gone from us, the number of our Communicants, and the Interest of our Church sensibly decreased, but began again to revive on the return of our Reverend Rector in the year 1708, who acquainted us that he had presented our humble Address to Her Majesty, and the other Letters that we sent; and that Her Majesty had been graciously pleased to give us Lead, and Glass, and Pulpit Cloth, and Altar Cloth, and a Silver Chalice, and Salver for the Communion Table, and a Brocade Altar Cloth; and that she had also sent Lead, and Glass, and Pulpit Cloths, and Altar Cloths for the Churches of Hopewell and Salem, which we received by the hands of the Honorable Col. Robert Quarry. He also brought us an Embossed Silver Chalice and Patten, the gift of Madam Catharine Bovey, of Hacksley; for all which our Vestry returned their thanks by Addresses and Letters of the 6th of November, 1708.

“His Excellency, the Lord Cornbury, being succeeded in the Government of this Province, by His Excellency the Lord Lovelace, whose Commission was published the 20th of December, 1708, all things relating to the Church here, continued much at a stand, His Excellency never coming so far as Burlington, nor as I know of, having ever been at Church in this Province, whilst he enjoyed that Government. By the death of that Nobleman, in the year 1709, the Government devolved upon Colonel Richard Ingoldsby, then Lieutenant Governor of the Provinces of New Jersey and New York, under whose administration, our Vestry (that by some unaccountable neglect, had omitted to pass the charter designed for us, by the Earl of Clarendon) got it now passed, under the Broad Seal of this Province, whereby they became incorporated by the name of the Minister, Church-Wardens, and Vestry, of the Church of St. Mary in Burlington; which was enrolled in the Secretary's Office, the 25th of January 1709. By this Charter, the Rev. Mr. John Talbot, Rector, Mr. Robert Wheeler, and Mr. George Mills, Church-Wardens, and Col. Daniel Cox, Lieut. Col. Huddy, Alexander Griffith, Her Majesty's Attorney General, Jeremiah Bass, Her Majesty's Secretary of this Province, and sundry others, were appointed, constituted and made a Body Corporate and Politic, in deed and in name, to have Community and succession perpetual, with powers to purchase, take and receive Lands, &c., in fee and perpetuity, not exceeding £300 sterling per annum, with power to sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, to make and use a Common Seal, and the same, to alter at their discretion, to choose New Church-Wardens and Vestrymen, as there shall be occasion, with many other powers and immunities, too large to be here inserted, from which time the members of the Corporation met together, and transacted all affairs, relating to the Church, under that seal and title. And here I cannot forget mentioning the Donation of 250 Acres of Land given to this Church, the last Will of Thomas Leicester, deceased, which by this Charter, we were enabled to receive. We had nothing happened of any great note to us, till the year 1711; and some time in April in that year, the Church received the gift of a large silver Beaker, with a cover,

well engraved, being the present of the Honourable Colonel Robert Quarry, for the use of the Communion; in the same month the minister, Church-Wardens, and Vestry, having received advice from the Rev. Mr. Evan Evans, Rector of Christ Church, in Philadelphia, and from the Vestry there, that their Assembly had passed an act directing affirmation, to such, who for conscience sake, cannot take an oath, together with a copy of the said act, and duly considering with themselves, the pernicious tendency of such proceedings to Religion in General, and to the best of Churches, the Church of England in particular, they thought it their duty to give as public a testimony as they could, of their just detestation and abhorrence of such principles and practices, and in order, thereto, at their meeting, on the 4th of April, 1711, they caused the following Resolves to be entered on their minutes :

“ ‘Resolved that the said act is contrary to, and destructive of the Religious and Civil Liberty of Her Majesty’s subjects, and contrary to the Laws of Great Britain.

“ ‘Resolved that an address be drawn up to her Majesty against giving her Royal Assent to the said act.

“ ‘Ordered that the Rev. Mr. John Talbot, the Honourable Col. Daniel Cox, Alexander Griffith, Esq., Her Majesty’s Attorney-General, and Mr. Secretary Bass, do draw up the said address.’

“ According to these Resolves, an Address was drawn, signed and sent home to Her Majesty, together with others, to the Right Rev. Henry, Lord Bishop of London, the Right Honourable, the Earl of Clarendon, &c., which had that good effect at home that Her Majesty was pleased by her order in Council to declare her disapprobation of that act. The gentlemen of this church, were rather induced to this, in that they had just cause to fear that the same enemies of our Church that had, with so much cunning and artifice, obtained that act, in the neighbouring Province, would be restless in their endeavors to obtain the same in this Province; and indeed the party of the same sort of men, having got themselves chosen Representatives of the People, in this Province, in conjunction with some others, who in this too much betrayed the interests of the Church, had at the Sessions of the Assembly, in this Province, in December, January, and February, 1710, obtained a Bill, to pass the House of Representatives, entitled an act for ascertaining the qualifications of Jurors, and enabling the Quakers to serve on them, and to enjoy places of profit and trust, within this Province; which was by the majority of the Council, rejected at the second reading; who in this, as well as in many other instances, showed their zeal and fidelity to the Church, and its interest here in this Province.

“ The Church, all this while, had laboured under the burden of a Debt, contracted by several of its members, towards the building and finishing the same, which occasioned a new subscription to be made, which, not answering to a sufficient sum to pay the Debt, we find the same worthy member, Col. Coxe, by the Donation of £25, set us clear of that incumbrance we were uneasy under.

“ Our Church now began to have thoughts of providing something in this Town like a Glebe, for the Rector of our Church, for the time being, but were almost discouraged by our paucity and poverty; but Divine Providence, that never faileth those that confide in it, afforded us an unexpected supply,

by means wholly unthought of by us. The Rev. Dr. Frampton, late Bishop of Gloucester, having, by his last Will and Testament, left £100 sterling towards propagating the Gospel in America, at the sole appointment of the Right Rev. Henry, Lord Bishop of London, that Worthy and Reverend Prelate, at the instance and desire of Madam Catharine Bovey, of Hacksley, in the county of Gloucester, our worthy Benefactress, by a proper Instrument, in April, before he died, directed the money to be paid into her hands, for purchasing somewhat in America, that may be perpetual to the Church of St. Mary's in Burlington; to which she is pleased in her Letter to promise an addition of her own to complete the purchase. This sum is appropriated towards the payment of the purchase money, for a convenient House, Orchard, and about Six Acres of Land, adjoining to the Church, in the town of Burlington, to the use of the Rector of the said Church, for the time being, for ever; and since I am mentioning these small Benefactors, towards the Church here, I should be justly charged with ingratitude and inadvertency, if I had not remembered that act of generosity in the Right Honorable the Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, who have not only constantly supported our Reverend Minister with a salary of £60 per annum, but have, at the expense of £600 sterling, purchased the House formerly built, and belonging to Mr. Tatham, with fifteen Acres of Land, and twelve Acres of Meadow, for the use of a Bishop, when it shall please God to send one hither, and have since repaired the same, at very great additional expense.

"The same General Assembly that had not sat since the 16th of July, 1711, after many repeated prorogations, at last met his Excellency, Colonel Robert Hunter, Governor of this Province, on the 8th of December, 1713, and continued their Session till the 17th of March following, in which amongst other acts, having passed an Act, 'That the Solemn Affirmation and Declaration of the People, called Quakers, shall be accepted and taken instead of an Oath in the usual form, and for qualifying and enabling the said people to serve as Jurors, and to execute any office or place of trust or profit within this Province,' the Minister, Church-Wardens, and Vestry, on a due consideration of the danger the Church is in, by the increase of Atheism, Deism, Socinianism, Quakerism, and a new set of people that seem to be a compendium of all the ancient Heresies, known by the name of Free-Thinkers, and perceiving this Act of Assembly to give too great encouragement to these Enemies of our Church, thought it their duty to use their strenuous endeavours to obviate those apparent mischiefs; and, therefore, in an humble manner, made a new application to Her Royal Majesty, (who is not only Titular, but indeed the Defender of the Church) to prevent the giving her Royal Assent to so mischievous an Act; and at the same time addressed the Honourable Society for the propagation of the Gospel, for their countenance and assistance, to all which they are in hopes of a gracious answer. By this Act, the professed enemies of the Church, being made capable to be admitted into all offices and places of profit and trust, it is easy to perceive how hazardous it is for any of the friends of the Church to appear in its defence, or to adventure to put a stop to this foment of evil, by the most regular methods of addressing against it; since some persons, not contented with liberty of conscience, are so fond of licentiousness in Govern-

ment, that they will leave no stone unturned to obtain their darling Idol. It was for this end that by false suggestions and calumnies, several of the friends and favorites of the interest of the Church, Gentlemen of some of the best estates in the Province, were, to our very great grief, removed from being of her Majesty's Council and their places filled with others, that have been made favorable to their designs and interests; but it is time now to put a period to this Essay, it being sometimes more dangerous to assert Truth than to justify Error. In a word, since the first beginnings of any Established Church in this Province, we may truly say, that the Church never was in more danger, by Enemies from without, and false Brethren, pretended Friends amongst us, and never had so few in public station to appear in her defence.

I have only to add in obedience to your Excellency's commands, the methods in which, your Excellency may be most serviceable to the Church; your long acquaintance with the interest of the Church in these parts of the world, during your Excellency's Administration of the Government, of the Provinces of Maryland, Virginia, &c., as it makes you a very good judge of all propositions, made for that end, so it might have been a very good reason for me to avoid any such attempt, lest I should too much expose my own weakness; but since your Excellency is pleased to declare that you expect this service from me, I hope my obedience will apologize for my faults. I cannot but think the sending over a Bishop amongst us, to be of absolute necessity, and without which, all other attempts and methods to render the Church flourishing in these parts will be fruitless. Without government, no society or number of men can long be cemented, much less flourish and increase; without the censures of the Church are duly and impartially administered how shall either virtue be encouraged, or vice in all its forms detected and punished? The authors or perpetrators of some crimes may be too great for the Civil government to take hold of in these parts of the world, that might soon be corrected by the Ecclesiastical Governor; we need such an Ecclesiastical Governor that dare reprove and censure any that infringe the just Laws and Constitution of the Church; let us have such a Bishop as St. Ambrose, and we shall soon have such Governors as Theodosius.

I would also humbly propose that no persons be admitted into the Legislature or Executive Power of Government, but such as are in the Communion of the Church, if it be practicable; if in some places, this is not practicable, let them be such at least as are under the sacred tie and obligation of an oath; and, that our youth may not be tainted with erroneous principles, in their tender years, that no schools be permitted for the Education of youth, but such as are Licensed by the Governor's Instructions, that none be licensed but such as have a Certificate of their Sufficiency, Ability, and Sobriety, from the Minister and Church-Wardens of the place, where they last resided, or if no Minister thereof, four of the soberest and most substantial Inhabitants. That all endeavours be used for a legal, regular, and honorable support of an orthodox Clergy.

That no Laws be passed by the Governor and Council, that in any way intrench on the rights and liberties of the Church; or if any such inadvertency should be passed, that they be of no force, until they have received Her Majesty's Royal approbation; that the Laws that enjoin all persons to frequent

some public place of Worship every Lord's day, and all Laws for suppressing of Immorality and profaneness be duly and impartially executed.

"That all the Clergy be encouraged to put all the Ecclesiastic Laws and Canons that relate to scandalous offenders, into execution, without any respect of persons whatsoever.

"All which are hereby submitted to your Excellency's judgment by him who is, Your Excellency's most affectionate and very humble servant,

"J. BASS."

Brigadier Hunter to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

[Extract of a letter from Brigadier Hunter, Governor of New York, dated there the 9th of April, 1715.]

"Mr. Talbot has incorporated the Jacobites in the Jerseys, under the name of a Church; in order to sanctify his Sedition and Insolence to the Government.

"If the Society take not more care for the future, than has been taken hitherto, in the choice of their Missionaries, instead of establishing Religion, they'll destroy all Government and good manners."

The Secretary to Mr. Talbot.

August 23d, 1715.

"REVEREND SIR:

"I wrote to you on the 7th of April, in answer to yours of the 28th of October last, which will come by the Rev. Mr. Walker, but because possibly this may come to your hands before his arrival, I have enclosed a copy thereof. I am ordered to acquaint you that at a meeting of the Society, the first of July last, the Right Reverend, the Lord Bishop of London, laid before them an Extract of a Letter, communicated to him by the Lord Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, which was sent to them from Brigadier Hunter, Governor of New York, containing a complaint against you, with respect to your behaviour in those parts. The Society considered the same, and thereupon ordered a Copy of the said Extract, should be sent you, that you may have an opportunity of giving your answer to that charge, a Copy of which Extract is likewise here inclosed. I have nothing more in charge to communicate to you at present.

"I am, &c.,

"W. TAYLOR."

The Church-Wardens, &c., of Burlington to the Honourable Society.

Burlington, 28th, 1715.

“RIGHT REVEREND AND RIGHT HONORABLE :

“We cannot but adore that Divine Providence that has raised up so illustrious a Society, to be the propagators and defenders of the best of Churches, in these dark corners of the world, where the members are so frequently exposed to the malice and rage of those who are declared enemies, both to her doctrine and discipline. We acknowledge with the highest degree of gratitude, the sensible effects of your favour and protection, which we have already received, and hope we shall, by the grace of God, be enabled so to carry ourselves, in this troublesome age, that no calumnies of our enemies, may anyways lessen your opinion of us ; we have had the happiness, at your expense, of being educated under the care of a truly Pious and Apostolic Person, the Reverend Mr. Talbot, the fervour and excellencies of whose discourses, and the piety of whose life are the best recommendations of the religion he professes, in now better than this 12 years, that he hath had not only the care of us, but on all emergent occasions, that of all the neighbouring Churches, hath lain on him, and in all that time, we are bound to assert, that we never heard either in his public discourses or private conversation, anything that might tend towards encouraging sedition, or anyways insolencing the government ; it was therefore with the greatest surprise imaginable, that we read the following clause of a letter from Brigadier Hunter to the Board of Trade and Plantation, dated the 9th of April, 1715, by the Right Reverend, the Bishop of London, communicated to your Reverend and Honourable Society, in these words, ‘Mr. Talbot has incorporated the Jacobites in the Jerseys, under the name of a Church, in order to sanctify his sedition and insolence to the government ; if the Society take not more care for the future, than has been taken hitherto, in the choice of their Missionaries, instead of Establishing religion, they will destroy all government and good manners.’ What could induce this gentleman to endeavour to fix so barbarous, so calumnious, so very false, and groundless a scandal, is to us altogether unaccountable, to which we think the shortest answer that can be given, is that of Nehemiah to Sanballat, ‘there are no such things done as thou sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart.’”

“The Church at Burlington, Right Reverend and Right Honourable, is the only Church that we know of, incorporated in the Jerseys, which was begun, by that steady protector of our Churches here, the Earl of Clarendon, when he was her late Majesty’s Governor of this province, and finished under the administration of Colonel Richard Ingoldsby, and we are therefore, more particularly concerned, to answer to this charge. Our Minister, the Reverend Mr. Talbot, having undertaken his own defence against what the Governor hath charged him with, we shall say no more, than what we have said, on this account.”

Mr. Talbot to the Secretary.

"Burlington, November 1st, 1715.

"SIR :

"First I am bound to render thanks to the Right Rev. and Right Honourable Society, for sending honest Mr. Walker, to my assistance ; I hope he will answer the good character given of him on all hands ; I have offered him my house at Burlington, and all my interest is at his service.

"Next, I am obliged to the Society, for giving me leave to answer for myself, touching the reflections cast upon me by Brigadier Hunter. To be an accuser is bad, to be a false accuser is worse, but a false accuser of the brethren is literally a Devil ; I make no difference, for I call God to witness, I know no soul, in the Church of Burlington, nor in any other Church I have planted, but is well affected to the Protestant Church of England and present Government in the house of Hanover ; therefore he that accused us all for Jacobites, has the greater sin. I can compare it to nothing more or less, than Doeg, the Edomite, who stabbed the Priests' characters, and then cut all their throats ; or Haman, the Agagite, who slandered all the Jews as Jacobites who did not observe the King's Laws ; so they were appointed as sheep to the slaughter ; but God delivered *them*, and so, I hope he will do *us*, from the hand of the Enemy. The Honourable Colonel Bass, our Chief-Church-Warden, as diligent and faithful a servant of the Church and Crown as any, has been belied out of his Secretary's Office, and fined, and confined in the Common Gaol, for nothing but defending the Royal Law of King George, against an idol of the heathenish Quakers. Mr. Alexander Griffiths died heart-broken, being falsely accused and abused as a disaffected person to the Government ; he died at Amboy ; poor Mr. Ellis, the school-master, is very much discouraged in his business by a Quaker school-master being set up, in opposition to his license ; he has made his complaints oft, not without cause, but without effect ; he is a very sober, honest young gentleman, and deserves better encouragement. I wish the Society would take some better care of Burlington House ; as for Governour Hunter, he does not come here once in three years, and as soon as he gets his money, spends it all at New York ; so that we have only the burden, not the benefit, of Government ; therefore we have the greater need of a Chorepiscopus, a Rural Bishop or Suffragan, to impart some spiritual Gift, without which, there never was, or can be any being, or well-being of a Church. This is the burden of all our lamentations, and so it will be, till it is answered ; the sooner the better, *Cum bono deo*. So desiring prayers of the sacred Society, I remain,

"Your humble servant,

"JOHN TALBOT."

The Church-Wardens, &c., of Burlington to the Honourable Society.

Burlington, 28th, 1715.

"RIGHT REVEREND AND RIGHT HONORABLE :

"We cannot but adore that Divine Providence that has raised up so illustrious a Society, to be the propagators and defenders of the best of Churches, in these dark corners of the world, where the members are so frequently exposed to the malice and rage of those who are declared enemies, both to her doctrine and discipline. We acknowledge with the highest degree of gratitude, the sensible effects of your favour and protection, which we have already received, and hope we shall, by the grace of God, be enabled so to carry ourselves, in this troublesome age, that no calumnies of our enemies, may anyways lessen your opinion of us ; we have had the happiness, at your expense, of being educated under the care of a truly Pious and Apostolic Person, the Reverend Mr. Talbot, the fervour and excellencies of whose discourses, and the piety of whose life are the best recommendations of the religion he professes, in now better than this 12 years, that he hath had not only the care of us, but on all emergent occasions, that of all the neighbouring Churches, hath lain on him, and in all that time, we are bound to assert, that we never heard either in his public discourses or private conversation, anything that might tend towards encouraging sedition, or anyways insolencing the government ; it was therefore with the greatest surprise imaginable, that we read the following clause of a letter from Brigadier Hunter to the Board of Trade and Plantation, dated the 9th of April, 1715, by the Right Reverend, the Bishop of London, communicated to your Reverend and Honourable Society, in these words, ' Mr. Talbot has incorporated the Jacobites in the Jerseys, under the name of a Church, in order to sanctify his sedition and insolence to the government ; if the Society take not more care for the future, than has been taken hitherto, in the choice of their Missionaries, instead of Establishing religion, they will destroy all government and good manners.' What could induce this gentleman to endeavour to fix so barbarous, so calumnious, so very false, and groundless a scandal, is to us altogether unaccountable, to which we think the shortest answer that can be given, is that of Nehemiah to Sanballat, ' there are no such things done as thou sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart.'

"The Church at Burlington, Right Reverend and Right Honourable, is the only Church that we know of, incorporated in the Jerseys, which was begun, by that steady protector of our Churches here, the Earl of Clarendon, when he was her late Majesty's Governor of this province, and finished under the administration of Colonel Richard Ingoldsby, and we are therefore, more particularly concerned, to answer to this charge. Our Minister, the Reverend Mr. Talbot, having undertaken his own defence against what the Governor hath charged him with, we shall say no more, than what we have said, on this account."

Mr. Talbot to the Secretary.

" Burlington, November 1st, 1715.

" SIR :

"First I am bound to render thanks to the Right Rev. and Right Honourable Society, for sending honest Mr. Walker, to my assistance ; I hope he will answer the good character given of him on all hands ; I have offered him my house at Burlington, and all my interest is at his service.

"Next, I am obliged to the Society, for giving me leave to answer for myself, touching the reflections cast upon me by Brigadier Hunter. To be an accuser is bad, to be a false accuser is worse, but a false accuser of the brethren is literally a Devil ; I make no difference, for I call God to witness, I know no soul, in the Church of Burlington, nor in any other Church I have planted, but is well affected to the Protestant Church of England and present Government in the house of Hanover ; therefore he that accused us all for Jacobites, has the greater sin. I can compare it to nothing more or less, than Doeg, the Edomite, who stabbed the Priests' characters, and then cut all their throats ; or Haman, the Agagite, who slandered all the Jews as Jacobites who did not observe the King's Laws ; so they were appointed as sheep to the slaughter ; but God delivered *them*, and so, I hope he will do *us*, from the hand of the Enemy. The Honourable Colonel Bass, our Chief-Church-Warden, as diligent and faithful a servant of the Church and Crown as any, has been belied out of his Secretary's Office, and fined, and confined in the Common Gaol, for nothing but defending the Royal Law of King George, against an idol of the heathenish Quakers. Mr. Alexander Griffiths died heart-broken, being falsely accused and abused as a disaffected person to the Government ; he died at Amboy ; poor Mr. Ellis, the school-master, is very much discouraged in his business by a Quaker school-master being set up, in opposition to his license ; he has made his complaints oft, not without cause, but without effect ; he is a very sober, honest young gentleman, and deserves better encouragement. I wish the Society would take some better care of Burlington House ; as for Governour Hunter, he does not come here once in three years, and as soon as he gets his money, spends it all at New York ; so that we have only the burden, not the benefit, of Government ; therefore we have the greater need of a Chorepiscopus, a Rural Bishop or Suffragan, to impart some spiritual Gift, without which, there never was, or can be any being, or well-being of a Church. This is the burden of all our lamentations, and so it will be, till it is answered ; the sooner the better, *Cum bono deo*. So desiring prayers of the sacred Society, I remain,

" Your humble servant,

" JOHN TALBOT."

Mr. Talbot to the Secretary.

"Burlington, 1716.

"SIR :

"I have not had the favour of a letter, though I have sent several since Mr. Walker arrived. I have put him into the Church at Burlington, and into a house, which out of my poverty, I have prepared for the service of the Church, for ever, and for the use of the missionaries, for the time being, from the Honourable Society, if I die in the service, and be not forced to sell it again for pure necessities.

"I hear that one of my bills was ordered to lie by for a half year. I wish I had known the reason of it, that I might have answered by the bearer, the Honourable Colonel Coxe, who comes home with another gentleman of the Vestry of the Church at Burlington, to clear that Church from the slanders that Colonel Hunter has raised against us, only because we were Christians, and could not serve God and Mammon, Christ and Belial, &c.

"I don't know any thing that I have done, contrary to my duty, either in Church or State ; but if it be resolved that no Englishman shall be in Mission or Commission, *apud Americanos*, I don't know what we have done, that we should all give place to Scotch-Irish ; but I am content to suffer with Good Company, *ferre quam sortem patiuntur omnes, nemo recuset*. I suffer all things for the elect's sake, the poor church of God, here, in the Wilderness. There is none to guide her, among all the sons that she has brought forth, nor is there any that takes her by the hand of all the sons that she has brought up. When the Apostles heard that Samaria had received the word of God, immediately they sent out two of the chief, Peter and John, to lay their hands on them, and pray that they might receive the Holy Ghost ; they did not stay for a secular design of salary ; and when the Apostles heard that the word of God was preached at Antioch, presently they sent out Paul and Barnabas, that they should go as far as Antioch, to confirm the Disciples, and so the Churches were established in the faith, and increased in number daily ; and when Paul did but *dream* that a man of Macedonia called him, he set sail all so fast, and went over himself to help them ; but we have been here these twenty years, calling till our hearts ache, and ye own 'tis the call and the cause of God, and yet ye have not heard, or have not answered, and it is all one.

"I must say this, if the Society don't do more in a short time, than they have, in a long, they will, I fear, lose their honour and character too ; I don't pretend to prophesy, but you know how they said the kingdom of God shall be taken from them, and given to a nation that will bring forth the fruits of it. God give us all the grace to do the things that belong to our peace, so God bless you all.

"And yours,

"JOHN TALBOT.

"You may imagine what you please of the Irish missionaries, but I am sure we have lost Mr. Brook and Thoroughgood Moore, two English-men, that were worth all the Teagues that ever came over."

Mr. Talbot to the Secretary. (Extract.)

"Burlington, September 17th, 1717.

"SIR:

"I received an Order from the Society, to look after some Lands belonging to the House at Burlington, together with Mr. Vesey, but he is not yet come this way, so I shall say nothing to that point at present, because it is but an acre or two, and that is safe enough.

"The Quakers would have got that, as they have all the rest of the meadow Lands belonging to the Bishop's House, and divided them amongst themselves."

Mr. Talbot to the Secretary.

"Burlington, May 3d, 1718.

"SIR:

"I used to write to you now and then, though I seldom have the favour of an answer, or not to the point. All your missionaries hereabouts, are going to Maryland, for the sake of themselves, their wives and children; for my part, I cannot desert my poor Flock, that I have gathered, nor will I, if I have neither Money, Credit, nor Tobacco. But if I had known as much as I do now, that the Society were not able, for their parts, to send Bishop, Priest, nor Deacon, no Lecturer nor Catechist, no hinter, nor holderforth, I would never have put the good people in these parts to the charge and trouble of building Churches; (nay, now they must be stalls, or stables for Quakers horses, when they come from market or meeting) as I said before, but some people will not believe till it is too late. Dr. Evans himself is gone to Maryland, for he says nobody will serve the Church for nought, as I do; for my part, I cannot blame the People in these parts, for they do what they are able, and no body can desire more, rich or poor, for those that do them any good. My Duty to the Honourable Society.

"I am your most humble servant,

"JOHN TALBOT."

[It would seem that not long after the date of this letter, Mr. Talbot again visited England, and obtained the interest on Archbishop Tenison's legacy to the oldest American missionary.]

Copy of Order for Mr. Talbot's receiving the Interest of the late Archbishop Tenison's £1000.

"Upon the humble petition of John Talbot, Clerk, this day preferred to the Right Honourable, the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, thereby setting forth that Dr. Thomas Tenison, late Archbishop of Canterbury, did by Codicil to his Will, bequeath £1000 towards settlement of Bishops in Ame-

rica; and until such lawful appointments of Bishops, did direct that the interest should be applied to the benefit of such missionaries, being Englishmen of the province of Canterbury, as have taken true pains in the respective plans committed by the Society to their care in the foreign plantations, and have been by unavoidable accidents, sickness, or other infirmities of the body, or old age, disabled from the performance of their duties in the said places, and forced to return to England; and that upon the hearing of this Cause, it was among other things ordered that the £1000 should be placed out at interest, on such Government or other security as Mr. Bennet, by whom the account of the Testator's personal Estate was directed to be taken, should approve of, and the interest thereof is to be applied according to the directions of the Testator's Will, until one month after the appointment and consecration of two Bishops, and that the said John Talbot, who was formerly Rector of Freethorn, in the County and Diocese of Gloucester and province of Canterbury, hath been in the service of the said Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, as their Missionary in the foreign plantations, near 18 years, during which time he hath taken true pains in the discharge of his holy function, in the several places committed to his care by the said Society, and by his zeal and exemplary life, and conversation, hath done great service to the Church in America, and therefore is qualified to receive the interest of the said £1000, as by the certificate of the said Corporation, under their Common Seal, hereunto annexed, may appear, and that there having no Bishops been yet appointed in America, and the said John Talbot being the only missionary that is an Englishman, and of the province of Canterbury, hath been so long, and behaved himself so well, in the said service, as by the said certificate appears, the said John Talbot, by the direction of the said Society, applied himself to the said Mr. Bennet, for the said interest, who apprehends he cannot pay the same without the direction of this Court, and thereupon the said John Talbot, on the 22d April 1721, applied himself to your Lordship, that the said Mr. Bennet might pay such interest as was then due to him, which was ordered accordingly, and that the said Mr. Bennet, pursuant to the said Order, did pay unto the said John Talbot, all the interest then received, and the said John Talbot hath applied to the said Mr. Bennet for what interest has been received since, who apprehends he cannot pay the same, without your Lordship's further directions: Therefore, and inasmuch as there is no other person entitled to receive any part of the said interest, it is prayed, that the said Mr. Bennet may be ordered to pay such Interest as is now due to the said John Talbot, or, as he shall appoint, which is ordered accordingly, whereof notice is forthwith to be given.

"RIC. PRICE, Deput. Reg."

Mr. Talbot to the Secretary.

"Burlington, November 27.

"SIR:

"I and Mr. Skinner arrived safe, in six weeks at Philadelphia, never better weather, nor so good a Passage, as the Captain said (who

was a Quaker); they and the sailors used to say, they had no luck when the Priests were on Board, but now they are both prettily convinced, and finally converted, to say no more. All sorts and conditions of men, women and children were glad to see us return, for they had given me over. I was yesterday at New Bristol, in Pennsylvania, to call the people to Church, but they had almost lost the way; it was so overgrown with Bushes, they could hardly find the Church, having had nothing to do there, for two years and a half. Since I came away the Church there has suffered very much, but the Bishop's house here at the point, is in the worst condition of all; 'tis made nothing but a bawdy-house, a sheep's cote and play-house; the boys have broken the windows from the top to bottom; they break the doors, steal the leads and iron bars, they pull down the pales, and cut the Cedar posts, they steal the fruit, and break the Trees; 'tis in vain to repair it any more, unless some family be put in to guard it, I think. I have a house of my own just by the Church, and I would not live in the point House, if they would give it to me, but I am loath to see it fall down, as the Coach House and stables have already; and what will they do for the meadows, they will be lost if not claimed speedily, the witnesses will be dead that know where the Lands lie; if the Society think fit to send any Orders about these things, I hope they will come before it is too late; I thought it my duty to lay these things before the Honorable Body, and hope you will read it to the Committee and Society, that something may be done, before the whole House drops through; this is the last time of asking, so I crave your prayers and remain

"Your most obedient servant,

"JOHN TALBOT.

"P. S.—The Society had better never have bought this House, for some Gentleman or another, such as Colonel Cox, would have done very well with it, but since they have bought, and can't sell it again for the worth, they had better make a Free School or a College; it is very well contrived for that purpose. Several of Mr. Skinner's scholars at Philadelphia are fit for the Academy, but here is no place to send them to; they can't afford to send their children to Europe for Education; sailing is now too dangerous and troublesome and chargeable, something of a College must be had here, the sooner the better.

"J. T."

Mr. Talbot to the Secretary.

"Burlington, 20th September, 1723.

"REV. SIR:

"I have more work to do now than I had before, and I have no assistant; they are both gone, and have left me and the Church in the lurch. I have fifteen miles to travel from the Capes of Delaware to the Hills and Mountains in East Jersey, and none to help me but Mr. Lidenius, a Swedish minister, and he is going away. I have been this month at Trenton, at Hopewell, and Amwell, preaching and baptizing nineteen persons

in one day. I visited several persons that were sick, who had been Quakers, and who were come off their errors, with Mr. George Keith; they were 80 years of age, and had never received the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in all their lives, but were loth to die, without the benefit and comfort of it; so I was fain to come back again to Burlington, to get the Elements, then returned to the Mountains, and did administer to their great satisfaction. They are preparing to build a Church in the Spring, but when they will have a minister I cannot tell; but it is a solemn thing (as they say in New England) for the lost sheep to go astray in the Wilderness; to be among Wolves is worse, but for sheep to be without a shepherd, is the most deplorable case of all; meanwhile it is some comfort to see the Bishop's house at Burlington, in repairs again; it is as well finished and furnished, as ever I saw it. The Governour of New York is coming to reside here for a month or two. We have got an honest Churchman, as we suppose, to live there and keep it in good order, now it is so, by care and order of Colonel Coxe; if the account comes not by this ship, "Old Annise," it will by the next this fall, in Captain Richmond. I have set up one Mr. Searle, a schoolmaster, to read prayers, and preach on Sundays, at Springfield; I lent him some sermons of Drs. Tillotson and Beveridge; several Quakers came to hear him, and are much taken with him; they say they never thought the Priests had so much Good Doctrine. I am sure he is a much better Clerk than Mr. H——n, saving his orders, therefore I commend him to the Society for their encouragement; and hope they will count him worthy to be a half-pay officer in their service. I pray God bless all our benefactors, and prosper all the labours of all their honest missionaries, especially

"Your &c.

"JOHN TALBOT."

Mr. Talbot to the Secretary.

"Burlington, 7bris 7th, 1724.

"REV. SIR:

"I have been here altogether this last half-year; I preach once on Sunday morn, and Catechize or Homilize in the afternoon. I read the prayers of the Church, in the Church, decently, according to the order of Morning and Evening Prayer, daily through the year, and that is more than is done in any Church that I know, *apud Americanos*. I bought a house and two or three lots of land, adjoining to the Church-yard, and since I came over last, I have settled by deed, upon St. Mary's Church at Burlington, a parsonage and glebe; though there was neither Church, house, nor glebe, before I came, I hope there will be one now, for ever. I design to send the Society some account of the particulars of this in my next; and this is more than any body has done before, that I know, of my own proper cost and charge; so that I have been a good husband, to do this of my poverty, for I have no salary from the people. I had formerly £20 per annum, when there

was money, but now, here is neither money, credit, nor tobacco, nothing but a little paper coin, that is nothing but sorry rags, and we can hardly get them to pay the Clerk £10, that is allowed him by the year. We are amongst a set of people called Quakers, who have denied the faith, and are worse than infidels; they serve no God but Mammon, and their own Bellies, and it is against their conscience to let the priest have anything, either by Law or Gospel. I have commonly the Sacrament administered once a month, and at the great feasts two or three days together; the number of Communicants is uncertain, 20, 30, 40, or 50 persons.

"There is no parochial library yet, for I never had any, from the Society, but I design to leave mine, and Mr. Thorogood Moore's, when I die, to that use; meanwhile we want Common Prayer Books very much. If it please the Honourable Society, instead of £5, in small tracts, to let that money be laid out in Common Prayer Books, they would be of great use to the people in all parts, who can't get them here for love or money. Those small tracts were but of small use, for they laid up and did no good, and not being bound, they soon perish in the using, for it costs more to bind books here, than to buy them in Britain. I shall say but one thing more at present, which I omitted when I was in England, for my money was short, or else I would have got some Bells, which we want here very much; I don't mean a Ring of Bells in a Steeple, for idle fellows to make a vain jangling, but one good bell in the Church, that the people may know when to come together to worship God. I pray for you all, as I hope you do for

"Your most Humble Servant,

"JOHN TALBOT."

Mr. Talbot to the Bishop of London.

"Burlington, July 2d, 1725.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP:

"I understand by letters from some friends in England, that I am discharged the Society for Exercising Acts of Jurisdiction over my Brethren, the Missionaries, &c. This is very strange to me, for I knew nothing about it, nor any body else, in all the world. I could disprove it by 1,000 witnesses, but since there is one come home in the Richmond, Mrs. Alexander, relict of the Comptroller in Philadelphia, &c. (she has been many years a member of Christ Church), she can give your Lordship the best account of the present state. As for myself, I shall not turn accuser of the Brethren, but this I will say, those that came last are not better than their fathers, and some of them have given occasion to a proverb of reproach, and been told to their faces, 'The Devil would have the Bishop of London for ordaining such fellows as you.'

"This I take to be the most unpardonable sin, the iniquity of Eli's house, which the Lord said should not be purged with sacrifice nor offering for ever,

because his sons made themselves vile, and he restrained them not : But, my Lord, let them be who they will, or what they will, to their own Master they stand or fall, I have nothing to do with them, nor ever had, nor ever will. I am clear of the blood of all men, and will so keep myself. Let them that have the watch look out : as your Lordship has done me the wrong, so I hope you will do me the right, upon better information, to let me be in *statu quo*,—for indeed I have suffered great wrong, for no offence or fault at all, that I know of, a long, long penance I have done, for crimes, alas ! to me unknown, but God has been with me, and made all things work together for my good ; meanwhile I hope your Lordship will hear the right, and do nothing rashly, but upon your authority, for the edification and not for the destruction of this poor Church *apud Americanos*, which has many adversaries, and none to help her. But this good Lady, Mrs. Alexander, if your Lordship please to give her audience, will give the best information, and answer all objections that can be alleged against

“ Your most humble

“ And faithful servant,

“ J. TALBOT.”

Mr. Talbot to the Secretary.

“ Burlington, July 8th, 1725.

“ REVEREND SIR :

“ Yours received March, ult., that I am out of Quantum, with the Society, and also a Bill, protested since that, payable to Mr. Graham, of £30, value received. I heard nothing of this before our Lady Day last past, therefore I have drawn a bill for three quarters’ salary, for so long I was actually in their service at my proper cost and charge, in propagating the Gospel, and this is as much due to me, as any I have from them. Sir, I desire the favour of yourself to lay the case before the Honourable Board, and when they consider the thing, as it is, they will please to pay that Bill to my worthy Friend, Mr. Thomas Forey, for I never knew any board discard their officers but they paid them, for the time being, in their service, and knew nothing of their will and pleasure to the contrary. I remain, your most humble and obliged servant,

“ JOHN TALBOT.”

[Extract from a Memorial to the Society from Churches in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.]

“SHEWETH:

“That the melancholy circumstance of the Church of England in these Colonies, is a subject, we hope, worthy, not only your compassion, but tender regard, having not above one Minister to seven or eight Churches or Congregations, and we bemoan our case, when we behold so many Churches, lately built, lie as desolate around us, convincing arguments of our affection for the Church, and of our great misfortune in being destitute of pastors. When at the same time we daily see Dissenters of all denominations, continually supplied, and increase, through this, our misfortune, and upbraid us with this defect. It is, therefore, with the utmost concern, we express our unhappiness, when we view our circumstances rather decline than flourish. In particular, that Mr. Talbot, who for nigh thirty years past, has behaved himself with indefatigable pains, and good success in his Ministry, among us, under your Honour's care, has by some late conduct (nowise privy to us), rendered himself disagreeable to his superiors and departed from us. We cannot, without violence to the principles of our Religion, approve of any acts, or give into any measures inconsistent with our duty and Loyalty to his Majesty, whom God long preserve; yet in gratitude to this unhappy Gentleman, we humbly beg leave to say, that by his exemplary life and ministry, he has been the greatest advocate for the Church of England, by Law Established, that ever appeared on this shore. This unhappy accident, together with the death and removal of some other clergymen from us, has very much increased the cause of our complaint, and we have no other recourse but to your Honours for relief. Having well-grounded hopes, the same good spirit which prompted you to undertake the glorious work of propagating the Gospel in foreign parts will continue your pious regards to these Colonies, and the rather, since so many stately monuments are erected for God's service, testifying our sincere willingness to embrace your charitable assistance, and to answer the glorious ends you have in view.

“Therefore, your petitioners most humbly beg your Honourable Society will please to extend your wonted charity and necessary supply to the several Churches and Congregations, of which particular accounts are hereto annexed.

“And your Petitioners, as in Duty bound,
“Shall ever pray,” &c.

Christ Church, Philadelphia.

SAMUEL HASELL, }
ROBERT BOLTON, } *Churchwardens.*

THOMAS LAWRENCE, CHARLES READ, }
THOMAS FENTON, BENJAMIN MORGAN, } *Vestrymen,*
JAMES TUTHILL, THOMAS TRESSE, } *Christ Church,*
THOMAS LEECH, JAMES BINGHAM, } *Philadelphia.*

Thomas Polgreen, Thomas Chase, William Fraser, Robert Asheton, George Plumly, Arthur Oliver, Daniel Harrison, John Brooks, Henry Dexter, John Orton, John Knowles, George Meall, R. Asheton.

St. James' Church in New Bristol.

JOHN ABRAHAM DENORMANDIE, }
F. GAUDOUETT, } *Churchwardens.*
JOHN ALLEN, }

St. Mary's Church at Burlington.

ROWLAND ELLIS, }
JONATHAN LOVETT, } *Churchwardens.*

Peter Bard, Samuel Bustill, Richard Allison, James Gould, John Dagworthy, F. Owes, James Trent, Jacob Baillergeau, Edward R. Price, William Cutler, Thomas Fosgate, James Thompson, Anthony Elton, Simon Nightingale, Thomas Skeene, Thomas Hunloke, George Willis.

The Churchwardens of Burlington to the Governor.

" November 4th, 1725.

"Since your Excellency has been pleased to order, that the Rev. Mr. Talbot should surcease officiating in this Church, it heartily grieves me to see the doors thereof daily shut up; but we humbly beg leave to acknowledge your Excellency's favour, and repeated willingness to assist and join with us in this affair. The hurry of country business, that would not admit of our members to meet together, prevented our addressing your Excellency sooner, but we crave leave to acquaint your Excellency, that as it is our unhappiness to be without a Minister, we humbly hope for your Excellency's favourable countenance and good offices to obtain what is so expedient and necessary for the interest of our Holy Religion and the best of Churches, of which we acknowledge ourselves unworthy members.

" We are, &c.,

" ROWLAND ELLIS, and others."

Thus far Mr. Talbot has been permitted to illustrate his own character, by his letters. The reader, however, will, we trust, not be unwilling to trace him to the end of his career; and particularly to be informed of his connection with the Episcopate in the Colonies, derived from the non-Jurors. At the request of the Publishing Committee, therefore, one of their number has prepared the following paper on that subject; and with it conclude our memorials of Mr. Talbot.

NON-JURING EPISCOPATE

IN THE

UNITED STATES,

COMPILED BY THE

REVEREND B. FRANKLIN.

PART of the documentary evidence of the existence of Bishops in America having non-Juring orders, previous to the Revolution, is contained in the preceding letters. Upon referring to the letters written to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, by the Rev. John Talbot, anterior to his visit to England, A.D. 1718, it will be observed that he pleads with untiring perseverance, and almost pathetic earnestness, for a Bishop to be sent to America. It will also be observed that at one time he had such hopes of seeing a Bishop here, that he purchased a residence for one by direction of the Venerable Society, at Burlington, N. J. He waited for years in vain. The hopes of the Society were dissipated. Mr. Talbot seems to have despaired of obtaining the Episcopacy from the Established Church, and during his absence, as above, the residence purchased for a Bishop went to decay.

Mr. Talbot had been charged falsely, as it appears, with Jacobinism, even previous to A.D. 1715. This charge might have suggested to him the idea of obtaining the Episcopacy from the Jacobin Bishops of England. It is certain that he went to England about A.D. 1718, and returned late in the autumn A.D. 1722. We have a letter from him to the Secretary of the Society

for the Propagation of the Gospel, dated November 27th of that year, which announces his safe return. In this letter, and in all that succeed it, not even a request appears that a Bishop be sent to America, a matter which Mr. Talbot never before omitted strenuously to urge.

It was during this visit that Mr. Talbot received the interest on Archbishop Tennison's bequest.

Mr. Talbot, while in England at this time, made the acquaintance of the Rev. Dr. Robert Welton, who had been deprived of the rectorship of St. Mary's, Whitechapel, London, for his attachment to the non-Jurors. At this time also occurred the first division in the ranks of the non-Jurors themselves. Some adhered to the English Liturgy, as it was in the days of James II., while others wished to introduce what became known as the "Usages." They were four, namely, *mixing Water with the Wine, Prayer for the Dead, the Prayer for the Descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Elements, and the Oblatory Prayer.**

The party which rejected the "Usages," consecrated Ralph Taylor a Bishop in the year 1720. Mr. Perceval, in his book on the Apostolic Succession, states that in the year 1722 Ralph Taylor consecrated Robert Welton a Bishop, and then Taylor and Welton together consecrated John Talbot.

Lathbury, in narrating the history of division among the non-Jurors, writes:

"Being once divided, other minor separations or subdivisions soon followed. Thus in 1723-4,† Robert Welton was consecrated a Bishop by Ralph Taylor, who, contrary to the Canons of the Church, took upon himself to act in his individual capacity. No precedent could be pleaded for such a proceeding, which must, therefore, be regarded as an innovation on the practice of the Universal Church from the Apostolic age. Talbot also was consecrated by Taylor and Welton. These consecrations, therefore, were viewed as irregular and uncanonical. It appears that Taylor [Talbot] and Welton were never recognised as Bishops by the rest of the body; yet both exercised the Episcopal functions in the American Colonies. The Government, at the desire of the Bishop of London, at length interposed, when Welton retired to Portugal, where he died in 1726, and Taylor [Talbot] returned to the Communion of the National Church."

This paragraph has been quoted in full from Lathbury, though it contains some errors which the following documents will show. It con-

* Lathbury's History of the Non-Jurors, pp. 252, 492-494.

† A mistake of a year probably.

firms, if it does not merely repeat, the statement of actual consecration which appears in Perceval's work.

Dr. Welton and Mr. Talbot undoubtedly came to America soon after their consecration, and labored in the cities and vicinities of Philadelphia and Burlington.

The Documents which prove this are given below, with the exception of those which appear in the previous part of the volume.

Letter from an Unknown Person to Dr Bray.

"Cecil County in Maryland, July 29th, 1724.

"REV. SIR :

"In a former I have acquainted you with my treatment at Philadelphia, how villainously and barbarously I was supplanted by Mr. Talbot, who has been years at Burlington in the Jerseys, some time Itinerant with George Keith, and very famous for his disaffection to the Crown. Ever since the revolution he and one Smith a rigid took some pains to persuade me not to pray for the King and Royal Family, but to say as they did, only the King and Prince ('tis obvious whom they mean) and since I was not to be wrought on, I was by their contrivance very unhandsomely kickt out, and in order to proselyte that province he, the said Talbot, supplied the place till some honest hearts addressed the Governour, and he ordered the Church doors to be shut up, but now set open again to your late neighbour Dr. Welton, who I hear is lately arrived there. If more such come of that kidney all the clergy both in and out of the Government will be corrupted, and the people all seduced from their allegiance to his Majesty—there will be no need of popish priests and Jesuits any longer—they who should oppose and resist will effectually carry on and promote the Romish designs. I can't but wonder how my Lord Chancellor was induced to let Talbot when last in England have the interest of the late Archbishop Cant. his legacy towards sending a Bishop over into America, with assurance of having it for the future till one be appointed. I am now settled here in an easy parish well disposed people. I have a fine glebe and between 30 and 40,000 lbs. worth of tobacco yearly; but I fear I shall receive none this year, that and corn all being burnt up with the excessive drought. I am with all humble respects,

"Rev. Sir, Your, &c."

The above letter was undoubtedly written by the Rev. John Urmston, as will appear from its correspondence with the following letter by that clergyman, to the Secretary of the Venerable Society. Though Mr. Urmston uses harsh language, he does not appear to have been able to specify against Mr. Talbot any other charge than that of Jacobinism. The charge of supplanting is at least open to a difference of opinion, particularly

as the first part of the letter shows that Mr. Urmston's labors were probably not very acceptable, inasmuch as he came to America after vainly seeking employment in England; and in this country also wandered about seeking employment for a long time in vain. It is thought best to give the letter in full. Though the first third of it does not bear upon the evidence of non-Juring Episcopacy in the American Colonies, it will be seen that the remainder contains almost positive testimony to the fact:

"Cecil County in Maryland, June ult. 1724.

"REV. SIR :

"You may remember that I once had a mind to have gone with the D. of Portland; you were pleased to offer me that letter to a French Marquis who went with his Grace. I thought my Lord D. of Kingston who married the other's sister might be more effectual. He spake to his brother and his answer was that he should take no more into his family and yet soon after entertained Charles Lamb. This was one of the many disappointments I met with whilst in England last. I was rude in not acquainting you with my departure, but believe you will be so good as to pardon that and many other liberties particularly this long scroll which with humble respects will give you a further account of my unfortunate circumstances which I the rather communicate to you knowing you to be no half papist, as too many of the clergy now-a-days are.

"You're to be acquainted that I went from London to New England, where I had some hopes of staying but was prevented by the New Converts, one whereof had the offer if he would go to England and be ordained, and forthwith did, and is now minister of the New Episcopal Church in Boston, the only man that could be thought of; he'll do more good there than any other. I left the place very contentedly, and went from New York, where I narrowly missed of being Chaplain to the Fort and assistant to Mr. Vesey. Hearing that the Incumbent of Philadelphia was gone to England for his health, and left the place ill-supplied, I hastened thither, and was gladly received of the people. About six months after, we had the news of the death of the Incumbent aforesaid. I had written to my correspondent to get some friend to intercede with my then Lord of London to appoint me minister there. I never doubted of my friend's diligence nor his Lordship's favour, but my letters from England must certainly have been intercepted. Mr. Talbot, the famous Rector of Burlington, in the Jerseys, supplanted me here.* Governor Burnet had been long displeased with him by reason he is a notorious Jacobite, and will not pray for the King and Royal Family by name, only says the King and Prince, by which 'tis obvious whom he means. He hath often endeavoured to persuade me to do so too (little less than treason, I

* The counter statement to this will be seen in another part of this volume, in a letter of Talbot, dated at Philadelphia, 9th December, 1723, in the part immediately following the blank, which blank, as the coincidence of dates proves, should contain the name of the Rev. John Urmston.

think, to go about to pervert the King's subjects from their duty and allegiance to his Majesty). He hath poisoned all the neighbouring clergy with his rebellious principles; they dare not pray otherwise than he does when he is present. He caused many of my hearers to leave the Church; at last he gained his point, was accepted, and I kicked out very dirtily by the Vestry, who pretend that the Bishop of London is no Diocesan, nor hath anything to do there more than another Bishop, so that any one that is lawfully ordained and licenced by any Bishop, it matters not who, the Bishop of Rome I suppose Talbot and many more will say, or any other, is capable of taking upon him any cure in America. I was not sorry for my removal from so precarious and slavish a place, where they require two sermons every Lord's Day, Prayers all the week, and Homilies on Festivals, besides abundance of Funerals, Christenings at home, and sick to be visited; no settled salary, the Churchwardens go from house to house every six months, every one gives what he pleases, sometimes liberally, and on the least pretence or dislike, or it may be the persuasion of the Churchwardens and their adherents, they'll give nothing, and so they forced that worthy gentleman, Dr. Evans, and many others to leave the places; they love new faces. I was told that they had eleven ministers within the space of nine years. About three months after Talbot was gotten into his kingdom some had the courage to go to Sir William Keith, who otherwise was well enough pleased with Talbot, and to tell his Excellency that it was a shame such a fellow should be allowed to officiate in the Church, and that if his Excellency suffered him they would write to England against them both, whereupon Talbot was sent away, and the place hath been vacant these four months. What has become of this great Apostle I know not; certainly Governor Burnet will not suffer him to return to Burlington. Some of his confidants have discovered that he is in*

orders, as many more rebels are.† I have heard of no ordinations he has made as yet, but doubtless he'll persuade all the clergy who are his creatures to be ordained again by him. To this end he came fraught from England with some of the most virulent and scandalous pamphlets he could pick up; that one I met with by chance, whose title was, 'The Case Truly Stated,' proving that all ordained by Bishops consecrated since or such as conformed and approved of the revolution are imposters, and the divine service is only to be performed by those who have been re-ordained by non-jurors, and that there are enough of them all over England to serve the Church. *Proh mores atque hominum fidem!*

"As oldest Missionary he received the three years' interest of the £2000 the late Archbishop of Canterbury his legacy towards the support of a Bishop in the plantations, and is entitled to the same until a Bishop be appointed. My Lord Chancellor did not know the man, or certainly he would never have admitted him to so great a favour. I went by land from Philadelphia to North Carolina, in order to take a view of Maryland and

* The blank above evidently was filled by, or intended to be understood as if containing, the word *Bishop's*.

† This can hardly be regarded as proof that there were a number of non-juring Bishops in the Colonies. Mr. Urmston was plainly loose, both in his insinuations and assertions. If there had been such numbers as he would seem to assert, we should undoubtedly find other mention of them.

Virginia, and to sell my Plantation, stock, and goods ; that done, I returned to Maryland, and am settled in Cecil County, a very promising, thriving place ; the income is between 33 and 34,000, which will be considerable when Tobacco bears a price.

“ I am, Reverend Sir,

“ Your most obedient

“ JOHN URMSTON.”

[Extract of a Letter from Mr. Henderson* to the Bishop of London, dated “ Maryland, August 16th, 1724.

— “ Mr. Talbot, Minister of Burlington, returned from England about two years ago in Episcopal orders, though his orders till now of late have been kept as a great secret, and Dr. Welton is arrived there about six weeks ago, as I’m credibly informed, in the same capacity, and the people of Philadelphia are so fond of him that they will have him right or wrong for their minister.

“ I am much afraid these gentlemen will poison the people of that province. I cannot see what can prevent it but the speedy arrival of a Bishop there, one of the same order to confront them, for the people will rather take confirmation from them than have none at all, and by that means they’ll hook them into the schism.

“ I am well assured they’ll get no footing in this province, for I dare say his Majesty King George has not subjects any where in his dominions more zealously attached to him than the Clergy and Protestant laity here, are.

“ I question not but your Lordship in your great wisdom will find out some expedient to prevent the ruin that threatens the Church in that province. I need say no more but to beg your Lordship’s prayers for,

“ May it please your Lordship,

“ Your most dutiful son and

“ Most obedient humble servant,

“ JACOB HENDERSON.”

* Mr. Henderson was Commissary in Maryland.

Mr. Stubbs to the Bishop of London.

" Westmer, April 16, 1725.

" MY LORD :

" In obedience to your Lordship's commands, just now laid upon me in the Cockpit, I dispatch as ordered by Sir J. Phillips, two paragraphs of a letter just come to hand, signed 'John Urmston,' and dated 'Cecil County, in Maryland, 7ber. 29th, 1724 : ' P. S. Mr. Talbot did me no unkindness in causing me to be turned out of Philadelphia to make room for himself. He convened all the clergy to meet, put on his robes and demanded Episcopal obedience from them; one wiser than the rest refused, acquainted the Governor with the ill consequences thereof, the danger he would run of losing his Government, whereupon the Governor ordered the Church to be shut up.'

" ' P. S. He is succeeded by Dr. Welton, who makes a great noise amongst them by reason of his sufferings. He has brought with him to the value of £300 sterling in guns and fishing tackle, with divers printed copies of his famous altar-piece at White Chapel. He has added a scrawl with words proceeding out of the mouth of the Bishop of Peterborough to this effect, as I am told, "I am not he that betrayed Christ, though as ready to do it as ever Judas was." I have met him since in the streets, but had no further conversation with him.'

" Your Lordship's

" Most dutiful

" PHILIP STUBBS."

Sir William Keith to the Secretary S. P. G.

" May 13, 1725.

" SIR :

" The notice which the Society do me the honour to give by your letter of 15th January, concerning Dr. Welton's character, shall be duly regarded by using all the means that is in my power to prevent the mischief which they apprehend from the Doctor's residing in the Government. But so long as the Vestry here take upon them to be wholly independent on the Governor's authority, and that Clergymen may be indifferently called without either a license from the Bishop or Induction here, I hope I cannot be accountable for irregularities of that nature untill I am better assisted with a proper authority; and if I knew where to make application without giving offence, I think I have some reason to complain that the Church here is so much neglected as that the Governor and those who are truly well affected to our Sovereign Lord King George, and his Royal Family, cannot decently attend the publick worship. The Bishop of London very well knows my sentiments on this matter, and I must entreat that you

will be pleased to assure the Society that his Majesty has not a servant in America who is more heartily disposed than I am to rectify abuses of this matter.

“Sir, your most obedient Humble Servant,

“W. KEITH.”

[Extract from a Memorial of Peter Evans to the Bishop of London.]

“But more especially for your Lordship’s goodness in communicating your thoughts concerning the Church Vestry of Philadelphia, of which Vestry your Lordship had received some disagreeable account. Your memorialist, as one (though unworthy) of the said Vestry, humbly begs leave to give your Lordship a true information of the said Vestry’s conduct towards Dr. Welton, who at his arrival there, about June 1724, was a stranger, and his coming altogether unknown to every of them. The circumstances of the Church there being not a little melancholy at that time, for that being destitute of a Minister no Divine Service had been performed there for some months before, and a numerous congregation which if kept together were not only able but willing to raise a handsome support for a Missionary which was daily expected from your Lordship.

“But the Church doors being shut, it was evident the congregation would soon dwindle, and be captivated among the many Dissenting Teachers in that growing city, and render them unable to perform their promises to your Lordship. To prevent which inconvenience several members of the Vestry met, and being well assured by some persons of the Doctor’s acquaintance, that he was esteemed an orthodox minister, and it appearing by several English printed newspapers that the Doctor had there lately taken the oaths, and conformed to the Government,* but had been deprived of his living, several members of the Vestry asked the Doctor to officiate until such time as they were favoured with a Missionary from your Lordship, which he readily granted, and the Church doors were opened, and for that reason, and from the character of the Doctor’s preaching, the congregation resorted to hear him.

“Your memorialist hopes your Lordship will be induced to believe their zeal for the Church (and not for any mistaken principles of the Doctor’s) was the true cause of their frequenting the Church. Your memorialist, from his knowledge of and acquaintance with the people there for twenty-two years past, does believe it a piece of injustice to insinuate them as disaffected to his Majesty, for your memorialist well knows that every member of the Vestry and all others of the congregation to whom it was tendered have conformed to the Laws, and given all the proofs of their Loyalty to his Majesty that is in their power.

“But for his and their defence against the information of Sir William Keith, your memorialist begs leave (and he hopes in case of self-defence and

* This was probably an unfounded report.—B.F.

preservation he may be allowed) to observe to your Lordship that Sir William Keith has not been so happy in his conduct, or sincere in his relations as to acquire undoubted credit, as appears from the following Paragraph (taken out of the Lords' proceedings against him for being concerned in the Scottish conspiracy Anno 1703), viz.: 'It was declared by the Lords, spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled, that Mr. William Keith (upon his examination by the Lords appointed to examine him by this House) hath prevaricated with this House, and by his behaviour doth not seem an object worthy of his Majesty's mercy.'

"Your memorialist humbly begs leave to observe to your Lordship in vindication of himself and the said Vestry, that the said Sir William has for some years been elected member of the said Vestry, but taking upon him to overrule them, and entirely depriving them of the freedom justly due, he was left out of the Vestry in the time of Mr. Vicary, the last settled Missionary amongst us from your Lordship's predecessors, which was about three years ago, and from that time seemed displeased with the Vestry, and withdrew his subscription from Mr. Vicary, to whom the Vestry shewed all due regard."

The Rev. William Becket, Missionary at Lewes, Pa. (now Delaware), writes to the Secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, under date of March 13, A. D. 1727. In this letter he mentions Dr. Welton incidentally, as if it were commonly known at that period that he was a non-juror while officiating in Philadelphia. Mr. B. was complaining that marriage licenses were given by the Governor to those who had no right to them, and specially charges Sir William Keith with having granted them "when Dr. Welton, the non-juror, was minister of Philadelphia, to whom it was not fitting to grant them."

[Extract from the Fulham Manuscripts.]

"Queries to be answered by the persons who were Commissaries to my Predecessor :

"Mr. _____, Minister of _____, Philadelphia,
is desired to answer these queries :

*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*

"3. Does any Clergyman officiate who has not the Bishop's License for that Government?"

"A. One only at present, Dr. Welton at Philadelphia, with whom we

have no correspondence nor of whom have we any further knowledge but that we hear he professes to have come into these parts only to see the country."

These queries were signed by

Robert Weyman,	Missionary at Oxford and Whitemarsh, Pa.
William Beckett	" " Lewes, Pa., now Delaware.
George Ross	" " New Castle, "
John Humphreys	" " Chester, Concord, & Markershook, Pa.

[Letter from Fulham MSS. of Mr. Glentworth to Mr. Cummings.]

" February 14, 1725-6.

" SIR :

" I came from Philadelphia the 4th day of December, at which time Dr. Welton officiated in the Church every Sunday, once at least, but generally twice, and likewise on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays.

" The order to recall him went over in one Captain Richmond, who sailed the beginning of December, and can hardly be arrived there by this time.

" I am, Sir,

" Your most humble servant,

" THOMAS GLENTWORTH."

Sir William Keith to the Lord Bishop of London.

" Philadelphia, April 8th, 1726.

" MY LORD :

" I am glad to acknowledge the great honour your Lordship was pleased to do me by your letter dated last June, which I received some time ago, and am glad that by your Lordship's great care I can now answer it so effectually as to acquaint you that I have by this conveyance returned an authentic certificate unto my Lord Townsend's office, of Dr. Welton's having been duly served with his Majesty's Writ of Privy Seal, commanding him upon his allegiance to return to Great Britain forthwith; in pursuance of which Order, the Doctor did us the favour about four weeks ago to depart for Europe by the way of Lisbon, so that I doubt not but your Lordship will now more easily find a way to supply this Church with a suitable Incumbent, and as the people's hopes are generally placed on your Lordship's pious care for that purpose, I am fully persuaded that any gentleman who comes over recommended by your Lordship will be handsomely received."

Mr. Cummings to the Bishop of London.

[Extract.]

“ Philadelphia, October 19th, 1726.

“ MY LORD :

“ I have been here so short a time that all the account I can give of the place as yet is, that the soil and clime seem to be better and more regular than the temper of the people; however, I have been very well received by those of any note, and am in a particular manner obliged to Mr. Moore, our Collector; he is a sober and pious man, and has all along endeavoured to support the Church, in opposition both to Welton's and the principles of the other Schismatics and Sectaries, which are indeed here very numerous. I hope in a little time, by proper and moderate methods, to cancel all the bad impressions the angry Doctor had given of his successor. Your Lordship will observe by his favourite sermon, printed here, in what a scurrilous manner he falls foul upon all the Clergy of the present Establishment, charging the people that as they tendered their salvation not to receive but reject any that should be sent among them. He is now in Lisbon; 'tis well if he ben't got into the Convent. I ha'n't seen all the Clergy of this province as yet, but have heard a good character of them all. I have been importuned by numbers of people from Burlington and by some of this province to write to your Lordship in favour of Dr. Talbot; they made me promise to mention him, otherwise I would not presume to do it. He is universally beloved, even by the Dissenters here, and has done a great deal of good. Welton and he had differed and broke off correspondence, by reason of the rash chimerical projects of the former long before the Government took notice of them. If he were connived at and could be assisted by the Society (for I am told the old man's circumstances are very mean), he promises by his friends to be peaceable and easy, and to do all the good he can for the future.”

[Extract of a letter from Commissary Chris. Wilkinson to the Bishop of London, dated at “ Chester River, in Queen Ann's County, Maryland, June 15, 1726.”]

— “ I understood Dr. Welton has left Philadelphia and is gone for Lisbon. He and the rest of the non-jurors disagreed very much among themselves, in so much that they avoided one another's company. Mr. Talbot and Mr. Smith (who also differ very much in their sentiments of submission to our established Government) have been with us in Maryland. They behaved themselves very modestly, avoided talking very much, and resolved to submit quietly to the orders sent from England to prohibit their public officiating in any of the Churches, or to set up separate meetings.”

Dr. Welton appears not to have returned to England, but to have died in Lisbon.

By reference to the letters of Mr. Talbot during the year 1725, it will be seen that he was discharged from the Society's employment for alleged Jacobinism. It will be observed that he does not deny having received Episcopal orders.

The late venerable Bishop White related a tradition which has been preserved by the Rev. Dr. Hawks in his *History of the Church in Maryland*. As it is an important link in the present inquiry, it is quoted in full, as it appears in the above work, p. 185.

"The venerable prelate who was so long our presiding bishop, was accustomed to relate a story which he heard from his elder brethren, when he was but a youth, and it may here be most appropriately preserved. The story was this: A gentleman who had been ordained among the Congregationalists of New England, and who had officiated among them as a minister for many years, at length to the surprise of his friends, began to express doubts about the validity of his ordination, and manifested no small trouble of mind on the subject. Suddenly about the time of the arrival of Talbot and Welton, he left home without declaring the place of his destination or purpose of his journey. After an interval of a few weeks he returned, and gave no further information of his movements than that he had been to some of the Southern Colonies; he also said on his return that he was now perfectly satisfied with his ordination, and from that day never manifested the least solicitude on the subject, but continued until he died to preach to his congregation. It was soon whispered by those whose curiosity here found materials for its exercise, that the minister had been on a visit to the non-juring bishops, and obtained ordination from one of them. He never said so; but among Churchmen it was believed that such was the fact."

Both Perceval and Lathbury state, without referring to any authority, that Talbot took the oaths and conformed. If this were the case, it would be difficult to explain why he continued to be deprived of his missionary appointment to Burlington, especially as he was willing to labor, and the people were anxious to have him for their rector.

Thus appears to have ended the only effectual attempt to provide anything like a Protestant Episcopacy for America, until the Revolution having, under the Providence of God, opened a new door, England finally granted to those whom she regarded as successful rebels what she had previously refused to give to obedient children.

The following communication is from Dr. Bray, once Commissary of Maryland. Its precise date is nowhere given, but from facts mentioned in it, it must have been about the year 1740. It presents a view of our condition on the Continent at or about that time:

"A Memoriall humbly layd before his Grace the Lord A.Bp. of Canterbury, the Lord Bishop of London, and the other Bishops of this Kingdome, Representing the present State of Religion in the several Provinces on the Continent of North America, in order to the providing a sufficient number of proper Missionaries so absolutely necessary to be sent at this Juncture into those parts.

"MAY IT PLEASE Y^r LORDSHIPS:

"AMONGST other Reasons for my Return at this tyme of Consequence to our Church in America, in Reference to which I have been happy in the approbation of those my Ecclesiastical Superiors, to whom I am more immediately accountable in things relating to my Mission, there is one of concernment to be layd before all your Lordships; And as I humbly conceive, the Universityes also of this Kingdome. And it is to represent to you the present state of Religion in Maryland, Virginia, Pensylvania, the East and West Jerseys, New York, Road Island, Long Island, North and South Carolina, New England and Newfound Land. And this in order to the Propagation of the true Christian Religion in those Parts at a Crisis when, as many thousands are in a happy Disposition to embrace it, so Infidelity, Heresy, and Schism seem to make their utmost efforts to withdraw, and to fix those people at the greatest distance from it.

"I. And to begin where I am more immediately concerned, with Maryland. Here, through the mercies of God, and after many struggles, we are in a fair way at last to have an Established Church. The law for New England I have brought over along with me for the Royal Assent, not incumbered as formerly with such clauses as hindred the same. And thereby is provided a maintainance for the Clergy of forty pounds of Tobacco per Poll, taxed upon each Communicable person, which amounts in some parishes to about eighty pounds per annum, according to the Rate which Tobacco has borne these three last years, though that is higher than they can promise themselves the same for the future. But in fifteen of them at least by reason of the thinness of the Inhabitants, not to above a thyrd of that value. And yet these latter parishes having built their Churches, think they ought to have Ministers as well as the rest; and had I not in my Parochial Visitations given them good words and fair promises speedily to supply them, I fear our Law would have scarcely passed; and yet how to make good that promise to them I shall be sadly at a Loss, except the Proposals hereafter given, may find favour with y^r Lordships, and those to whom you shall please to recommend them.

"The Papists in this Province appeare to me to be about a twentieth part of the Inhabitants; and though the Quakers bragg so much of their numbers and Riches, with which considerations they would incline the Government to favour them with such unprecedented Priviledges, as to be free from paying

their dues to the Established Church, or rather would fain overthrow its Establishment, yet they are not above a fifteenth part in number, and bear little Proportion with those of the Church in wealth and trade.

"II. As for Pennsylvania, I found too much work in Maryland to be able to visit that Province personally, though most earnestly solicited thereunto by the People. But there passed letters betwixt myself, and that Church, full of the greatest Respects on their side. And by conferences with some of the Principall Persons of that Country, I was fully made to understand the state of Religion there, where I think, if in any Part of the Christian World, a very great proportion of the People may be said to be *Τεταγμένοι, sive dispositi ἐν τῷ ᾧ ἰσχύουσιν*.

"The Keithites, which are computed to be a thyrd part, are freely such, and so very well affected are they to the Interest of our Church, that in the late election of Assembly men, ever since Mr. Penn came into his Government; they had almost carryed it for the Churchmen, to the great amazement of these latter, so as to let them see that they had been extreemly wanting to themselves in not timely applying.

"There are in Pennsylvania two congregations of Lutherans being Swedes, whose Churches are finely built, and their two Ministers lately sent in nobly furnished with £300 worth of Books by the Swedish King, and they live in very good Accord with our Minister and his Church.

"There is but one Church of England Minister as yet, and he at Philadelphia singularly beloved and respected by his People; and they do most importunately sollicite both from thence, and from other Parts of that Province for more, where I am afraid there are at least six wanting.

"There are some Independants, but neither many nor much Bigotted.

"III. Adjoining to this are the two Colonies of the East and West Jerseys, where they have some pretty Towns, and well peopled, but are wholly left to themselves without Priest or Altar. True it is, Mr. Mathers from New England seems now to bestirr himself in sending both there and into the other colonies, where he sees us take footing. His Independent Preachers and the Quakers are very numerous in the Jerseys, but I am credibly informed that the people are more affected to our Clergy, could they have them. The Keithians are alike affected to us, as in Pennsylvania, and I think there would be a Reception for six Ministers in both the Jerseys.

"IV. From New York, the E. of Bellamont, the Governor, writes me word, that a Church of England Clergy are much wanted there, and there will be Room for at least two Ministers, besides one which they have already: the one to assist at New York, the other to be placed at Albany, where besides the Inhabitants of the Town, which are many, we have two Companies of Souldiers in Garrison, but all without a Preacher.

"V. In Long Island there are nine Churches, but no Church of England Minister, though much desired, and there ought to be at least two sent into that Colony.

"VI. In Road Island, for want of a Clergy, many of the Inhabitants are said to be sunk down right into Atheism, the new generation being the offspring of Quakers, whose children for want of an outward teaching, which these Enthusiasts at first denyed, being meer Ranters. As indeed the sons of the Quakers are found to be such in most places, and equally to deny all

Religion. And here therefore there will be work enough for two substantiall Divines, at least.

“VII. Ronoak lyes betwixt Virginia and Carolina. It is peopled with English, intermixt with the native Indians, to a great Extent. And as there will be occasion for at least two Missionaries to be sent amongst y^m, so the Governor, who is now going over to that Colony, being a very worthy gentleman, I dare promise will give the best Countenance and Encouragement which shall be in his power.

“VIII. The last Province that I shall now speak of on the Continent is Carolina, a very thriving Colony, and so large as to want at least three Missionaries, besides one lately sent thither.

“It is no part of my province to speak to Virginia, it being under the Jurisdiction of a very worthy Person, Mr. Commissary Blaire, whose abilities as they fitt him for great Designs, so his Industry has been for some years exercised in doing uncomon services to that Church.

“But the gratitude which all that are well affected to Christianity, do owe, more especially the Clergy, and above all myself, to that admirable Patron of Religion and Learning, Colonel Francis Nicholson, the present Governor thereof, forbids me to pass over in silence those Glorious Works which he is there carrying on with such unusuall application; and which, when accomplished, must render his memory sweet to all succeeding generations.

“The two great Designs which he is now so intent upon for the Good of the Church (not to mention here what a Patron, or rather a Founder he has been to it in most of y^e other Provinces, now named) are the Erecting of a Colledge in Virginia, or rather an University for those Parts, which he has almost finished; and the settling of the Church by Law on such a foot, and with the Advice and Assistance of Mr. Blaire, in such a Constitution as will, if they can make the next Assembly sensible of their own Good, reduce the Clergy there from that Servile Dependance on the Vestrys, which would have frightened all men of worth from ever coming amongst them. But the scheme which I have seen these Gentlemen have layd, when accomplished, will render that Clergy and Province mutually happy in one another.

“Considering this Governor's late Heroick Actions in the Conquest of the most desperate of Enemies, the Pyrates, who were so infatuated as to approach his Province, and in whose Reduction his own personall presence and valour had a share, almost to a fault, it's hard to say whether Arms or Letters have the greatest Right to Challenge him for their Generall. But when we consider the extream Disproportion betwixt the numbers of persons in publick Post, who are studious of the Good of God's Church, compared with such as are thought serviceable to the State in Arms, it ought to be the hearty wishes of all the friends of Religion and Learning, not only in his own Province, but all over that Continent, that he would never more expose his person to such Dangers, wherein should he fall, in all human appearance, the Loss would be Irreparable.

“Nor do I think myself obliged to speak here of New England, where Independancy seems to be the Religion of the Country. True it is since a Church was opened at Boston about fifteen years agoe for the English Service, the Congregation of Church People are become very numerous; and the young Students of the College are sayd upon the Reading of our

Episcopal Authors (against which they are narrowly watched by Mr. Mathers) to become not so ill affected to us, but that some of them would gladly receive their orders from the hands of Bishops if they could ; and two of them have lately come over hither to be accordingly ordained. But my Design is not to intermeddle where Christianity under any form has obtained possession of the Country, but to represent rather the deplorable fate of the English Colonies, where they have been in a manner abandoned to Atheism, or which is much as one, to Quakerism, for want of a Clergy settled amongst them. And I think I have one remaining Instance of such neglect in this kind, as if it provokes me to some warm Reflections upon our Nation (for the Church I know wants power, and Riches to do much of itself) I conceive the occasion will bear me out.

“And it is with Reference to the last Colony in America that I shall speak to anything at present, named Newfound Land, near whose coast we were drove in my voyage to Maryland ; and I could have been very glad if with the safety of our ship and lives, we had been thrown into it, that I might have personally seen the Condition of the place and people. But this Curiosity was in a great measure satisfyd by the account I received from the Master of a Ship on board of us, who had made many Voyages there, and gave me this account of the Island, so farr as it is in the possession of the English ; that there are Harbours in it belonging to us 26, Families 274, Inhabitants as well winter as summer on the Island about 1120, workmen about 4200, ships’ crews in the Fishing Season 3150, and men in the ships sent at the latter end of the yeare to carry home the Fish 1200.

“And now is it possible to imagine that from a nation possessing Christianity in its Purity, defecate of the least tincture of Dross and Corruption ; the sole Tendency of whose Principles is to inspire all its Disciples with the noblest thoughts of God, with an ardent zeale for his Honour and Glory, and with a boundless and unlymited Love to mankind, a Love as Extensive as the whole World, and as Intensive as that we have to ourselves ; Is it credible that in a Colony of so many thousand soules, who are all of them natives from England, from whence our shipping do sail to it during many months in the year, and where so many thousand Families abide perpetually, some 20 years, most the whole course of their Lives, and from whose trade such profit accrues to the Nation as contributes next to the woollen manufacture to turn the Ballance of Europe in Commerce on our side ; can any one believe it when he is told, that from such a Nation, with respect to such a Colony, there neither was or is, nor is ever like to be for any measures that have been yet, or are likely to be taken or encouraged by the Publick, any Preaching, Prayers, or Sacraments, or any Ministeriall and Divine Offices performed on that Island ; but that they should be suffered to live as those who know no God in the World ! Are Rome and Mecca, whose sons are so apt to compass Sea and Land to gain Proselytes to Superstition and Folly, so regardless of their own people ? And will it not then be more tolerable for that Tyre and this Sydon than for us in the day of Judgment ! for if they had known the things which we do, the most rude and uncultivated of those Parts which we possess, should not have remained uninstructed in the best Religion in the World.

“The truth of it is, this Indifference of ours in propagating the Religion

which we profess to believe, in those Parts, where as well our powers do enable us, as our Duty obliges us to take some care thereof, is the Amazement of all whom I ever yet heard make serious Reflections upon it.

"But since for any publick Funds that we are ever likely to get for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, either in this or the other Colonies, we may complain in vain; and the only hope is from the pious Clergy themselves, and such particular persons amongst the devout Laity, whose hearts are inflamed with a Love of God, and of those souls which he has purchased with his own Blood; I shall rather turn myself to you, my most Reverend Lords, giving you a general Estimate of the number of Missionaries, which we hope to be supplied withall from y^r Paternall Care; and as there will be need of at least two to be sent to Newfound Land, so upon y^e whole it appears that there are at present wanting no less than forty Missionaries to be sent into all these Colonies.

"And the necessity that they should be both so many, and singularly well qualified for the purpose, I am next to show you; and that there should be at least that number sent into each of these Colonies, as I have now mentioned, appears from hence, that even then their business will lye extreamly wide, but chiefly for this reason, that there is so great an Inclination to embrace Christianity amongst many Quakers, all over those Parts, where Mr. Keith has been, that it will be a fatall neglect if our Church should not close with that Providence which offers so many Proselytes into her Bosom. For I am to inform your Lordships that this vast accession of perhaps 50000 soules to our Church, if not speedily secured, will fall into the Independents, who being aware of it are very busy at this tyme in sending their Ministers from New England, and those maintained too from thence, which makes it worth our while to examine whether it be not by misapplication of a noble charity. And the Plantations growing now into populous and powerfull Provinces, with all humble submission, in my opinion, ought not to be so neglected, as that it should be indifferent to us, whether they be made True Sons of our Church, or the most soure leavened of all its Enemies, Independants, Ana-Baptists, and Quakers.

"Nor is the necessity less that these Missionaries should be singularly well qualified than that they should be at all sent. And indeed in order to make the better choice, agreeable to what I have observed of the State, the Temper and Constitution of the Country and people, is one great reason that has persuaded me so soon back: and y^e persons which alone can do good there, as I conceive, must

"In the first place, be of such nice moralls as to abstain from all appearance of evil, there being not such a calumniating people in the world as the Quakers are every where found to be, and it is the most fault of the Plantations, that they give their Tongues too much Liberty that way, especially if they can find the least flaw.

"Secondly, they must be men of good Prudence, and an exact Conduct, or otherwise they will unavoidably fall into Contempt with a people so well versed in Business as every the meanest Planter seems to be.

"Thirdly, they ought to be well experienced in the Pastorall Care, having a greater Variety both of Sects and Humours to deal with in those parts than

are at home ; and therefore it would be well if we could be provided with such as have been Curates here for some time.

“Fourthly, more especially, they ought to be of a True Missionary spirit, having an ardent Zeale for God’s Glory, and the Salvation of men’s soules. And

“Fifthly, of a very ACTIVE SPIRIT, and consequently not so grown into years as to be incapable of Labour and fateigue, no more than very young, upon which account they will be more lyable to be despised.

“And lastly, they ought to be good, substantiall, well-studied Divines, very ready in the Holy Scriptures, able with a sound Judgment to explicate and prove the great Doctrines of Christianity, to state the nature and extent of the Christian duties, and with the most moving considerations to enforce their Practice, and to defend the truth against all its adversaries ; to which purpose it will be therefore absolutely requisite to provide each of them with a Library of necessary Books, to be fixt in those places to which they shall be sent, for the use of them, and their successors for ever. This to be a perpetuall Encouragement to good, and able Divines always to go over and to render them useful when they are there ; a design, of whose usefulness, of whose necessity I am now so fully persuaded, since I have been in and know y^e wants of these Parts, that I am resolved to have no hand in sending over any one, the best Missionary, who shall not be so provided.

“Well, but the great quere will be how we may be able to procure so great a number of such able Missionaries, how to maintain them, and how to furnish them out with such Libraries ; in order to all which I crave leave to offer these following considerations :

“First, that the Colonies now named, consisting chiefly of Quakers, or such as for want of the Gospell being preached amongst them, are in a manner of no religion ; they are in that respect to be considered as so many Heathen Nations. And it will seem unreasonable to expect that a people before they are converted and made to understand the goodness and advantages of true Religion, should be induced to maintain its Ministry, and especially in this case of the Quakers, the persons chiefly to be proselyted ; who above all other rights of the Church of Christ, have been deeply prejudiced against the maintenance of the Clergy.

“Secondly, that if the Missionaries, which shall be sent into each of these Colonies, shall be well chosen and duly qualified, I am persuaded they will find the work of God to prosper so well in their hands, that in three years’ time the people will, out of pure Devotion, subscribe or settle a very plentifull maintenance both for them and their successors ; to support me in which Conjecture we have two very eminent and late Instances : the one in Pensylvania, the other in Carolina ; in the former of which Mr. Clayton, who at his first going over three years agoe, and whilst his Congregation was not above sixty persons, had scarcely £50 per annum maintainance, yet upon the accession of new Converts to upwards of 700 (for so is that Church increased in three years) has brought the maintenance of the Minister of Philadelphia to £150 per annum ; and in Carolina, Mr. Marshall, through his excellent Preaching and singular conduct, so gained upon y^e people, that from a poor subscription maintenance at first, they settled upon him and his successors within two years after his being amongst them, what amounts to £300 per

annum; and at his death, the General Assembly of the Province were so kind to his widow, as to present her with £300 upon her Return home.

“Thirdly, I conceive, therefore, that in the interim, and during the first three years, it will be absolutely necessary that these Missionaries should be subsisted from hence; and it shall be my utmost care in that time to have them so provided of Glebes, and the same so stocked, as that they may thenceforward live comfortably upon the Emoluments of their own places.

“Fourthly, the method by which I would humbly propose to have these Missionaries, which I desire, both well chosen and supported from home in their service for the first three years, is as follows:

“I. As to the choice, that every Bishop be pleased to pitch upon some proper person within his own Diocess, such as his Lordship shall judge best qualified, as aforesaid, for the Mission. And then

“II. As to his support, that his Lordship having subscribed to the following Proposall, the sum his Lordship shall think fit to contribute towards such a Design, he be pleased to recommend it to the Dignified and others the most considerable Clergy within his Diocese, and they to the well-disposed Laity, within their respective parishes, to make up the sum proposed.

“III. That the sum subscribed for each Missionary be £50 per annum for three years, and as less will not be sufficient to encourage a person of Learning and worth to undertake the Mission, so it will not suffice to subsist even a private Minister in these parts, where every thing is very dear, which must be bought for money, and not bartered for by the product of the country, which no Clergyman will be Master of till he can have a Glebe, and shall have cultivated his Plantation.

“IV. That the subscriptions be payd into the Arch Deacons at their Easter Visitation, and be forthwith returned by them to the hands of the Bishop of the Diocess, or to such person or persons in London as his Lordship shall appoint to receive it, and to pay it to the order of the Missionary sent by such Diocess.

“V. That besides the £50 per annum allowed each Missionary for his subsistence, £20 a year be also subscribed towards raising a Library of necessary and useful Books, both for himself and his successors in the Town, or other place wherein he shall be settled.

“VI. That the first payment of the £50 and £20 be advanced at his first going off (which I could wish might be before Christmas next), that so being sufficiently furnished with all necessaries, he may not appear to come as an Indigent person into the place where he shall be appointed, and as one that is to have free quarters upon those he is to proselyte; the Quakers being very prying into the Condition of those who come over, whom, if they find poor, they proclaim hirelings, and to come over merely for Bread. But if otherwise, they have been found at a loss what to say against them. And to be well provided at first will succeed the better to the advantage both of the Missionary himself and the Church, to the support and countenance of which he will undoubtedly lay a good Foundation, who coming first shall be happy in his conduct.

“And indeed, my Lords, could we but have such men as by their reall worth might be able to gain the affections of those people, I do not in the

least doubt, from what I have already found, but that in my next Visitation, I could obtain large Tracts of Glebes, and good Houses built by the respective parishes in Maryland, and the Proselyte Churches in the other Colonies, so as both those, who shall now go over, will themselves in few years be in a comfortable condition, and their successors after them in a happy settlement.

“And as neither the Clergy’s Condition can be comfortable, nor can it be properly called a settlement, till they shall be in Houses, and on Glebes of their own; so now is the time to endeavour both, or it will be too late hereafter to think of obtaining either, for as yet land may be taken up, or had upon easy terms. But should the Plantations continue to increase as they have done of late, within seven years, Land will not be purchased at treble the Rate as now.

“For my own part, I take this to be so happy a Juncture to lay the Foundation of lasting Good to the Church of God in those Provinces, that though after the Expence already of above a thousand pounds in its service, and though it must be still at my own charge that I can again go, yet I shall not make the least difficulty in accompanying your Lordships’ Missionaries, which from your respective Diocesses you shall please to send into those Parts. And being therefore so little interested myself in the Mission, that it will go near to sacrifice the remainder of my small Fortunes to Embarque again in it, I hope I may with a better Countenance, through your Lordships’ Patronage, presume to offer the following Proposals to the Very Reverend Dignitaries and wealthier Clergy of the Church, for a small subscription from each of them towards the maintenance of those Missionaries, their Brethren, whom your Lordships shall please to send.”

“Proposals for the Propagation of the Christian Religion, and for the Reduction of the Quakers thereunto in the several Provinces on the Continent of North America.

“WHEREAS severall English Colonies on the Continent of North America, now growing into populous Provinces, are however, to the no small scandall of our Church and Nation, as yet, destitute both of Churches and of persons to Minister in Holy Things, to preach to them the word of God, to offer up the Prayers of the People, and to administer the Holy Sacraments.

“And whereas, to the great Dishonour of God, and the Destruction of a multitude of souls, as well as the great Scandall of the Reformed Religion, many thousands of the people in those Parts have been sadly deluded by Quakers into a Total Apostacy from the Christian Faith, and giving themselves up to the Conduct only of the Light within, or mere Natural Conscience, have rejected the Holy Scriptures from being the Rule of Faith and Practice.

“Whereas again, notwithstanding the strong prejudices and great obstinacy of that sort of Unbelievers, yet through the blessing of God upon the Labours of such, who have hitherto endeavoured the Reduction of that people, many of the Quakers are returned to the Christian Faith, and others amongst them are so staggered as to doubt that they are in a dangerous state of Unbelief, so that now there wants only under God more Labourers to be sent into those fields, which seem to be white for Harvest.

“And Lastly, whereas we, the Clergy and others of the Diocess of _____, in concurrence with such as are piously disposed in other Diocesses, being sensible of the infinite mercies of God towards us in affording us the Light of his Holy Gospell; and thinking ourselves obliged out of Gratitude to God, and Compassion to those People, who are not yet happy in the like, to provide, so far as in us lyes, for the Propagation of the same Holy Faith amongst those of our own Nation, though never so far remov'd from us into Foreign Parts, Do subscribe the severall sums to our names annexed, to be payd yearly, at the Easter Visitation, to the Reverend the Arch Deacon of _____, to be immediately returned by him to the Right Rev. Father in God, the Lord Bishop of this Diocess, for the maintenance, support of, and to provide a Library for such Missionary as his Lordship shall think fit to send into those Parts.

A List of Persons Licensed to the Plantations by the Bishops of London from the year 1745 inclusive.

[From the Fulham MSS.]

	AFRICA.				
M	Philip Quaque, a Moor	May	4	1765	Gold Coast
	ALBANY.				
M	Harry Munro	July	21	1770	Went to Jamaica
M	William Stanford	July	8	1775	
	AMERICA IN GENERAL.				
	John Jones	June	19	1750	
	Gideon Castlegrave	Jan.	11	1750	
	Thomas Browne	July	28	1764	

M	David Fullerton	June	20	1767	Now in Nova Scotia Dead
	John Sayre	Sept.	29	1768	
	Thomas Fielde	Aug.	2	1770	
M	Daniel Batwell	Oct.	16	1773	
	Myles Cooper	Jan.	4	1774	
ANTIGUA.					
	Alexander Grant	Dec.	21	1748	St. John's Parish St. Mary's Parish Falmouth Parish St. John's Parish
	Robert Monerief	Feb.	27	1748	
	John King	Sept.	1	1750	
	William Shervington	Dec.	23	1753	
	Henry Byam	Oct.	20	1754	
	Samuel Lovely	Oct.	3	1758	
	John Bowen	Dec.	23	1759	
	James Somerville	March	5	1768	
	Francis Massett	Sept.	29	1768	
	James Coull	Dec.	26	1772	
	John Shepherd	March	8	1773	
	Josiah Weston	Dec.	21	1774	
	James Lindsay	Feb.	17	1783	
	Samuel Jefferson	Dec.	30	1783	
BAHAMA ISLANDS.					
	Richard St. John	Sept.	25	1745	Dead Dead Dismissed Dead Providence, went to Pensacola
	John Snow	May	26	1746	
M	William Duncanson	Sept.	8	1760	
M	George Tyzard	Jan.	19	1767	
	Richard Moss	Feb.	16	1767	
M	John Hunt	Nov.	4	1769	
M	James Brown	March	15	1779	
BARBADOES.					
	Kenneth Morrison	Oct.	21	1745	License endorsed Sept. 22, 1765
	Thomas Barnard	Dec.	22	1746	
	Robert Braithwaise	Sept.	27	1750	
	John Edwards	Dec.	26	1750	
	Edward Brace	Dec.	28	1750	
	William Duke	Dec.	21	1753	
	John Shepley	Feb.	12	1754	
	Isaac Hunt	Feb.	4	1755	
	Robert Boucher	Dec.	21	1756	
	Thomas Harris	Feb.	7	1757	
	Richard Saer	March	17	1757	
	Wm. Duke	May	21	1758	
	Jonathan Downes	March	30	1759	
	Richard Harris	Dec.	23	1759	
	Thos. Duke, a Deacon	June	1	1760	
	Thomas Wharton	June	12	1760	
	William Dunlap	Feb.	25	1766	
	William Ferrill	Aug.	31	1766	
	Robt. Boucher Nicholls	April	5	1768	
	Joseph Hebson	Sept.	29	1768	

Benjamin Spry	Oct.	27	1768	
Michael Mashart	Jan.	1	1771	Catechist
Joseph Hutchins	June	13	1771	
Samuel Dent	Dec.	26	1772	Christ Church Parish
Henry Quintine	Feb.	22	1773	
Robert Jackman	Dec.	28	1777	St. George's Parish
John Duke	Aug.	24	1779	License endorsed June 16, 1783
Hugh Williams Austin	Aug.	24	1779	
Henry Evans Husband	March	14	1781	
Francis McMahon	Sept.	25	1782	St. James's Parish
Henry Evans Holder	Oct.	28	1782	St. Joseph's Parish
Timothy Blenman	June	24	1783	St. George's Parish
Hugh Williams Austin	Sept.	8	1784	St. Peter's Parish

BERMUDAS.

James Holiday	July	15	1745	
John Danvers	May	9	1746	
Alex. Richardson	June	16	1755	
John Feveryear	Oct.	12	1755	
Thomas Lyttleton	March	30	1767	Now in England
Benjamin Blackburn	Dec.	27	1773	St. George's Parish
Ludlow Holt	Feb.	25	1777	

CAPE BRETON.

Benj. Lovell	Sept.	9	1784	Military Staff
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CANADA.

David Cabran de Lisle	April	15	1766	
Leger Jno. Baptiste Noel				
Veyssiere	March	5	1768	
David Francis de Montmollin	March	5	1768	

CARRIBEES.

James Ramsay	Nov.	24	1761	St. John's Capisterre
William Scott	June	29	1764	
John Symes	Sept.	21	1767	
Benj. Wm. Hutchinson	June	24	1768	
Hy. Erskine Kirkpatrick	July	18	1768	
John Pogson Crook	March	25	1769	
William Taylor	Dec.	24	1769	
Thomas Wilson	Sept.	22	1771	Did not go

NORTH CAROLINA.

John Reid	April	1	1745	
John Rowan	Sept.	21	1747	
Robert Cumming	Jan.	19	1748	
William Pow	Jan.	23	1748	
Alexander Stewart	June	18	1753	
John McDowel	July	5	1753	

	William Fanning	March	25	1754	
	William Miller	March	31	1755	
	Samuel Laird—	Oct.	12	1755	
M	Daniel Earl	Sept.	19	1756	
	William Harrison—	Dec.	21	1756	
	William Teale	Dec.	6	1762	
M	John Barnett	May	2	1765	Bad Man—
M	James Cosgreve	Feb.	25	1766	
M	George Meiklejohn	March	12	1766	
M	Charles Kupples—	June	11	1766	
M	Samuel Fiske	Aug.	31	1766	
M	John Cramp	Sept.	21	1767	
M	Hobart Briggs—	April	5	1768	
	James Macartney	July	25	1768	
	Francis Johnston	Sept.	29	1768	
M	Henry John Burgess	Nov.	1	1768	
M	John Wills	Jan.	30	1769	Dead
M	Theodorus Swain Drage	May	29	1769	Never heard of him after
	Edward Jones	May	29	1769	
M	Peter Blin	Sept.	29	1769	
M	Charles Edward Taylor	Jan.	1	1771	Now there
M	Nicholas Christian	Aug.	13	1773	
M	Nathaniel Blount	Sept.	21	1773	St. Thomas's Parish
	Hezekiah Ford	Sept.	29	1774	St. Jude's Parish
C	Charles Pettigrew	March	1	1775	
	John Lott Phillips	June	11	1776	St. Margaret's Parish

SOUTH CAROLINA.

	Alexander Keith	June	26	1745	
	David Garrow	July	15	1745	
	Bolton Simpson	Aug.	26	1745	
	Robert Beetham	Oct.	16	1745	
	Robert Stone	June	30	1749	
	Jn. Utrick Geisendauner	Sept.	24	1749	
	Wm. Langhorne.	June	5	1750	
	Alexander Douglass	Aug.	24	1750	
	Charles Martin	Sept.	13	1751	
	Michael Smith	April	14	1752	
	James Harrison	June	22	1752	
	Robert Barron	Feb.	2	1753	
	Alexander Barron	June	17	1753	
	Richard Clarke	July	16	1753	
	John Andrews	July	16	1753	
	Jno. Cheshire Heyborne	Aug.	7	1753	Did not go
	Clement Brooke	Jan.	29	1755	
	Jenkin Lewis	July	5	1755	
	Winwood Serjeant	Dec.	19	1756	
	Samuel Fenner Warren	Jan.	12	1758	Afterwards My. in N. England
	Robert Cooper	May	1	1758	.
	John Tongue	Sept.	8	1759	Dead
	Abraham Immer	Jan.	28	1760	Dead
	Joseph Dacre Appleby				

	Wilson	Oct.	26	1761	Dead
	Offspring Pearce	Oct.	26	1761	
	Joseph Stokes	Oct.	30	1761	Dead.
	George Skene	Dec.	7	1761	
	John Green	March	16	1762	Dead
	John Evans	March	24	1762	Dead
	Joseph Edwards	June	29	1762	Did not go
	John Hockley	Sept.	12	1765	
	William Lonsdale	Jan.	16	1766	Dead
	Paul Turquand	April	28	1766	
	Charles Woodmason	April	28	1766	Came to England
	George Spencer	April	24	1767	Dead
	Samuel Ward	Dec.	14	1767	Did not go
	Thomas Straker	Jan.	28	1768	Dead
	John Lewis	July	21	1768	
	Richard Farmer	Nov.	16	1768	Dead
	Francis Hoyland	March	26	1769	Did not go
	Robert Purcell	April	5	1769	
	Thomas Morgan	May	29	1769	Dead
	Robert Smith	Oct.	3	1769	
	James Pierce	Oct.	3	1769	Dead
M	Saml. Frederick Lucius	Nov.	1	1769	
	William Jones	Feb.	8	1770	
	Henry Purcell	March	31	1770	
	John Hinde	Jan.	29	1771	
	Nathl. James Martin	May	29	1771	
	Christ. Erust Schab	May	29	1771	Dead
	John Villette	Sept.	2	1771	Came home. Prince Frdk's parish
	Thomas Walke	Feb.	18	1772	St. Mark's Parish
	Haddon Smith	Aug.	22	1772	
	Edward Jenkins	Aug.	29	1772	Ashley Parish
	Charles Fredk. Morean	Feb.	8	1773	
	John Dundays	June	6	1773	Dead. Prince Frederick's Parish
	Wm. Eastwick Graham	June	11	1775	Prince William's Parish
ST. CHRISTOPHERS.					
	William Topham	Feb.	24	1745	
	Thomas Jones	May	4	1748	
	Robert Roberts	Sept.	6	1753	
	Francis Hoyland	Dec.	23	1753	
	Delahay Reece	Feb.	9	1760	
	John Clerkson	Sept.	30	1760	
	Hnry. Robt. Duckworth	Dec.	26	1772	
	John Roberson	June	11	1775	
	Wm. John Julius	Sept.	21	1781	
	Wm. Thomas	May	19	1783	SS. George & Peter's Parishes.
CONNECTICUT.					
M	Matt. Graves	Oct.	22	1747	
M	Richard Clark	Feb.	25	1767	
M	John Tyler	June	29	1768	
	John Rutchers Marshall	July	28	1771	Woodbury

	James Nicholls	Feb.	3	1774	Northbury & New Cambridge
	DOMINICA.				
	Henry McLeane	July	1	1764	
	James McIntosh	Dec.	29	1771	
	Austin Leigh	Feb.	16	1771	
	Joseph Miller	Sept.	21	1773	
	Isaac Mann	Aug.	24	1774	SS. Paul's & George's Parishes
	George Green	March	26	1778	
	EAST FLORIDA.				
	John Forbes	May	5	1764	St. Augustine
	John Frazer	March	23	1769	
	John Leadbetter	Nov.	8	1773	St. Augustine
	John Kennedy	Dec.	24	1776	St. Mark's
	WEST FLORIDA.				
	Samuel Hart	May	5	1764	Mobile
	William Dawson	July	2	1764	Pensacola
	William Gordon	Aug.	8	1767	
	Nathaniel Cotton	March	2	1768	
	George Chapman	May	3	1773	Pensacola
	GEORGIA.				
	Barthol. Loubertbuhler	Nov.	2	1745	
M	Jonathan Copp	Dec.	28	1750	
M	Samuel Frink	Nov.	17	1763	
	John Alexander	April	28	1766	
M	Edward Ellington	May	5	1767	
	Alexander Finlay	Sept.	23	1770	
M	James Seymour	Aug.	24	1771	Angusta
M	John Holmes	Aug.	1	1773	St. George's Parish. Dismissed
	John Rennie	Dec.	17	1773	
M	James Browne	June	24	1779	St. George's Parish. In England
	John Stewart	March	31	1781	Christ Church, Savannah Parish
	GRANADA.				
	George Bowdler	July	6	1764	
	John Cumming	Dec.	24	1769	
	John Findlater	June	13	1771	
	Francis McMahon	Sept.	9	1784	
	GUADALOUPE.				
	Gaspar Joel Monard	Aug.	25	1759	
	JAMAICA.				
	Joshua Peat	Sept.	22	1746	
	Patrick McCulloch	June	7	1748	

George Evans	Jan.	12	1749	
Joseph Stoney	Nov.	22	1750	
Henry Caaffe	Sept.	22	1751	
Colin Campbell	Sept.	22	1751	
Robert Harris	Jan.	28	1752	
Robert Atkins	July	5	1753	
John McAuley	Sept.	22	1754	
Isaac Teale	May	13	1755	
Anthony Davis	Sept.	25	1757	
John Ramsay	Sept.	23	1759	
John Perney	Nov.	26	1761	
Michael Smith	June	19	1764	
Hadden Smith	Dec.	21	1766	
William Clarke	Dec.	22	1767	
John Walcot	June	25	1769	
Inglis Twing	June	25	1769	
John Usher Tyrrel	Dec.	24	1769	
Thomas Pool	Aug.	1	1773	St. George's Parish
William Morgan	Sept.	21	1773	
Alexander Robertson	March	1	1775	Clarendon Parish
Middleton Howard	Oct.	1	1775	
Richard Johnson	Oct.	1	1775	
Philip Anglin	Oct.	28	1776	
Peter Miller	Sept.	28	1777	Kingston Parish
Thomas Bradshaw	March	26	1778	
James Steel	April	8	1782	
Thomas Simcocks	Sept.	13	1784	Westmoreland Parish
ST. JOHN'S ISLAND.				
John Caulfield	Aug.	17	1769	
LEEWARD ISLANDS.				
Matt Towers	May	26	1746	
MARYLAND.				
John Houston	Sept.	21	1747	
Hamilton Bell	Oct.	19	1747	
George Cooke	Dec.	21	1748	
Alexander Adams	Dec.	21	1748	
Richard Brown	July	9	1750	
John Macpherson	April	17	1751	
Thomas Johnston	June	16	1751	
Matthew Harris	March	26	1753	
Thomas Thornton	Sept.	22	1754	
John Ross	Sept.	22	1754	
Alexander Williamson	Dec.	27	1755	
Philip Walker	March	25	1756	
William Barrell	March	4	1760	
Samuel Keene	Sept.	30	1760	
Joseph Mather	Dec.	29	1760	
Daniel Maynadier	Dec.	29	1760	
Francis Lander	Nov.	24	1761	

William Dowie	April	2	1762	
Samuel Howard	May	2	1765	
Samuel Sloane	Dec.	23	1765	
Thomas Alkin	Feb.	25	1766	
Benet Allen	Sept.	30	1766	Come home
Henry Fendall	Feb.	25	1767	
Edward Edmiston	March	30	1767	
Thomas John Claggett	Oct.	11	1767	
John Porter	June	11	1768	
John Patterson	June	11	1768	
Jeremiah Berry	Dec.	22	1768	
Daniel McKinnon	Dec.	22	1768	
John Scott	March	25	1769	
Jeb Henderson Hindman	Dec.	24	1769	
Edward Gaunt	Feb.	2	1770	
George Gowndril	March	31	1770	
John Montgomery	July	23	1770	
John B. Gowie	July	28	1771	Prince George's Parish
Thomas Lendrum	Feb.	2	1773	
Robert Graham	March	8	1773	St. Paul's Parish
James Wilmer	Sept.	21	1773	
Thomas Reid	Sept.	21	1773	
Hamilton Bell	Feb.	28	1774	Somerset Parish
George Mitchell	April	6	1774	Stepney Parish
William Duncan	May	29	1774	St. Michael's Parish
Thomas Harrison	Aug.	24	1774	Trinity Parish
Walter Hanson Harrison	Aug.	24	1774	Durham Parish
Robert McKormick	April	11	1775	St. James's Parish
Thomas Braithwaite	Jan.	6	1776	

MASSACHUSETTS.

M	Willard Wheeler	Dec.	21	1767	
M	Mather Byles	June	29	1768	
M	William Clark	Dec.	22	1768	
M	Gideon Bostwick	March	14	1770	
M	Daniel Fogg	Aug.	19	1770	

MONTSERRATT.

William Blair	Sept.	27	1750	
John Symes	Sept.	21	1767	
George Young	Dec.	28	1775	

MOSQUITO SHORE.

M	Thomas Warren	June	24	1768	Gone to Jamaica
M	Robert Shaw	June	29	1774	

NEVIS.

Edwin Thomas	Sept.	11	1747	
William McHenley	Feb.	24	1773	St. John's & Thomas's Parishes

NEW ENGLAND.

	Barzillai Dean	Nov.	21	1745	
M	William McGilchrist	Oct.	10	1746	Dead
	William Hooper	June	10	1747	
M	Jerem. Leaming	June	21	1748	
M	Richard Mansfield	Aug.	11	1748	
	Jonathan Coulton	March	26	1752	
	Ichabod Camp	March	26	1752	
M	John Fowle	May	24	1752	Dead
M	Edward Bags	May	24	1752	
M	Peter Bowers	March	18	1753	
M	John Troutbeck	May	7	1754	Dead
M	Solomon Palmer	Oct.	20	1754	Dead
M	Marmaduke Browne	Jan.	29	1755	Dead
M	William McClenachan	March	31	1755	Dead
M	Edward Winslow	March	31	1755	Dead
M	John Graves	June	4	1755	Dead
M	Christopher Newton	July	28	1755	
M	Samuel Fairweather	March	25	1756	Dead
M	James Scovil	April	4	1759	
M	Samuel Peters	Aug.	25	1759	In England
M	James Greateon	Jan.	28	1760	Dead
M	Jacob Bailey	March	17	1761	Nova Scotia
M	Thomas Davies	Oct.	26	1761	
M	Samuel Andrews	Oct.	26	1761	
M	John Beardsley	Oct.	26	1763	Nova Scotia
M	Joshua Wingate Weeks	April	17	1763	Ejected himself
M	Roger Viets	April	17	1764	
	William Walter	Feb.	28	1764	
	Abraham Jarvis	Feb.	28	1764	
M	Bela Hubbard	Feb.	28	1764	
M	John Lyon	June	29	1765	Dead
M	John Wiswell	Feb.	11	1767	Nova Scotia
M	Richard C	Feb.	27	1770	
M	Luke Babcock	Feb.	2	1770	Dead
	Samuel Parker	Feb.	28	1774	Trinity, Boston

NEWFOUNDLAND.

M	Benjamin Lindsay	March	30	1751	Dead
M	Edward Langman	Jan.	10	1752	Dead
M	William Fotheringham	June	8	1762	Dead
M	James Balgour	June	29	1764	
M	Laurence Coughlan	April	26	1766	Removed
M	Isaac Hunt	March	4	1777	Trinity Bay. Never went
	Walter Price	March	22	1784	St. John's Parish

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

M	Moses Badger	Feb.	23	1767	Dead
M	Kanna Cossit	March	27	1773	Haverill Parish
	William Aldington	June	11	1775	

NEW JERSEY					
M	Thomas Thompson	March	25	1745	Dead
M	Thomas Wood	Sept.	29	1749	Removed to Nova Scotia. Dead
M	George Craig	Sept.	1	1750	Dead
M	Samuel Cooke	June	3	1751	
M	Thos Bradbury Chandler	Aug.	20	1751	
M	Samuel Seabury	Dec.	23	1753	
M	Robert McKean	April	26	1757	Dead
M	Andrew Moreton	March	17	1760	Removed
	Agur Treadwell	April	30	1762	
M	Leonard Cutting	Dec.	21	1763	
M	Nathaniel Evans	Sept.	22	1765	Dead
M	Jonathan Odell	Jan.	19	1767	
	George Spencer	Jan.	19	1767	
M	Abraham Beach	June	14	1767	
M	William Frazer	Dec.	21	1767	
M	William Ayres	Dec.	21	1767	
	David Griffith	Aug.	19	1770	
M	Robert Blackwell	June	11	1772	Gloucester County. Dismissed
M	Samuel Tingley	March	8	1773	St. John's in Elizabeth Town. } Removed to Maryland. }
M	Uzal Ogden	Sept.	21	1773	Sussex County
NEW PROVIDENCE.					
M	Robert Carter	Sept.	23	1749	Dead
NEW YORK.					
	Joseph Lamson	June	10	1745	
	Samuel Auchmuty	July	20	1747	Dead
M	Epenetus Townsend	Dec.	21	1767	Dead
M	Joshua Bloomer	Feb.	28	1769	
M	William Andrews	June	10	1770	
M	John Stewart	Aug.	19	1770	
M	John Doty	Jan.	1	1771	
	John Vardill	April	6	1774	
	John Ogilvie	June	30	1749	Dead
	William Johnson	March	25	1756	Dead
	John Milner	Feb.	25	1761	Dead
M	Harry Munn	Feb.	11	1765	Come to England
M	Ephraim Avery	June	2	1765	Dead
	John Bowden	May	29	1774	Shenesboro'. Refused it
	Benjamin Moore	June	29	1774	Charlotte, &c. Precincts
	Jas Sayre	Sept.	21	1774	Fredericksburgh Precinct
M	William Stanford	July	8	1775	Albany. Mosq. Shore
	Thomas Lambert Moore	Sept.	21	1781	Islip, in Suffolk County
NOVA SCOTIA.					
M	William Tutty	April	17	1749	Dead
M	William Anwyl	April	27	1749	Dead
M	Peter Christian Burger	Jan.	15	1752	Dead
M	John Breyntow	April	23	1752	

M	Joseph Bennet	March	10	1762	
M	Paulus Byrzelius	Feb.	25	1767	
	James Adam de Martel	July	2	1767	
M	John Eagleson	March	23	1768	
M	Peter de la Roche	March	11	1771	
M	William Ellis	Feb.	28	1774	
	Nathaniel Fisher	Sept.	25	1777	Annapolis and Granville. Re- moved to Boston. }
PENNSYLVANIA.					
M	Philip Reading	April	7	1746	Dead
M	William Sturgeon	June	20	1747	Dead
M	Hugh Neill	March	26	1750	Dead
M	William Smith	Dec.	23	1753	
M	Thomas Barton	Jan.	29	1755	Dead
	Aaron Cleveland	July	28	1755	
M	Charles Inglis	Dec.	24	1758	Went to New York
	Jacob Duchè	March	11	1759	
	William Thompson	Dec.	23	1759	In England
M	Alex. Murray	June	7	1762	
	Jacob Duchè	Sept.	12	1762	St. Paul's, Philadelphia
	Richard Peters	Sept.	16	1765	Christ Chh. & St. Peter's, Phila.
	Samuel Giles	Dec.	23	1765	
	Hugh Wilson	Dec.	23	1765	
M	John Andrews	Feb.	19	1767	Went to Maryland
M	Samuel Magaw	Feb.	19	1767	Has a Church in Philadelphia
	Walter Chapman	July	7	1768	Did not go
P	Thomas Coombe	Oct.	17	1771	
	William White	April	25	1772	
	Bernard Page	Aug.	24	1772	Wyoming Parish
	Fraugott Fred. Illing	Aug.	24	1772	Junietta
P	William Stringer	March	8	1773	St. Paul's, Philadelphia
	Thomas Hopkinson	Sept.	24	1773	
	Sydenham Thorn	Aug.	24	1774	Mispillion and St. Paul's
QUEBEC.					
	Lewis Guerry	April	11	1775	
RHODE ISLAND.					
M	Thomas Pollen	Feb.	9	1754	Dead
	George Bissett	May	6	1767	
TOBAGO.					
	John Stephen	Sept.	30	1764	
	John Trotter	Dec.	22	1768	
VIRGINIA.					
	John Robertson	Jan.	21	1745	
	Alexander Campbell	Jan.	21	1745	
	William Yates	April	1	1745	Dead

	Alexander White	June	10	1745	Dead
	William Proctor	July	1	1745	
	William Coles	Feb.	2	1746	
	William Webb	March	16	1746	
	Joseph Simpson	June	2	1746	Dead
	John Hindman	Sept.	22	1746	
	William Stuart	Sept.	26	1746	
	Robert Dickson	Oct.	22	1746	
	Musgrave Dawson	Feb.	1	1747	Dead
	Robert Innes	July	6	1747	Dead
	Isaac Campbell	July	6	1747	Dead
	Thomas Warrington	Sept.	21	1747	Dead
	Roscow Cole	Jan.	19	1748	
	John Smelt	March	28	1748	Dead
	John Dixon	Aug.	4	1748	
P	Alexander Cruden	March	14	1749	
	John Andrews	April	12	1749	
	Richard Locke	May	13	1749	
	Archibald Spencer	Aug.	30	1749	
	William Douglass	Sept.	24	1749	
	Robert McLaurin	Aug.	24	1750	
	Adam Menzies	Dec.	28	1750	Dead
	James Fowles	Dec.	28	1750	Dead
	Peter Davis	June	11	1751	
	John Ramsay	July	13	1751	
	Miles Selden	Jan.	15	1752	
	John Nivison	Feb.	25	1752	
	Joseph Bewsker	March	2	1752	
	John Brumskill	Sept.	29	1752	
	Thomas Smith	Feb.	2	1753	
P	John Agnew	June	17	1753	
	Thomas Wilkinson	July	31	1753	
	James Pasteur	Dec.	23	1753	
	Thomas Davis	Sept.	22	1754	
	James Garden	Sept.	22	1754	
	James Craig	March	31	1755	
	Joseph Davenport	Oct.	12	1755	
	James Maury	Dec.	27	1755	
	William Meldrum	June	13	1756	Dead
	Rice Hove	Dec.	21	1756	
M	Gronow Owen	Oct.	21	1757	
	Jacob Rowe	Feb.	13	1758	Dead
	Robert Read	April	10	1758	
	Isaac William Giberne	Sept.	30	1758	
	James Craig	Sept.	30	1758	
	John Brander	March	11	1759	
	Andrew Burnaby	April	7	1759	
	Alexander Rhonnald	Aug.	25	1759	
	Patrick Lunen	Dec.	23	1759	
	Joseph Collinson	Dec.	23	1759	
	Thomas Price	Dec.	23	1759	
	Richard Hewitt	Sept.	30	1760	
	James Semple	Sept.	30	1760	
	Arch. McRobert	Feb.	25	1761	
	James Horrocks	Nov.	5	1761	Dead

P	William West	Nov.	24	1761	Gone to Maryland
	Leonard Watson	March	10	1762	Did not go
	Jonathan Boucher	March	26	1762	
	Archibald Dick	March	26	1762	
	Devereux Jarratt	Dec.	28	1762	
	Richard Collinson	Dec.	28	1762	
	William Buckham	April	17	1763	
	James Maury Fontaine	Oct.	10	1763	
	John Lyth	Oct.	10	1763	
	Henry Skyring	Oct.	10	1763	
	John Mathews	June	29	1764	
	John Wishart	June	29	1764	
	Walter Jameson	June	29	1764	
	Robert Renney	July	1	1764	
	Thomas Lendrum	April	3	1765	Dead
	Townsend Dade	Aug.	13	1765	
	Charles Mynn Thruston	Aug.	13	1765	
	Christopher Mackae	Dec.	23	1765	
	George Goldie	Feb.	25	1766	
	William Hubard	April	28	1766	
	Thomas Floyd	May	9	1766	
	Josiah Johnson	July	10	1766	Dead
	William Halyburton	Aug.	28	1766	
	Benjamin Sebastian	Sept.	21	1766	
	Lee Massey	Sept.	21	1766	
	James Stuart	Sept.	21	1766	
	Arch. Aven	Feb.	2	1767	
	William Bland	June	24	1767	
	Thomas Martin	June	24	1767	
	Thomas Lundie	Dec.	21	1767	
	William Coutts	June	7	1768	
	Samuel Clug	June	11	1768	
	Arthur Hamilton	June	11	1768	
	Walter Macgowan	June	24	1768	
	Robert Yancey	July	25	1768	
	William Agar	June	21	1768	
	James Stevenson	Sept.	29	1768	
	Arthur Emerson	Sept.	29	1768	
	James Thompson	Feb.	28	1769	
	Charles Clay	June	7	1769	
	Mathew Maurey	Aug.	24	1769	
	Thomas Baker	Aug.	24	1769	
	Isaac Avery	Oct.	18	1769	
	Samuel Henley	Dec.	24	1769	
	Alexander Lunen	Dec.	24	1769	
	Thomas Gwatin	Jan.	5	1770	
	John Kynaston	Aug.	9	1770	
	James Herdman	Sept.	23	1770	
	William Selden	March	11	1771	
	Spence Grayson	May	29	1771	
	Abner Waugh	March	11	1771	St. Mary's Parish
	John Wingate	Sept.	22	1771	Dale Parish
	William Vere	Sept.	22	1771	
	James Ogilvie	Sept.	22	1771	Hampshire.
	Daniel Sturges	Nov.	11	1771	Norborne

Benjamin Blagrove	March	5	1772	Elizabeth City
William Leigh	March	16	1772	Shelburne
Nathaniel Manning	March	16	1772	Hampshire
Robert Buchan	March	16	1772	
John Braidfoot	April	25	1772	
Peter Muhlönberg	April	25	1772	
Joseph Messenger	May	7	1772	Stafford County
William Hannah	June	11	1772	Culpepper County
William Holt	June	11	1772	Amelia County
John Bracken	July	6	1772	Amelia County
Francis Wilson	Aug.	24	1772	Drysdale Parish
Saml. Smith McCrosky	Sept.	21	1772	Christ Church Parish
Rodham Kenner	Sept.	21	1772	Hampshire
John Hyde Saunders	Sept.	21	1772	James City
Alexander Balmain	Oct.	11	1772	Cople Parish
Jesse Carter	Oct.	21	1772	Southampton Parish
Robert Andrews	Dec.	26	1772	Ware Parish
William McKenzie	June	6	1773	
John Campbell	June	6	1773	Stratton Major Parish
John McLean	Aug.	1	1773	Botetourt Parish
Thomas Davis	Sept.	21	1773	Norfolk Parish
Thomas Hall	April	6	1774	St. Martin's Parish
Emanuel Jones	Sept.	21	1774	St. Bride's
Samuel Shield	Dec.	21	1774	Drysdale Parish
John Hurt	Dec.	21	1774	Trinity Parish
John Brace	March	1	1775	Elizabeth Parish
John Leland	April	11	1775	Wicomoco Parish
Christ. Todd	April	26	1775	Brunswick Parish
William Gordon	June	11	1775	
John Buchanan	Aug.	13	1775	Henrico Parish
James Madison	Oct.	1	1775	
John White Holt	June	11	1776	Russell Parish
ISLAND OF ST. VINCENT.				
Thomas Load	Dec.	28	1777	

A List of the several Parishes or places where Divine Service is performed according to the rites of the Church of England, in South and North Carolina, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and New England, with an Account of the present Income belonging to each Parish, or place, taken from the Books of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, July 1, 1724.

[From the Fulham MSS.]

Names of the Parishes and Places.	Allowance from the Society sterling.	Allowance by Act of Assembly reduced to sterling.	Voluntary contributions reduced to sterling.
SOUTH CAROLINA.	£ s d	£ s d	
<i>St. Phillips's</i> , Charlestown.—There is a house and glebe; the Rev. Mr. Garden the present Minister - -	00 0 0	120	Besides considerable perquisites for weddings, christenings, funerals.
<i>St. James's</i> , Goose Creek.—A house and glebe; the Rev. Mr. Ludlam, Minister - - - -	50 0 0	80 0 0	
<i>St. Andrew's</i> .—A house and glebe; the Rev. Mr. Guy, Minister - - -	50 0 0	80 0 0	
<i>St. George's</i> .—A house and glebe; the Rev. Mr. Varnod, Minister - -	50 0 0	80 0 0	
<i>St. John's</i> .—A house and glebe; the Rev. Mr. Hunt, Minister - - -	50 0 0	80 0 0	
<i>St. Thomas's</i> .—No house, two glebes, money allowed out of the Treasury, now at interest for building a house; the Rev. Mr. Hasell, Minister - -	50 0 0	80 0 0	
<i>St. Dennis's</i> , a French Conformist Church.—No house nor glebe; the Rev. Mr. Lapiere, Minister - -	00 0 0	80 0 0	
<i>Christ Church</i> .—A house and glebe; the Rev. Mr. Pownall, Minister -	50 0 0	80 0 0	
<i>St. James's</i> , Santee, a French Conformist Church.—A house and glebe; the Rev. Mr. Pouderons, Minister - -	00 0 0	80 0 0	
<i>St. Paul's</i> .—A glebe but no house; the money allowed by the Treasury at interest for building one; the Rev. Mr. Standish lately appointed Minister there - - - -	60 0 0	80 0 0	
<i>St. Bartholomew's and St. Helen's</i> . Depopulated by the Indian war; have neither Churches nor Parsonage houses; when they shall be supplied they will be allowed each - - -	50 0 0	80 0 0	

Names of the Parishes and Places.	Allowance from the Society ster- ling.	Allowance by Act of Assembly reduced to sterling.	Voluntary contributions reduced to sterling.
NORTH CAROLINA	£ s d	£ s d	
<p>Is divided into several precincts or parishes, and an allowance settled out of each precinct, by Act of Assembly, of about £70 Carolina money, which amounts to about £15 sterling. A particular account of the state of the Church there is daily expected from Mr. Mosley, a gentleman of that country. There is at present but one Minister, the Rev. Mr. Newnam, who supplies four or five of the parishes by turns, and is allowed by the Society - - - - -</p>	80 0 0	<p>About £60, which he is supposed to receive for his service.</p>	<p>Not known to the Society.</p>
PENNSYLVANIA.			
<p>N.B.—Twenty shillings this country money is about 15s. sterling. No provision made in this government for the Church by the Assembly.</p>			
<p><i>Christ Church</i>, in Philadelphia.—A handsome parsonage, and the minister is maintained by the voluntary contributions of the people; besides which there is an allowance from the Crown of £50 sterling per annum if it can be recovered, which will make it a comfortable living. There is at present no settled minister; there is no allowance from the Society.</p>			
<p>There is also £30 a year allowed by the Crown to a Schoolmaster, which, with the encouragement he might meet with there, would be a handsome subsistence for a Schoolmaster.</p>			
<p><i>New Castle</i>.—There are three Churches in this county, viz., one at Newcastle, one at Whiteclay Creek, and one at Apoquinomy, now all supplied by one minister. There is an estate left to the Church at Newcastle forever, worth about £20 per annum sterling. The Rev. Mr. Ross is the present Minister. There is no glebe or parsonage house that the Society have any account of.</p>	70 0 0	00 0 0	<p>About £48 per annum, Pennsylvania money.</p>
<p><i>Chester</i>.—There are three Churches in</p>			

Names of the Parishes and Places.	Allowance from the Society sterling.			Allowance by Act of Assembly reduced to sterling.			Voluntary contributions reduced to sterling.
	£	s	d	£	s	d	
this county, viz., one at Chichester, one at Chester, and one at Concord, all supplied by one minister; there is a valuable piece of ground given for a minister's house, garden, and other conveniencies at Chester, but the house not yet built. The Rev. Mr. Humphrey is the present Minister - - - - -	60	0	0	00	0	0	Formerly about £30 per annum, Pennsylvania money, and have promised to increase it.
<i>Oxford</i> .—There is no glebe nor parsonage house, but the people have promised to purchase a house and 110 acres of land, and £80, that money has been left for that purpose. The Rev. Mr. Wayman is the present Minister, who also supplies	60	0	0	00	0	0	About £20 Pennsylvania money, and some presents of provisions.
<i>Radnor</i> ; a Welsh Congregation, about twenty-five miles distant from Oxford, who are very pressing to have a minister reside among them, though they say they are not able to do anything for him. They have built a Church, but have no parsonage nor glebe.							
<i>Sussex</i> .—In this county there are three Churches, all supplied by one minister. A great number of people, who have subscribed sufficient sums to the minister for support of himself and family, so that he may lay by the Society's allowance. The Rev. Mr. Becket is the present Minister - - -	60	0	0	00	0	0	The sum is not known to the Society.
<i>Apoquinomy</i> .—There is no glebe nor parsonage house, but the people have promised to provide a house for the minister, and to contribute to his maintenance according to their capabilities. There is no minister there at present - - - - -	60	0	0	00	0	0	About £30 Pennsylvania money subscribed to the former minister.
<i>Kent County</i> .—The Church here has not been supplied with a settled minister for many years past. The people are very desirous of an Episcopal Minister, and promise to contribute according to their abilities. There is no glebe nor parsonage house.							
The Churches at <i>Bristol</i> , <i>Perquihomen</i> , and another new Church lately built in this Province, being but small							

Names of the Parishes and Places.	Allowance from the Society ster- ling.	Allowance by Act of Assembly reduced to sterling.	Voluntary contributions reduced to sterling.
	£ s d	£ s d	
congregations; are supplied by the neighbouring clergy, and the ministers of the Swedish congregations there, for which they receive some small allowance from the Society.			
NEW JERSEY.			
N.B.—20s. money of New York and of this Province is about 13s. 4d. sterling. No provision is made in this Province for the Church by Act of Assembly.			
<i>Burlington</i> .—There is no house nor glebe. Mr. Talbot is the present Minister - - - - -	60 0 0	00 0 0	Formerly about £20 per annum, New York money, now uncertain.
<i>Hopewell, Maidenhead</i> .—Two Churches supplied by one minister, now vacant. There is no house nor glebe, but Colonel Coxe has promised to give one hundred acres of land to the Church at Maidenhead - -	60 0 0	00 0 0	Small and uncertain.
<i>Salem</i> .—A new congregation. There is no parsonage house nor glebe, but the people have promised to make a handsome provision for their minister, who is the Rev. Mr. Holbrook -	60 0 0	00 0 0	The sum not known to the Society.
<i>Elizabeth Town</i> .—The minister whereof also supplies some neighbouring towns. There is no house nor glebe. The Rev. Mr. Vaughan is the present Minister - - - - -	60 0 0	00 0 0	About £30 per annum, New York money.
<i>Amboy</i> .—The minister whereof also supplies Piscatoqua and Woodbridge, two other Churches in that neighbourhood. There has been lately given to the Church at Amboy some ground for a glebe and building a parsonage house; and a lady has left by her will, for the use of the minister forever, a house and land worth £400 sterling. The Rev. Mr. Skinner is the present Minister -	60 0 0	00 0 0	About £30 per annum, New York money.

Names of the Parishes and Places.	Allowance from the Society sterling.	Allowance by Act of Assembly reduced to sterling.	Voluntary contributions reduced to sterling.
NEW YORK.	£ s d	£ s d	
<p><i>Trinity Church</i>, in that city.—There is a house and garden, and besides the allowance by Act of Assembly, the perquisites and presents are very considerable, in so much that this living is computed to be worth above £200 sterling per annum. There is nothing allowed by the Society to the Minister, who is the Rev. Mr. Vesey.</p>	00 0 0	100 N. York money.	The amount of the voluntary contributions & perquisites is unknown to the Society.
<p>But the Society allow to a catechist for the negroes in New York (the Rev. Mr. Wetmore) £50 sterling per annum, who is also an assistant to the Rev. Mr. Vesey, for which the people have promised to allow him £50 per annum, New York money -</p>	50 0 0	00 0 0	£50 per annum, New York money.
<p><i>West Chester</i>, to which is annexed East Chester, Yonkers, and the Manor of Pelham, all served by one Minister. There is a house and glebe of twenty three acres. The Rev. Mr. Barton is the present Minister - - -</p>	50 0 0	50 N. York money.	About 40s. per annum, New York money.
<p><i>New Rochell</i>.—A French Conformist Congregation, part of the parish of West Chester aforesaid, to whose minister the people are rated, so that there is nothing by Act of Assembly settled on the minister here. There is a house and glebe and one hundred acres of land let out for the benefit of the Minister, who is the Rev. Mr. Stoupe - - - - -</p>	50 0 0	00 0 0	Formerly £25 per annum, New York money, now precarious, the people providing fire wood & some presents.
<p><i>Rye</i>.—There is a parsonage and glebe, and to this parish is annexed Mamaronock and Bedford, where the minister occasionally officiates. The Rev. Mr. Jenney is the present Minister -</p>	50 0 0	50 N. York money.	The minister says he receives nothing this way.
<p><i>Richmond</i>, on Staten Island, has a parsonage house and glebe of sixty acres, and Mr. Duxbury has lately left to the Church there a very handsome plantation, the value of which has not been certified to the Society. The Society allowed £50 sterling per annum to the late Incumbent, but the Governor has lately collated</p>			The late minister received none except some

Names of the Parishes and Places.	Allowance from the Society sterling.			Allowance by Act of Assembly reduced to sterling.			Voluntary contributions reduced to sterling.
	£	s	d	£	s	d	
to that living one Mr. Harrison, who is well contented without the Society's allowance - - - -	00	0	0	40	N.York	money.	few necessities for his house.
<i>Jamaica</i> , on Long Island, the minister whereof supplies two other towns in that neighbourhood. There is a parsonage house and glebe. The Rev. Mr. Poyer is the present Minister -	50	0	0	60	N.York	money.	Small and uncertain.
<i>Hempstead</i> , on Long Island, the minister whereof also supplies the adjacent towns. There is a parsonage house and glebe; and the Rev. Mr. Thomas is the present Minister -	50	0	0	60	N.York	money.	Nothing.

CONNECTICUT.

N.B.—No provision is made in this Province or Government by Act of Assembly.

Stratford.—A congregation supplied by the Society for some time past. There is a Church now building, but the members are for the most part poor, and their contributions to the minister precarious. A gentleman has lately given four hundred acres of land for a perpetual glebe for an Episcopal minister there, of a considerable value. The Rev. Mr. Johnson is the present Minister - -

There are several other congregations in this Government, who have conformed to the Church of England, and are very desirous of having ministers, particularly New Town, where there are thirty Communicants, and the Conformists being the major part of the Town, the Episcopal Minister, if chose by them, will be entitled to a maintenance by the laws of the country. They have laid out two hundred acres of land for a glebe for an Episcopal Minister.

If the Society should think fit to send a Missionary to New Town he might also supply *Ripton*, as Mr. Johnson might *Fairfield*. Two other Conformist congregations, those of Rip-

The sum not known to the Society.

60 0 0 00 0 0

Names of the Parishes and Places.	Allowance from the Society ster- ling.	Allowance by Act of Assembly reduced to sterling.	Voluntary contributions reduced to sterling.
	£ s d	£ s d	
ton, having also agreed to lay out a glebe for an Episcopal Minister.			
NEW ENGLAND.			
N.B.—No provision is made by Act of Assembly for the Church in this Province.			
In <i>Boston</i> there are two Churches, one called			
<i>The King's Chapel</i> , of which the Rev. Mr. Myles is the present Minister, who is supported by the voluntary contributions of the people, the amount whereof is not known to the Society. The Rev. Mr. Harris, who is called the King's Chaplain, is afternoon preacher, for which he receives from the Crown £100 sterling, paid in England, and has one of Sir Leoline Jenkins's Fellowships at Jesus College. The Society allow nothing to this Church.			
The other, called <i>Christ Church</i> , lately built. The present Minister is the Rev. Dr. Cutler; he has an allowance from the Society, which, together with the voluntary contributions of the people, is a comfortable maintenance for him and his family - -	60 0 0	00 0 0	The Society have had no account of the particulars or gross sum.
<i>Newbury</i> .—There is no house nor glebe yet provided, but the people, by voluntary contributions, pay the minister as much or more than the usual rate was, for the maintenance of a dissenting teacher, besides which he has £60. The Rev. Mr. Plant present Minister - - - -	60 0 0	00 0 0	The sum not known to the Society.
<i>Marblehead</i> .—There is no house nor glebe; the voluntary contributions very precarious. The Rev. Mr. Moosom, Minister - - - -	60 0 0	00 0 0	About £20 per annum, New England money.
<i>Bristol</i> .—A new settled Church, built by voluntary subscriptions, and the people have promised to contribute to the utmost of their ability towards the maintenance of their minister. There is no house nor glebe. The			The sum not known

Names of the Parishes and Places.	Allowance from the Society sterling.			Allowance by Act of Assembly reduced to sterling.			Voluntary contributions reduced to sterling.
	£	s	d	£	s	d	
Rev. Mr. Ussher is the present Minister - - - - -	60	0	0	00	0	0	to the So-
<i>Providence</i> .—A new Church, likewise built by voluntary subscriptions. There is no house nor glebe, but the people have promised to assist the minister by voluntary contributions to the utmost of their power. The Rev. Mr. Pigot is the present Minister - - - - -	60	0	0	00	0	0	The sum not known to the Society.
<i>Newport</i> , on Rhode Island, the minister whereof occasionally officiates at Tiverton, Swansey, and Little Compton. There is no house nor glebe. The Rev. Mr. Honeyman is the present Minister - - - - -	70	0	0	00	0	0	About £40 per annum New Eng-land money.
<i>Narraganset</i> , in the Colony of Rhode Island, the minister whereof also occasionally officiates at Tiverton, Swansey, and Little Compton in conjunction with Mr. Honeyman. There is no parsonage house, but some lands laid out for the ministry in general, which the present minister, the Rev. Mr. Macsparren, is endeavouring to recover out of private hands, who have gotten possession thereof. The people have promised to contribute handsomely towards his maintenance, and to provide him a house - - - - -	70	0	0	00	0	0	The sum not known to the Society.

[From the Lambeth MSS.]

[A Copy of Mr. Whitefield's letter to the Society against their Missionaries, November 30, 1740; and also a letter from Dr. Bearcroft on that subject, June 27, 1741.]

"On board the Savannah, bound from }
Philadelphia to Georgia, Nov. 30th, 1740. }

"HONOURED GENTLEMEN :

"I hope a single eye to God's glory, inclines me to trouble you with this. I have been now through the greatest part of America, and have had an opportunity of seeing the state of the Church of England. I think it is at a very low ebb, and will in all probability be much worse, nay, at last dwindled into nothing, unless care be taken to send over Missionaries that are better qualified for the pastoral office. It is too evident that most of them are corrupt in their principles and immoral in their practices, and many of them such as could not stand their Trials amongst the Dissenters, or were discarded by them for their profaneness and irregularities. Our Church seems to be their last refuge, so that it is almost become a saying, that anything will make a Church Parson. None but those who are here present can tell into what contempt our Church is brought. The accounts given in to the Society by the Missionaries are the subject of common ridicule. I read some of them lately. I was ashamed to see how the nation was imposed on, and therefore thought it my duty to inform you of it. But perhaps I have said too much already however. I have delivered my soul. I write out of the simplicity of my heart. I leave the consequences to God, for the stones would cry out against me if I did not speak. If you had a mind only to establish the form of religion, sending such *ungodly despicable* Ministers would render even that ineffectual; for though the Dissenters have lost much of the power of Godliness, yet they have enough left to shame us. I speak not this out of prejudice or resentment, for I am as much opposed by their as our own Carnal Clergy, but I do it to prevent your being imposed on for the future, and to entreat you, if you would not have our tottering Ark fall quite down, that you would not employ such unhallowed hands to keep it up; they will meet with a Curse instead of a Blessing.

"I am,

"Honoured Gentlemen,

"Your very humble servant,

"GEORGE WHITEFIELD."

"Charterhouse, June 27th, 1741.

"MY LORD :

"Mr. Whitefield hath wrote three letters about the Missionaries, but the Society would not answer them, the two first directed to the Secretary, and the last directed immediately to the Society, which is so extraordinary an one, that I thought it proper to transmit a Copy to your

Lordship. The stroke under ungodly despicable, is in the original, though there are several of them; I will venture to affirm, as worthy as, and I am sure, much more regular than himself. His first letter was levelled chiefly against Mr. Arnold, who had debated with him in Print, and the single fact charged by Mr. Whitefield on Mr. Arnold is this, in Mr. Whitefield's own words: 'He hath borrowed four or five pounds from one Owen Owens, and said that Mr. Cummins would pay it; when the man applied to Mr. Cummins, he said he knew nothing of the matter, but rather than have Mr. Arnold exposed, he paid the sum for him. This is to be attested by numbers of witnesses, and Mr. Frame, Brother-in-Law to Mr. Proprietary Pen, told me yesterday the Governor informed him how he had been chiding Mr. Cummins for not suffering him to be pursued and apprehended.' I wrote upon this to Mr. Cummins, the Commissary of Philadelphia, whose answer is this: 'As to that silly story which you tell me Mr. Whitefield wrote against Mr. Arnold, 'tis true his giddy admirers made a noise with it here, but without any just grounds, for Mr. Arnold, the night before he left this place, asked me to lend him £5. I told him I could not tell if I had so much at that time in the house, but desired him to breakfast with me next morning and I could then give him an answer. He was obliged, it seems, to set out very early, and having borrowed the money of Owen Owens gave him a letter to me, desiring I would pay that sum, and promising to remit it me in a little time from New York. When Owen came demanding his money that morning, after asking him a few questions, I found, though I promised to see him paid, he was ready, and I doubt not, instigated by Whitefield's votaries, to follow after and arrest Mr. Arnold because he had dared to contradict their oracle. I therefore directly paid him the money, and Mr. Arnold soon after very honestly and without my asking sent me payment of it from New York. I shewed your letter to Mr. Frame, the Proprietor's Brother-in-Law, before some Gentlemen; he affirmed what related to him is false.' I may perhaps have tired your Lordship, but have mentioned these things as they may afford some little light to Mr. Whitefield's full thoughts about the Missionaries, and if I can be any way serviceable.

"I am, my Lord,

"Your most obedient and

"Most humble servant,

"PHILIP BEARCROFT."

Letter from Mr. Whitefield to the Bishop of Oxford.

"On board the Mary and Ann, bound from }
London to Scotland, July 28th, 1741. }

"MY LORD:

"Want of leisure not respect has been the occasion of my not sending your Lordship my letter, which I promised some time ago. Being now on board on my way to Scotland, I have time to write my

thoughts more freely. I would first then observe to your Lordship that you have too good an opinion of the Missionaries in general that are employed by the honourable Society. Your Lordship says, p. 31, 'that it hath been pretended indeed that immoral and negligent men are employed as Missionaries.' This can be too easily proved. I could mention several instances. Whether this be from want of care I will not take upon me to determine, but that it frequently and commonly happens is certain. I have lately received a letter from Jonathan Belcher, Esq., late Governor of New England, wherein he writes thus: 'It is now about thirty-seven years ago that I dined with the late Dr. Compton, then Bishop of London, at his Palace at Fulham, and there were several Bishops and other dignified Clergy at Table; and knowing me to be a young gentleman of Interest and Figure in my Country, they urged me much to conform to their Church, and asked me how the Church of England got forward in New England. I told their Lordships that they were greatly deceived in what money was sent hither in that service, for that the general rise of the Church in New England was from dissolute livers, such as quarrelled with their Ministers, but that it was "*Rara Avis in terris*" for any man to go over to the Church, from a principle of religion and conscience, or to improve himself in a pious, serious life; and this really, Sir,' adds this worthy gentleman, 'is the case of this country at this day.' I hope this will have more weight with your Lordship, as coming from a gentleman without my knowing anything of it, a gentleman also of figure and good report, and who declares himself unprejudiced in another part of his letter. For speaking of a particular thing, he writes thus: 'Not that I have any squeamish prejudices against that excellent Church' (meaning the Church of England), 'although I have been born and bred a Dissenter; and pray what do we differ in doctrine? Would they preach and live their articles, there would be a more general coalition among them and the Dissenters.' And then he afterwards says: 'From long observation I find no persons going off from our Church to that of the Church of England, who thereby become more vitally pious. If I found they did, I should, I hope from a wise and judicious choice, immediately conform.' Thus far the worthy Governor Belcher, and indeed, my Lord, this is too true. Those at a distance cannot well conceive how contemptible our Church is abroad, and that owing to the unworthy, immoral, and negligent lives of the generality of the Missionaries, several of which have come over to us, because they could not stand trial among the Dissenters, or had lived too loosely among them. Your Lordship is pleased to say, p. 32, 'That the most earnest requests, the most solemn adjurations are sent, that all who can would give any useful intelligence relating to them.' This is certainly right and good, but I fear your Lordship hath been misinformed if your Lordship was told that great regard is always paid to such intelligence, for I myself have sent over two letters to the Honourable Society for this purpose, and no regard has been paid to them. If your Lordship pleases I will send you copies of them both. I could not but further observe in looking over the list of the Missionaries, that there are no less than twenty employed in preaching and teaching school in the Province of New England (where certainly the Gospel is preached with greater purity than at home), and but two settled Missionaries in all North Carolina, and one of those, viz., Mr. Garzia, can scarce speak English. Does

not this look too much like making a party of religion? I have a letter now by me somewhere amongst my papers, wrote by Dr. Mather to the late Lord Chancellor King, in which he gives sad proofs of the immorality of our Missionaries, and also complains of this seeming partiality. If the people of New England impose taxes on the Members of the Church of England, whilst others are exempt, it is certainly wrong. But as the first settlers went over there to worship God in their own way, Independency I think may well be reckoned the Established Worship there as well as Presbytery the Established Worship in Scotland: and surely it would more answer the design of the Institution of the Honourable Society to send Missionaries to North Carolina, where there are inhabitants enough and nobody to teach them, than to New England, where they have a Minister of their own every five or ten miles. Your Lordship, I am persuaded, is more noble than to be offended with this plainness of speech. The Searcher of Hearts knows from what principle I write. Your Lordship is pleased to say, page 31st, 'that exact accounts are required from the Missionaries twice a year.' And when they are brought in, what accounts do they generally give? That they have baptized so many, and had so many Communicants. A poor account this, and in other respects so very bad, that when I was last at Philadelphia, many that were really Friends of the Church upon reading the accounts were ashamed to see how the Honourable Society was imposed on by the account of the pious labours of the Missionaries. Indeed your Lordship says, page 17th, and I doubt not your Lordship was informed so, 'that multitudes of Negroes and Indians have been brought over to the Christian Faith.' This, for all that I know to the contrary may be matter of fact. I pray God it may be found true at the great day; but your Lordship says, page 9, 'the success of one of the Catechists has been so great in the Plantation belonging to the Society, that out of two hundred and thirty, at least seventy are now believers in Christ.' I should be glad to know what Plantation your Lordship means: that seventy may have learned to repeat their Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments in the Vulgar Tongue, and been baptised, is probable enough. But that seventy are now believers in Christ, I cannot help questioning. I fear your Lordship hath been misinformed; and now I am mentioning the Negroes, I beg leave to object against the method lately proposed for their Conversion, especially in the Province of Carolina, where the Governors are so exceedingly jealous over any that shall undertake publicly to teach them. I believe it will be a work of a long time to find out two or three young Negroes, and to instruct them so as to qualify them to instruct others. Besides, few, I believe, will submit to be taught by a young Negro. I question whether the Assembly will permit a slave to learn to write. And, after all, this way of converting them will only be teaching them to write and read. These are good things, but without setting over them truly pious people, that may have more authority over them than any young negroes whatsoever, and may lead them to a knowledge of themselves and God; however good the intention of the Honourable Society may be, I fear their good intention will prove abortive and of none effect. Pensylvania, in my opinion, is far preferable to Carolina for the instruction of the Negroes. The Quakers, however blameable in other respects, are certainly praiseworthy in this: I mean their lenity to their poor slaves. Your Lordship is pleased to

urge these people's forbidding to assist his Majesty (whom I truly love and honour), as one reason why Missionaries should be sent over to instruct the people in better principles. But at the same time, your Lordship takes notice of many other pernicious errors that took early root in the Provinces abroad, that are not yet extirpated, and perhaps in part newly revived; some dissolving the obligations of moral duties; some destroying the inward peace of every pious and good person, and making life gloomy and uncomfortable; some leading men to ascribe every folly or wickedness that possesses the fancy to Divine inspiration; some inconsistent with our present happy establishment. All these, my Lord, are errors, and, as your Lordship hath been pleased so particularly to mention the Quakers, would it not have been right in your Lordship to have pointed out the others also who are thus erroneous, that people might the better beware of and so avoid them. I suppose your Lordship has been informed of the persons that broach such errors, otherwise I suppose your Lordship would not have mentioned them; and if so, I would humbly submit it to your Lordship's judgment, whether you are not bound in conscience to write to them or plainly name them, that they may either clear themselves or take shame for holding and preaching things contrary to the Gospel of the ever-blessed Jesus. Thus, my Lord, I have freely wrote to your Lordship what was upon my heart. I think I have no sinister end in view; I think I write purely out of a zeal for God, and the good of souls. I heartily pray for the coming of Christ's Kingdom, and would therefore willingly have all things taken out of the way that may obstruct its progress. I am persuaded your Lordship would not wilfully continue in any error, nor be above receiving information from the meanest servant of Jesus Christ. This persuasion encouraged me to write to your Lordship. You may depend on it, my Lord, that I shall not mention what I have wrote, and if your Lordship is so condescending as to send me a line by way of answer, it shall be kept quite secret by,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's dutiful

"Son and Servant,

"GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

"P.S. I hope to be in London in about six weeks. If your Lordship pleases to direct a letter to me, as before, it will come to hand. The Lord be with your spirit."

Letter from the Lord Bishop of Oxford to Mr. Whitefield.

"Cuddesden, September 17th, 1741.

"SIR:

"It being now about the time that you proposed to be in London, I send this to return you thanks for your last letter. I am not sufficiently acquainted with Governor Belcher's character to know how far his account of his own impartiality may be relied on. We often deceive ourselves

in that matter, and all sects of Christians are too apt to think hardly of those who are not of their own Church, and especially those who leave it; and as there is but too much room for all parties to reproach one another with want of inward religion, very well meaning persons may mistake in making comparisons. To his testimony you add your own, and I believe you speak as you think. But you must permit me to say, and I do it with sincere good will to you, that I am persuaded you are much too severe in what you have printed concerning your Brethren of the Clergy in this Nation, and therefore you may have been too severe in what you have written concerning those abroad, especially as I find that many accounts different from yours are sent to the Society, concerning their Missionaries, by persons in all appearance well deserving credit. Still what you and the Governor have said, may and I hope will give occasion for stricter enquiries, but you cannot think it reasonable that we should pay regard to your accounts only. I have seen one, if not both your letters to the Society. They consist, as I remember, of general Charges, without mentioning any particular, and therefore all that can be done upon them is to enquire. Your objection against the number of Missionaries in New England I have endeavoured to answer in my Sermon, and if they can be proportioned better, I wish they were. But I have always understood that the reason of there being only two in North Carolina, was the bad reception of those who were sent, of which you may read very discouraging accounts in Humphrey's History of the Proceedings of the Society, and the difficulty of finding Persons to undertake that Mission; which difficulty I suppose must have been the reason of sending a Person not sufficiently acquainted, by your account, for I know not the fact, with our language. I believe the accounts of the Missionaries are as regularly sent to the Society as can be expected from that distance, or proper notice taken of the neglect. They may indeed, and frequently, if not constantly, do give further accounts than of their Baptisms and their Communions, which however are such marks of Christian profession as deserve to be particularly mentioned; nor do the accounts which we publish by any means consist of these only. But it may be very improper for us to print everything which it may be proper for them to write. If any part of their information which we print is false, we designedly put it in the power of all abroad who are really Friends of our Church or of Religion, to prevent our being imposed on by it, and if they will not, the blame is not ours; for making these things the subject of their discourse instead of informing us, is only doing harm. But I hope all good persons will consider how very licentious common discourse upon such subjects usually is, and will therefore examine carefully before they take up accusations. The only Plantation belonging to the Society, I mean as their Property, is in Barbadoes, and when I say that seventy of the Negroes there are believers in Christ, I use that expression as I apprehend it is commonly used in speaking of Countries where different religions are professed, to signify that so many profess themselves Christians. I do not see reason to suspect their being hypocrites in that profession, and I hope their faith produces good fruits. The method lately proposed for instructing Negroes continues to appear to me very promising, at least highly fit to be tried. There is a prospect that the young Negroes designed for teachers will, by the blessing of God on their education, become truly pious,

as well as qualified in other respects. The disadvantage of their youth will be lessening every day, and they will gain authority by degrees if they are duly supported. It is not that I know of, proposed that their scholars should learn to write, and I do not at all understand why you say that this method will be only teaching them to write and read. Whether Pennsylvania is preferable to Carolina for Instruction of the Negroes I know not, but wish it were tried every way. What errors took early root in our Colonies, and are not yet extirpated, you may see in Humphrey's, and as I have only spoken doubtfully concerning the revival of any of them, and that not upon any intelligence communicated particularly to me, but from such accounts as lie before the Society, I do not apprehend myself obliged to go further than I have done in this matter. I have accused no person, nor designed to make any person otherwise thought of than he was before. If I have given occasion to any one to ask himself whether he is blamable or not, I have only put him upon doing what we all ought to do more frequently, and God grant we may do it, to his Glory and our own Good.

"I am, Sir,

"Your loving Brother

"And Servant,

"THOMAS OXFORD."

"Mr. Whitefield."

E F F O R T S
TO OBTAIN
T H E E P I S C O P A T E
BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

B Y F R A N C I S L. H A W K S.

THE following article was published some twenty years ago in a then existing Church periodical of but limited circulation, and has probably fallen under the eye of comparatively few of the members of the Society. As time and care were bestowed in the collection of facts necessary in its preparation, the Publishing Committee have thought it worth reprinting, and have therefore obtained the consent of the author, who is one of their number, to preserve it in the pages of the Society's collections :—

Among a body of Christians, in whose system of ecclesiastical government episcopacy held a conspicuous place, it would follow, of course, that efforts would not be wanting to obtain an officer so essential as is a Bishop. Hence, at a very early period, the subject of an American Episcopate seems to have occupied the minds of Episcopalians, both in the colonies and in the mother country.

The Bishop of London, “by customary usage (which seems to have taken its rise from accidental connexion”*), exercised spiritual jurisdiction in the plantations, from a period commencing soon after the settlement of Virginia; and to him was confided the supervision of a diocese, which it was neither expected or required that he should ever see.†

* *Archbishop Drummond's* paper upon the present state of the Church of England in the colonies, drawn up in June, 1764.—MSS. of Gen. Convention.

† There is some difficulty in tracing satisfactorily the origin and progress of the “accidental connexion” of the Bishop of London with the church in the American colonies. The best account which we can furnish on this subject is the following :—

The first royal grant made of lands in America was by King James I. in the year 1606, to what was then termed the second Virginia Company; and pursuant to the provisions of this grant, it was ordered that “the true word of God should be preached, planted, and used, according to the rites and doctrines of the *Church of England*.”

It was not long ere the evils resulting from such an arrangement were sensibly felt in the colonies, and readily suggested themselves to the minds of churchmen in England. Nay, the necessity of a Bishop to an Episcopal

In 1620, the number of clergymen in Virginia was less, by one-half, than the number of parishes, and it was the duty of the "Virginia Council," which sat in London, to supply the deficiency. The Bishop of London was a member of the council, and had taken a deep interest in the prosperity of the plantations, having raised £1000 toward building a college in Virginia. The council, therefore, very naturally applied to him as one of their body, for *his help in procuring ministers*. And this is the first instance to be met with of the connexion of the Bishop of London with the Church in the colonies.

This was probably the origin of the jurisdiction exercised for many years over the American church by the successive prelates of the see of London. This jurisdiction was unquestioned for a long period of time, and of course gained strength with its age. At length, in 1675, the Committee of Trade and Plantations "desired that inquiry be made touching the jurisdiction which the Bishop of London hath over the foreign plantations." What caused the inquiry is unknown, but no return was made to it. In 1679, however, the instructions given to *Lord Culpepper*, at that time appointed governor, clearly show that the Bishop of London was not supposed to have any *jurisdiction*, for he has nothing but a mere ministerial office assigned him: the *Governor* has the power to prefer to ecclesiastical benefices in the colony, and the only notice taken of the Bishop of London is in requiring of the person preferred a certificate from that prelate that the candidate is "conformable to the doctrine of the Church of England."

In 1681, *Sir Thomas Lynch* was appointed Governor of Jamaica, and he was instructed to report to the *Bishop of London* all ministers who officiated in the island without "being in due orders."

In 1685, the Bishop of London proposed to the Committee of Trade, that he should have all ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the West Indies, *except the disposition of parishes, licenses for marriage, and probate of wills*.

This was approved of, and the governor was directed to give all countenance and encouragement to the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the island, by the Bishop of London, except in the particulars enumerated, as to which the power was conferred on the governor.

Similar instructions were given to all the other colonial governors, and under this authority, Bishops *Compton* and *Robinson*, and for a few years, Bishop *Gibson*, exercised jurisdiction in the plantations. But, in 1725, Bishop *Gibson* desired more explicit authority and direction, and for that purpose applied by petition to the king in council. The petition was referred to the attorney and solicitor general, who stated as their opinion that the Bishops of London had all acted by an authority which was *insufficient*, and that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the colonies did not rightfully belong to any Bishop in England, and that the most proper mode of conferring on any person the right to exercise such jurisdiction was by *patent*.

A patent was accordingly granted to Dr. *Gibson*, but it was to him *personally*, and not as Bishop of London; his successors were not named in it, so that the patent expired with his life: nor did any of his successors ever obtain another, but acted without one.

From the first exercise of jurisdiction up to the period of Bishop *Gibson's* patent, there were several circumstances which had a tendency to strengthen the opinion that the Bishop of London was the rightful diocesan of the American church. Thus, in 1679, some of the inhabitants of Boston, who were members of the Church of England, petitioned Bishop *Compton*, then in the see of London, for his help in obtaining for themselves the services of the church. The bishop procured the consent of the king that a church should be allowed. This application called the attention of Dr. *Compton* more particularly to the state of the church in the colonies, and resulted in his proposing to various parts of America to supply them with clergymen; and on his application to the king, his majesty granted a bounty of £20 to each minister who would go over to the colonies, and instructed the governors to permit none authoritatively to serve any cure of souls "unless he was licensed to do so by the *Bishop of London*."

Church was so obvious, and its propriety so unquestionable, that it seems to have engaged the unsolicited attention of even the irreligious monarch, Charles II. And it is but an act of justice to the prelates who successively occupied the see of London, to remark, that among the dignitaries of the English church, none seem to have been more generally anxious than were they to furnish the colonies with a bishop. We meet with no record of any whose lust of power was such as caused them to covet the exercise of an authority, which, while it conferred honour, imposed also a fearful responsibility.*

In most of the earlier efforts which were made for procuring the Episcopate in America, the *laity* seem to have co-operated with the clergy; though in the *first* step taken towards effecting the object, it does not appear that either clergy or laity in the plantations had any agency; but in the subsequent applications, for several years, there is abundant evidence that a bishop was solicited alike by *all*.

The first proposal of an American Episcopate, of which we have any authentic record, was in 1672 or the year following.† In one of these years

Another circumstance, which doubtless confirmed in public opinion the authority of the Bishop of London, was the following:—Sir *Leoline Jenkins*, observing the wretched state of the colonies as to religious instruction, by his will (after remarking on the small number of clergymen in the fleets and plantations of the king) founded two new fellowships at Jesus College, Oxford, upon condition that the fellows and their successors forever, should take priests' orders, and go out as chaplains in the navy when thereto required by the Lord High Admiral; and in case there should be no use for them at sea, then they were "to be called by the Lord Bishop of London to go out into any of his majesty's foreign plantations." The selection by the testator of the Bishop of London to make the call was probably founded on the opinion, then prevalent, that the spiritual care of the plantations belonged to that prelate.

In 1701, the charter of "the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" was obtained; and by this society, missionaries were furnished to all the colonies except Maryland and Virginia, up to the period of the American revolution. But, as all the clergymen who had come over prior to 1701, had been licensed by the Bishop of London, the practice continued after the society was established, and the missionaries always considered that prelate as their diocesan. For the statements in this note, see Bishop *Sherlock's* memorial to the king in council, presented in February, 1749–50; Dr. *Kennell's* account of the society; *Humphrey's* History of the Society; and Bishop *Gibson's* petition and commission, among the MSS. of the General Convention.

* We find one of the English prelates using the following language on this subject: "No one who has any experience or sense of these things [the duties of a bishop] can ever say that the Bishop of London could at any time take a competent care of the plantations as a bishop; nor did the ablest prelate that ever filled that see ever think that he could, or ever wish to continue in so irksome and fruitless an office."—Thoughts upon the present state of the Church of England in America, by *Archbishop Drummond*—MSS. of Gen. Convention.

Again, another thus expresses himself: "I am very sensible (and in this I speak the sentiments of my brethren) that nothing can more effectually contribute to the happy and prosperous state of the colonies, in a civil as well as a religious view, than the appointment of resident bishops. A bishop of London, however inclined to do his duty, is too sensible of the importance of the charge which long usage and custom has committed to him, and too conscious of the little service he can do to a clergy at this distance from him, not to feel very anxiously the necessity of a more immediate inspection and government."—Original letter from the Bishop of London to the clergy of Connecticut, February 18, 1765—Johns. MSS.

† A letter of 1662, sent from England to Massachusetts, would seem to show that a

a resolution was taken by the king (Charles II.) in council to send a bishop to Virginia, and the individual was actually selected on whom the proposed honour should be conferred. Dr. *Alexander Murray*, who had been the companion of the king in his travels, was the person nominated to be the first bishop in America; and a draught of letters patent was prepared, which Bishop *Gibson* in 1723 stated, was then extant among the records of the see of London.*

Of the causes which led to the failure of the intended design, it is not possible at this distance of time to speak with certainty. In the manuscript already referred to, it is suggested by Bishop *Gibson* that the plan was defeated because "the endowment was to be out of the public customs." In an extract from a letter written by Dr. *Murray* himself,† a different, and probably more correct reason is assigned. In October, 1673, the plan of establishment for the bishop was referred to the then Bishop of London (Dr. *Compton*), and the Lord Keeper (Sir *Orlando Bridgman*); and very soon after, through the instrumentality of the celebrated ministry, known as the *Cabal*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman* was displaced before an opportunity had been afforded him of reporting on the proposed establishment; and the subject was not again resumed.

The next mention which we find made of an American Episcopate is in the abstract of the proceedings of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, in the year 1703. It is there said that the society had received "addresses from divers parts of the continent, and islands adjacent, for a suffragan, to visit the several churches; ordain some, confirm others, and bless all."

Indeed, about this period, the pressing want of a bishop seems to have been very sensibly felt, and the applications to the society appear to have been urged with an almost importunate frequency. They received a respectful hearing, and at length a committee prepared a statement of facts, entitled "the case of suffragan bishops for foreign parts briefly proposed," which was submitted to the queen's attorney-general for his opinion.‡

bishop was appointed in that year. Its language is: "There was a General Governor, and a Major-General chosen, and a *Bishop with a suffragan*, but Mr. Norton writes that they are not yet out of hopes to prevent it." See *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, vol. i. p. 225, note. There is no evidence which throws light on this appointment, if it ever was made. It is perhaps not improbable, that in transcribing, a mistake may have been made in the year; 1662 having been written for 1672.

* Bishop *Gibson's* letter and memorial on sending bishops to the English plantations abroad. MSS. of Gen. Convention.

Address from the clergy of New York and New Jersey to the Episcopalians in Virginia, p. 11.

† Chandler's Appeal further defended, p. 148.

‡ Dr. *Kennett's* account of the Society, published at London in 1706, but without the author's name. By the beneficence of many individuals, a fund for the support of a bishop in America had been gradually accumulating, and it is probable, that had one been appointed, the colonists would have been entirely relieved from the burthen of his maintenance. It deserves too to be remembered, that the larger portion of this fund was contributed by gentlemen who were themselves in the episcopal office; among whom Bishop *Butler*, of Durham, holds a conspicuous place. Indeed, such was the anxiety of the English prelates on the subject, that it was said the Bishop of London, in 1745, "offered to the king and council, on condition that an American bishop might be sent

The plan was not, however, brought to a speedy conclusion, for in 1710 we find the society alluding to the want of a bishop in America, stating that the subject is yet under the consideration of the society, and informing the public that they were endeavouring to find a commodious and central place in which to fix the residence of the bishop.* Nor was it long after this representation, before the society purchased at Burlington, in New Jersey, at an expense of £600, a convenient mansion house and lands for the use of the future bishop.†

We have said that in the earlier efforts which were made to procure the episcopate, the laity co-operated with the clergy. In an address of the society to the throne in 1712, the subject is thus represented to the queen: "We cannot but take this opportunity, farther to represent to your majesty, the earnest and repeated desires not only of the missionaries, but of divers other considerable persons that are in communion with our excellent church, to have a bishop settled in your American plantations."‡ And again, in 1714, by way of apology for such continued importunity, the society stated that it acted "upon renewed instances from governors of provinces, ministers, vestries, and private persons in the plantations, for settling ecclesiastical superiors there," and "after a loud call for fifteen years together."§

Nor is it surprising that such should have been the fact: at the period of which we are now writing, the jealousy of ecclesiastical power, and the dread of prelatical tyranny, seem not to have been awakened. There appears at this time to have been very little effort made to play upon the prejudices, or to alarm the fears of men: the political aspect of affairs, which at a subsequent period arrayed in opposition to an American Episcopate all who were not, and many who were churchmen, furnished at this time no exciting cause. The colonies were in tranquillity. In many parts, the inhabitants were almost entirely of the Church of England; these individuals looked toward the mother country with the confiding feelings of a child towards a parent. Too feeble to think of independence, and probably too loyal to desire it, the institutions of the land of their fathers were invested with a sacredness which they wished not to violate. They had been educated in the faith of the Church of England. That church deemed

over in his time, that he would give towards his support ten thousand pounds."—Original letter from Dr. Chandler to Dr. Johnson—Johns. MSS.

* Abstract of the society's proceedings, 1710.

† Address from the clergy of New York and New Jersey to the Episcopalians of Virginia, p. 13. It has been stated in a life of Dean *Swift*, by Sir *Walter Scott*, that "there was a plan suggested by Colonel *Hunter*, Governor of Virginia, to send out Dr. *Swift* as bishop of that province, to exercise a sort of metropolitan authority over the colonial clergy; but the appointment did not take place." If the statement of the biographer be correct, it is probable that the plan was contemplated about this time. Dr. *Dalcho* (alluding to the circumstance in his *History of the Church in South Carolina*) observes, that the known intimacy between Colonel *Hunter* and Dr. *Swift* affords some confirmation to the statement. Colonel *Hunter* was appointed Governor of Virginia in 1708, but was captured by the French on his voyage out. In 1710 he was sent out Governor of New York and the Jerseys. See *Dalcho's History*, pp. 90, 91.

‡ Dr. *Kennett's* anniversary sermon, 1712, p. 29, note.

§ Abstract, 1714.

bishops necessary for ecclesiastical government. The colonists looked around them, and saw the number of Episcopal clergymen in this country, *exceeding* the number in many of the dioceses of England.* They felt that if supervision was needed at home, the necessity for it abroad could not be diminished, where the number to be overlooked was larger than that at home.

The representation of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, to which we have already alluded, experienced at the hands of the queen the most favourable reception. In the abstract of the proceedings for 1715, it is stated that "her majesty was pleased to give a most gracious answer, highly satisfactory to the Society, and a draught of a bill was ordered, proper to be offered to the parliament for establishing bishops and bishoprics in America." The object so earnestly desired appeared at this time on the eve of accomplishment; but the friends of the measure were destined to witness the destruction of their hopes, in the death of the queen, before the bill had been introduced into parliament.

Disappointed, but not in despair, the advocates of an American Episcopate renewed their efforts early in the reign of the queen's successor. They were favourably received by *George I.*, and once more did they look forward to the successful termination of their persevering labours: once more too were they doomed to disappointment: scarcely was the new monarch seated on his throne before his attention was absorbed by the single object of retaining his sovereignty. The friends of the house of Stuart, by their efforts to place the pretender upon the throne, furnished for a time ample employment to the king and his advisers. It was not a period to devote much attention to the comparatively unimportant application of a few episcopalians in the colonies, when the existence of the government itself was threatened by an extensive and dangerous rebellion.

Thus interrupted in their designs, the friends of an American Episcopate seem not to have renewed their application for many years. It was not until the second *George* had been upon the throne for thirteen years, that in 1740 the necessity of a bishop over the churchmen of America was again *publicly* alluded to. In that year, *Dr. Secker*, who was then Bishop of Oxford, preached the anniversary sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and depicting in lively colours the inconveniences of the Church in America, pleaded with affectionate earnestness for a resident bishop, as the only remedy for its manifold spiritual privations.

Whether any measure proposing relief resulted from his representation, we have not the means of discovering; it is probable, however, that, discouraged by repeated failures, the society preferred patiently to wait until some opportunity, decidedly favourable to their wishes, should present itself.

This opinion derives countenance from the fact that, from the period just alluded to, up to the year 1750, we have met with no record of any attempt, direct or indirect, for the attainment of the object in view.

There seems to be reason too for supposing that during this interval, the efforts of English churchmen were suspended upon the intimation of those in authority. In the manuscript of Archbishop *Drummond*, prepared in 1764,

* Abstract, 1715.

The plan was not, however, brought to a speedy conclusion, for in 1710 we find the society alluding to the want of a bishop in America, stating that the subject is yet under the consideration of the society, and informing the public that they were endeavouring to find a commodious and central place in which to fix the residence of the bishop.* Nor was it long after this representation, before the society purchased at Burlington, in New Jersey, at an expense of £600, a convenient mansion house and lands for the use of the future bishop.†

We have said that in the earlier efforts which were made to procure the episcopate, the laity co-operated with the clergy. In an address of the society to the throne in 1712, the subject is thus represented to the queen: "We cannot but take this opportunity, farther to represent to your majesty, the earnest and repeated desires not only of the missionaries, but of divers other considerable persons that are in communion with our excellent church, to have a bishop settled in your American plantations."‡ And again, in 1714, by way of apology for such continued importunity, the society stated that it acted "upon renewed instances from governors of provinces, ministers, vestries, and private persons in the plantations, for settling ecclesiastical superiors there," and "after a loud call for fifteen years together."§

Nor is it surprising that such should have been the fact: at the period of which we are now writing, the jealousy of ecclesiastical power, and the dread of prelatical tyranny, seem not to have been awakened. There appears at this time to have been very little effort made to play upon the prejudices, or to alarm the fears of men: the political aspect of affairs, which at a subsequent period arrayed in opposition to an American Episcopate all who were not, and many who were churchmen, furnished at this time no exciting cause. The colonies were in tranquillity. In many parts, the inhabitants were almost entirely of the Church of England; these individuals looked toward the mother country with the confiding feelings of a child towards a parent. Too feeble to think of independence, and probably too loyal to desire it, the institutions of the land of their fathers were invested with a sacredness which they wished not to violate. They had been educated in the faith of the Church of England. That church deemed

over in his time, that he would give towards his support ten thousand pounds."—Original letter from Dr. Chandler to Dr. Johnson—Johns. MSS.

* Abstract of the society's proceedings, 1710.

† Address from the clergy of New York and New Jersey to the Episcopalians of Virginia, p. 13. It has been stated in a life of Dean Swift, by Sir Walter Scott, that "there was a plan suggested by Colonel Hunter, Governor of Virginia, to send out Dr. Swift as bishop of that province, to exercise a sort of metropolitan authority over the colonial clergy; but the appointment did not take place." If the statement of the biographer be correct, it is probable that the plan was contemplated about this time. Dr. Dalcho (alluding to the circumstance in his History of the Church in South Carolina) observes, that the known intimacy between Colonel Hunter and Dr. Swift affords some confirmation to the statement. Colonel Hunter was appointed Governor of Virginia in 1708, but was captured by the French on his voyage out. In 1710 he was sent out Governor of New York and the Jerseys. See Dalcho's History, pp. 90, 91.

‡ Dr. Kennett's anniversary sermon, 1712, p. 29, note.

§ Abstract, 1714.

bishops necessary for ecclesiastical government. The colonists looked around them, and saw the number of Episcopal clergymen in this country, *exceeding* the number in many of the dioceses of England.* They felt that if supervision was needed at home, the necessity for it abroad could not be diminished, where the number to be overlooked was larger than that at home.

The representation of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, to which we have already alluded, experienced at the hands of the queen the most favourable reception. In the abstract of the proceedings for 1715, it is stated that "her majesty was pleased to give a most gracious answer, highly satisfactory to the Society, and a draught of a bill was ordered, proper to be offered to the parliament for establishing bishops and bishoprics in America." The object so earnestly desired appeared at this time on the eve of accomplishment; but the friends of the measure were destined to witness the destruction of their hopes, in the death of the queen, before the bill had been introduced into parliament. ✓

Disappointed, but not in despair, the advocates of an American Episcopate renewed their efforts early in the reign of the queen's successor. They were favourably received by *George I.*, and once more did they look forward to the successful termination of their persevering labours: once more too were they doomed to disappointment: scarcely was the new monarch seated on his throne before his attention was absorbed by the single object of retaining his sovereignty. The friends of the house of Stuart, by their efforts to place the pretender upon the throne, furnished for a time ample employment to the king and his advisers. It was not a period to devote much attention to the comparatively unimportant application of a few episcopalians in the colonies, when the existence of the government itself was threatened by an extensive and dangerous rebellion.

Thus interrupted in their designs, the friends of an American Episcopate seem not to have renewed their application for many years. It was not until the second *George* had been upon the throne for thirteen years, that in 1740 the necessity of a bishop over the churchmen of America was again *publicly* alluded to. In that year, *Dr. Secker*, who was then Bishop of Oxford, preached the anniversary sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and depicting in lively colours the inconveniences of the Church in America, pleaded with affectionate earnestness for a resident bishop, as the only remedy for its manifold spiritual privations.

Whether any measure proposing relief resulted from his representation, we have not the means of discovering; it is probable, however, that, discouraged by repeated failures, the society preferred patiently to wait until some opportunity, decidedly favourable to their wishes, should present itself.

This opinion derives countenance from the fact that, from the period just alluded to, up to the year 1750, we have met with no record of any attempt, direct or indirect, for the attainment of the object in view.

There seems to be reason too for supposing that during this interval, the efforts of English churchmen were suspended upon the intimation of those in authority. In the manuscript of Archbishop *Drummond*, prepared in 1764,

* Abstract, 1715.

and already referred to, he remarks, that "in the late reign, the fears of disturbing his majesty's governors, particularly in New England, so influenced the ministry, that they not only, perhaps very wisely, hesitated about the proposal of settling bishops in America, but *finally* postponed it."

However, about the year 1750, some of the leading members of the Society for Propagating the Gospel* entered upon the subject with a zeal which seemed only to have gained strength from previous disappointments.

We have remarked that in 1713 but little opposition had been made to the proposed measure by such of the colonists as were not of the communion of the Church of England.

To say that there was no opposition would not be true: there probably never was a period when the unhappy feelings engendered by differences of opinion in religion, did not produce an opposition, in which conscience had less to do than party feeling. But at the early period which we have named (1713) the opposition which was made, principally in New England, was by no means formidable. Indeed, uncommon pains seem to have been taken to remove all just ground of apprehension from the minds of those to whom Episcopacy was most abhorrent. In a letter to Dr. Colman, a congregational minister of Boston, written by Dr. Kennett in 1713, we meet with the following language in reference to an American Episcopate: "I hope your churches would not be jealous of it, they being out of our line, and therefore *beyond the cognizance of any overseers to be sent from hence.*"†

But at the latest period of which we have spoken (1750), the state of things was materially different from what it had been when efforts to obtain a bishop in the colonies were first made. An opposition, by no means general in its origin, and, so far as we can discover, not marked by violence in the commencement, had in the lapse of time attained to a magnitude not to be despised: the question had from time to time been agitated, discussion had provoked warmth, to minds heated by controversy objects assumed an undue magnitude, dangers were apprehended more imaginary than real; religious *prejudices* assumed their unholy sway, and religious toleration was not at all understood.‡ The gradual increase too, both of

* Bishops *Sherlock*, *Secker*, and *Butler*. Free examination of Critical Commentary, p. 2.

† *Turell's* Life of Dr. Colman, p. 127.

‡ As a matter of curiosity, there is subjoined the following passage on the subject of religious toleration; it is to be found in an article contained in *Gaine's N. York Gazette* of May 2, 1768, and is there given as an extract from some work on the subject: "Toleration is a city of refuge in men's consciences for the devil to fly unto—a toleration of soul murder: for establishing whereof damned souls in hell will curse men upon earth—a transcendent catholic, fundamental evil,—the abomination of desolation: all the devils in hell, and their instruments, are at work to promote a toleration."

Another instance of how little was understood of religious toleration is furnished by the following incident. When Governor *Dudley* of Massachusetts died, there was found in his pocket a copy of verses written by himself, containing these lines:

"Let men of God in court and churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch,
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poison all with heresie and vice."

"This (says *Hutchinson*) was the prevailing doctrine many years, and until their eyes

Episcopal congregations and clergymen in New England, doubtless, contributed not a little to give fierceness to the opposition. The number of the Episcopal clergy in New England had been enlarged from six or seven to twenty; and of these twenty, several had deliberately renounced their ordination in the congregational mode, from conscientious scruples as to its validity. This latter fact alone was sufficient to provoke the hostility of the descendants of the pilgrims. It was not to be endured, that Episcopacy should, unmolested, rear its mitred head among the children of men who had said to the world: "Let all mankind know that we came into the *wilderness*, because we would worship God without that *Episcopacy*, that *Common Prayer*, and those unwarrantable *ceremonies*, with which the *land of our forefathers' sepulchres* has been defiled; we came hither because we would have our posterity settled under the pure and full *dispensations* of the gospel; defended by *rulers that should be of ourselves*."*

But whatever may have been the causes which led to the opposition, the fact is undeniable, that among such of the colonists as were not of the Church of England, the resistance to the measure was so determined, that in the steps taken in 1750, uncommon care was manifested to remove the apprehensions and disarm the hostility of American anti-Episcopalians.

The plan which, after much deliberation, was at that time digested was designed to pay a due regard to the necessities of the church on the one hand, while it should offer neither injury nor offence to any portion of the colonists on the other. This plan, we presume, will lose nothing of its interest with the reader, when he is informed that it is from the pen of the justly celebrated Dr. *Butler*, Bishop of Durham. It is in these words:

1. That no coercive power is desired over the laity in any case, but only a power to regulate the clergy who are in Episcopal orders, and to correct and punish them according to the law of the Church of England, in case of misbehaviour or neglect of duty, with such powers as the commissaries abroad have exercised.

2. That nothing is desired for such bishops that may in the least interfere with the dignity, or authority, or interest of the governor, or any other officer of state. Probates of wills, license for marriages, &c., to be left in the hands where they are; and no share in the temporal government is desired for bishops.

3. The maintenance of such bishops not to be at the charge of the colonies.

4. No bishops are intended to be settled in places where the government is in the hands of dissenters, as in New England, &c.; but authority to be given only to ordain clergy for such Church of England congregations as are among them, and to inspect into the manners and behaviour of the said clergy, and to confirm the members thereof.†

were opened by a fresh persecution coming upon themselves from King *James*. This made his declaration for a general liberty of conscience welcome, and they thanked the king for allowing to them what they before thought themselves bound in conscience to deny to others."—See *Mather's Magnalia*, book ii. chap. v.; *Hutchinson's History*, vol. i. p. 75, note.

* *Mather's Magnalia*, book iii. part i. sect. vii. p. 219, vol. i. Hartford edit.

† The manuscript copy of this plan, in the handwriting of Bishop *Butler*, and dated

At the present day, when an experience of many years has shown that the liberties of our country are not jeopardized, even though we have bishops among our citizens, it is somewhat difficult to sympathize with our ancestors in their excited apprehensions of a tyrannical prelacy. With the restrictions which the plan just stated would impose upon the bishops of America, it surely seems difficult to imagine that there was any serious cause of alarm. And yet it would probably be most unjust to suppose that the alarm expressed was not in many cases truly felt. There doubtless were some whose only apprehension was, that the Church of England in America would increase at the expense of the denominations which were around it: they probably knew that the claim of American Episcopalians to a bishop was perfectly unanswerable; nor were they ignorant of the distinction which existed between the ecclesiastical rights of a spiritual kind appertaining to a bishop, and the accidental appendages of temporal power, which had been conferred by man, but which formed no necessary part of the Episcopal office.]

There were others, however, less informed, who honestly dreaded the introduction of bishops, as a measure pregnant with danger to their liberties. The very name was associated inseparably in their minds with spiritual courts and tithes, and a long et cetera of grievances, which from boyhood had formed the subject of unalterable hatred and pious anathema. With them, bishop and tyrant were synonymous terms.*

The prejudices implanted by early education disqualified them from viewing the subject dispassionately. They were not sufficiently informed upon the point to make a sober decision. The claim urged by Episcopalians to enjoy equally with all their fellow-citizens the exercise of their peculiar religious opinions and practices, was an equitable claim; honest men felt it to be so; had they but understood that it was possible for a bishop to be one divested of all *temporal* power, and that immense wealth was not *essential* to the Episcopal office, their hostility to bishops would probably have been less sturdy in its character.

Let then the declaration, that their opposition finds its best apology in their ignorance, be viewed rather as the judgment of charity than as evidence of disrespect.†

in 1750, was in the possession of the Rev. Mr. *Apthorp*, of Massachusetts, and was first published by him. A copy of it may also be seen in the Address from the Clergy in New York and New Jersey to the Episcopalians in Virginia, pp. 21, 22.

* A striking instance of the truth of this remark is furnished in the following extract, which was published in Parker's New York Gazette of April 4, 1768:

"Those apostolical monarchs who are to chastise us with scorpions, right reverend and holy tyrants, who want to plunge their spiritual swords into the souls of their fellow creatures:—of all who will not be so senseless as to adore the mitre and surplice:—blood-suckers who obliged our ancestors to abandon their native land, and leave behind them what is the very heaven of persecutors and temporizing conformists."

† The equity of the demand made by the Episcopalians of America cannot be better exhibited than in the following forcible language of Bishop *Lowth*:

"These unhappy churches labour under the singular distress of not being able to minister to their own spiritual wants: their situation and circumstances deprive them of the common benefit which all Christian churches, in all ages, and in every part of the world, have freely enjoyed: and which in that country [America] Christians of every other denomination do at this time freely enjoy. If any easy remedy can be applied to

There was, too, a third, though not very numerous, class, perfectly acquainted with the distinction between powers purely Episcopal, and those which were not, who yet doubted, either the honesty of intention of those who proposed to separate between them, or questioned the practicability of making such a separation. As to their motives, they were probably pure. Evidence is not wanting to justify the charitable inference of the venerable senior Bishop of the church, with respect to this class of opponents.* As they laid aside their resistance to an Episcopate purely religious, as soon as American independence had quieted their apprehensions of supposed political danger, it ought to be believed that they were sincere in the apprehensions previously professed.

But to resume the narrative. On the 21st of February, 1750, Bishop *Sherlock*, then in the see of London, presented to the king in council "Considerations relating to Ecclesiastical Government in his Majesty's Dominions in America."† A copy of this document is appended to Dr. *Chandler's* "Free Examination of the Critical Commentary on Archbishop Secker's letter to Mr. Walpole," and it manifests a studious care to avoid giving just offence to any of the inhabitants of this country. It expressly disavows any intention of sending a Bishop to New England or Pennsylvania; it proposes to confide to the American prelates no powers but such as are purely Episcopal; and, in direct terms, protests against any tax or imposition upon the people of this country for the support of the proposed Episcopate.

The period selected for bringing the subject before the king seems to have been an inauspicious one. His Majesty was at that time preparing for a visit to his German possessions on matters of great political moment; and on this account the consideration of the subject was deferred until his return from Hanover; and thus was defeated the *third* application which had been presented to the throne.

During the absence of the king, Bishop *Secker*, in reply to a letter from Mr. *Walpole*, (addressed to Bishop *Sherlock*, but meant also for Bishop *Secker*,) drew up an answer, which produced no effect upon the proposed measure, so far as we can discover.

We are now approaching that period in our history when the hostility of the colonists to a resident bishop had assumed a systematic form, and was by

this grievance, surely in charity it will not be denied to their petitions: *in justice it cannot be refused to their demands*. The proper and only remedy hath long since been pointed out:—the appointment of one or more resident bishops for the exercise of offices *purely Episcopal* in the American Church of England:—offices, to which the members of the Church of England have an *undeniable claim*, and from which *they cannot be precluded without manifest injustice and oppression*." And again—"Unless groundless fears, invidious surmises, injurious suspicions,—unless absurd demands of needless and impracticable securities against dangers altogether imaginary and improbable, are to set aside *undoubted rights, founded upon the plainest maxims of religious liberty, upon the common claim of mutual toleration*, that favourite but abused principle, the glory and the disgrace of Protestantism, which all are forward enough to profess, but few steadily practise; and which those who claim it in its utmost extent for themselves are sometimes least of all inclined to indulge in any to others."—Anniversary Sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel in 1771, pp. 14, 18.

* See Bishop *White's* Memoirs, p. 7.

† Letter from Bishop *Sherlock* to Dr. *Johnson*, dated September 19, 1750. Johns. MSS.

no means confined to those who were not Episcopalians. The *causes* which led to the determination of the parent country to impose upon the colonies the odious stamp duty of 1764, belong to the province of the civil historian: our subject has no connexion with them. But the *effect* produced by the obnoxious measure upon our ancestors falls within the range of our investigation; for the political aspect of affairs at that day had an important bearing upon the question of an American Episcopate.

Wounded by the unkindness of the mother country, insulted by a contemptuous neglect of respectful representations, and deeply injured by what was deemed oppression, it is not wonderful that our forefathers should abate nothing of their prejudices against bishops, when they thought of the ecclesiastical establishment of England, intimately blended as it is with the machinery of her civil government. From the oppressions of the government, the transition was easy to apprehended oppressions by the Hierarchy which it sustained. The cordial hatred which was felt by many towards that Hierarchy, it was not difficult to transfer to those who might be sent hither clad with Episcopal authority, communicated by the bishops of England. These circumstances were favourable to those who had long resisted the proposed measure. To them it was an easy task to awaken a determined opposition in minds predisposed to view with suspicion any thing which, in its fortunes, was so linked to the British government, that it could not but be the upholder of its measures.

In England, too, the large body of the dissenting interest readily co-operated with their brethren in America. The different denominations concentrated their forces in a committee in London, and a constant correspondence was carried on with a society in this country, composed principally of the Congregationalists of New England and the Presbyterians of New York and New Jersey. The venerable Bishop of Pennsylvania informs us that at a subsequent period, in 1771 and 1772, he was acquainted with a member of the English Committee, and knew that he had free access to the ministry. It was deemed an object of importance to avoid giving offence to the dissenters, and exciting thereby their political opposition, as they possessed an influence in the elections to Parliament which was too powerful to be despised.*

Unpropitious as were the times for agitating the question of an American Episcopate, it may well be supposed that the discussion would not *wilfully*

* Bishop *White's* Memoirs, p. 50. The following extracts also exhibit the influence which the dissenters exercised on the subject:—

“—From him I first learned the true reason of the Bishop of London being opposed and defeated in his scheme of sending us bishops. It seems that the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Onslow, can have the interest and votes of the whole body of the dissenters upon condition of their befriending them; and by their influence on those persons, the ministry was brought to oppose it.”—Manuscript letter of Dr. Chandler to Dr. Johnson.—Johns. MSS.

—“We must wait for more favourable times; which I think it will contribute not a little to bring on, if the ministers of our church in America, by friendly converse with the principal dissenters, can satisfy them that nothing more is intended or desired than that our church may enjoy the full benefit of its own institutions, as all others do. For so long as they are uneasy, and remonstrate, regard will be paid to them and their friends here by our ministers of state.”—Letter from Bishop *Secker* to Dr. Johnson.

be provoked by the Churchmen in this country. Accident, however, appears to have brought it forward in the following manner :

The Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts had from the commencement been the chief source of support to the Episcopal ministers on this continent. In every colony but Virginia and Maryland all the clergy of the church were, or had been, missionaries of the Society. Without the aid of this institution, the Church could not possibly have been sustained in the greater part of what was British America. Under its auspices, houses of worship had been built, congregations had been collected, and ministers sustained, until the Society, by its annual bounty, was now upholding more than eighty missionary stations, and supporting seventy-two missionaries, exclusive of those employed in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the West Indies.* Of these, thirty were employed in New England, and truth compels us to add, that they were deemed *intruders* by the descendants of the first settlers. This state of things produced repeated attacks on the Society by those who viewed with jealous apprehension its successful operations. The chief subject of complaint was, that, unmindful of the purposes of its institution, instead of sending the Gospel and the ministry to the *destitute* parts of the continent, it sought out the better settled and more comfortable portions of the country, and there stationed its missionaries, to make converts *to the Church of England*, of men who already had the Gospel preached among them by ministers of other denominations.† It was

* Abstract of the Society's proceedings for 1764.

† With the venerable English Society for Propagating the Gospel, the church in this country has no connexion, save that created by the bonds of a common faith ; but there is not an Episcopalian in the United States acquainted with the labours of that Society in planting the Church on this continent who must not feel that *he*, at least, owes to it a heavy debt of gratitude. We would endeavour, even at this distance of time, to pay a small portion of that debt by repelling a calumny. The growth of the Church in New England, particularly, was a perpetual source of irritation and hatred to the bigoted Congregationalists : hence the charge of making " converts to the Church of England " was often repeated. And yet, upon the best inquiry we have been enabled to make, we cannot find a *solitary instance* of a Missionary having been sent by the Society into New England but *upon the request of the people themselves*. It was the practice of the Society not to send a missionary to any place before the inhabitants applied for him. Nay, in some instances, in New England, the people not only asked for a missionary, but at their own expense actually erected Church edifices before the Society sent any clergymen to them. The Society was in operation for several years before it sent *any missionary to New England*, as the abstracts will show. This course of conduct is not consistent with the design " to *episcopise* dissenters," as it was termed. The truth seems to be this : the Church grew, notwithstanding opposition ; and the cause of its increase is furnished by an eye-witness (the excellent Dr. Johnson, of Stratford), in a manuscript now before us. " The true causes and occasions of the being and growth of so many congregations of the Church of England in these provinces are as follow :—

" 1. As the country continued to increase, and there were many accessions from Great Britain and Ireland, there were, among others, many of the established Church came over to settle in these colonies, as well as others, so that there was, fifty years ago, scarce a town of considerable standing but what had some scattering among them, in some several families. In Stratford, for instance, the first in Connecticut that applied to the Society, there were, in the beginning of this century, fifteen families.

" 2. So the case has been ever since Church people have settled in this country, many dissenters have treated them with much clamour, and contempt, and frequent disputing, which occasioned many of them to procure books wherewith to defend themselves, such

not to be expected that a charge of this kind, often repeated as it was, would be permitted to pass unnoticed. The Society had in its employment gentlemen who were prompt to repel this unfounded imputation. Among these was the Rev. *East Apthorp*, the missionary at Cambridge, a clergyman deservedly respected, both for his piety and ability, who published a small pamphlet, entitled "Considerations on the Institution and Conduct of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts." It was not long before this production found an antagonist, of no mean ability, in Dr. *Mayhew*, a Congregational minister of Boston, who gave to the world his answer, with the following motto prefixed, sufficiently expressive of the nature of the work:—"Brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily, to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage; to whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you."

In this angry production, (for such it must be deemed,) Dr. *Mayhew* not only considered the subject introduced in Mr. *Apthorp's* pamphlet, but interspersed many injurious reflections on the Church of England, and particularly inveighed against the plan of appointing bishops for America; and thus the matter was once more presented as a subject of controversy.*

An anonymous production, published originally in London, and reprinted in this country, contained an answer to Dr. *Mayhew*, remarkable for its strength of argument, fairness of discussion, and Christian temper. Such was its effect, not only upon those who took no part in the discussion, but even

as "the London Cases," "Hoadly against Calamy," "Archbishop Potter on Church Government," and some even "Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity," not to mention some others; and their thus defending themselves occasioned many inquisitive candid dissenters to read those books, which reconciled them to the Church. So that the dissenters themselves, by thus censuring and disputing, have occasioned the increase of the Church.

"3. Another thing, and what has of late chiefly occasioned the accession of multitudes of proselytes to the Church, was the wild enthusiasm that long obtained among themselves; on which occasions their own managements were in many instances so extravagant and ridiculous as tended vastly more to drive their people into the Church than any thing we ever did to draw them over to it; particularly that monstrous enthusiasm that was at first encouraged by themselves, fifteen or twenty years ago, in consequence of Mr. Whitfield's rambling once and again through the country, who was followed by a great many strolling teachers, who propagated so many wild and horrid notions of God and the Gospel, that a multitude of people were so bewildered, that they could find no rest to the sole of their foot, till they retired into the Church as their only ark of safety. And many of these continue among great numbers to this day, and have occasioned many separate meetings among the dissenters themselves, and these have occasioned much hot contention among them in settling ministers, and often the prostitution of discipline upon the merest trifles, which have caused many people to conclude, that if they must separate from their former brethren, who are in endless contentions and confusion, their best way will be to retire into the Church, which is in peace. Now these are all known facts."—Johns. MSS.

* That we may not be suspected of doing injustice to Dr. *Mayhew*, we would add that his work was condemned by those of his own persuasion. In reply to an inquiry made of Dr. *Samuel Chandler*, a Presbyterian divine of London, whether he could or did approve of the bitter and injurious publications against the Society, he answered, that "he was truly sorry to see what Dr. *Mayhew* had published, and had wrote to him, signifying the same, with his desire that he would desist."—Original letter from Rev. Mr. *Jarvis* (afterwards Bishop *Jarvis*) to Dr. *Johnson*.—Johns. MSS.

upon Dr. *Mayhew* himself, that he frankly acknowledged his adversary to be "a person of excellent sense and a happy talent at writing; apparently free from the sordid, illiberal spirit of bigotry; one of a cool temper, who often showed much candour, was well acquainted with the affairs of the Society, and in general a fair reasoner."* Dr. *Mayhew* published two answers to the tract, in which he abated much of his former acrimony; he persisted, however, in affirming, that he was not "wrong in any material point," and so far indulged in reproach, that he was animadverted on by Mr. *Apthorp* in a very sensible and polite review, entitled, "A Review of Dr. Mayhew's Remarks," &c. This terminated the controversy. Dr. *Mayhew*, on reading it, declared he should not answer it, and in the following year he died.†

At the time Dr. *Mayhew* answered the "anonymous tract," he was not aware of the fact now well established, that the author of that production, whom he characterized as a "worthy answerer," was Archbishop *Secker*, the President of the Society for Propagating the Gospel. If the character of this prelate, as given by Dr. *Mayhew* in the extract already quoted, be honourable to the memory of the Archbishop, it is honourable also to the character of Dr. *Mayhew*, that, notwithstanding the warmth of controversy, he candidly acknowledged the merits of an antagonist whom he must have felt that it was difficult to answer. The incident is one which reflects honour on both the gentlemen concerned.

At the same time that the Archbishop was engaged in England in the preparation of his tract, the Rev. Mr. *Caner*, of Boston, and Dr. *Johnson*, of Stratford, were occupied on the same subject, and their several productions were afterwards published in the same volume, Dr. *Johnson's* observations forming an appendix to Mr. *Caner's* fuller vindication.

The reasons assigned in the writings both of the Archbishop and Mr. *Apthorp*, for desiring the proposed establishment of bishops in the colonies, furnish perhaps the best picture of the disadvantages which retarded, at that day, the growth of the Church. The principal reasons are the want of *confirmation*, the need for *superintendence* of the conduct of the clergy, and especially the saving candidates the trouble, cost, and risk of a voyage to and from England in procuring *ordination*. While all other denominations had the means within themselves of perpetuating their ministry—while bishops were not denied to another Church of Protestant Episcopalians, the Moravian Brethren—the members of the Church of England alone were excluded from a right, the exercise of which was, in their view, essential to their existence as a Church. The expense of the voyage to and from England was not less than £100; nearly one-fifth of those who had taken that voyage had lost their lives; and, in consequence of these discouragements, one-half of the churches in many of the provinces were destitute of clergymen. These reasons were forcibly and unanswerably urged, and common justice and common humanity, it was truly said, pleaded strongly for a remedy of these evils. ✓

To guard too against the fears of those who were known to be opposed to the measure, it was stated in the publication of the Archbishop, that the

* *Mayhew's* remarks on an anonymous tract, &c., p. 3.

† Review of the Life and Character of Archbishop *Secker*, by Dr. *Porteus*.

proposed bishops should "have no concern in the least with any persons who do not profess themselves to be of the Church of England, but may ordain ministers for such as do; may confirm their children when brought to them at a fit age for that purpose; and take such oversight of the Episcopal clergy as the Bishop of London's Commissaries in those parts have been empowered to take, and have taken without offence. But it is not desired in the least that they should hold courts to try matrimonial or testamentary causes, or be vested with any authority now exercised either by provincial governors or subordinate magistrates, or infringe or diminish any privileges or liberties enjoyed by any of the laity even of our own communion." And as to the place of residence of the American bishops, it was declared, "that it neither is, nor ever was intended or desired to fix one in *New England*; but Episcopal colonies have always been proposed." "To such a plan as this," says the venerable Bishop *White*, "it is difficult to perceive how hindrance could have been attempted by any description of persons without an avowal of intolerance."* Dr. *Mayhew* very candidly remarked, with reference to it, "that if such a scheme as this were carried into execution, and only such consequences were to follow as the proposer had professedly in view, he could not object to it, except upon the same principle that he should object against the Church of England in general."†

And yet, such was the state of excitement produced in the colonies by political considerations, that the scheme of sending bishops to this country, however restricted in their powers, met with but little countenance from the great mass of the inhabitants: the opposition was not confined to those who were not of the Church of England; there were Episcopalians, both of the clergy and laity, who had caught the temper of the times, and learned to look with a suspicious distrust upon the scheme of an American bishop, as but another plan for riveting chains which they already thought were scarcely to be tolerated longer.

The character of the distinguished prelate who had so successfully encountered Dr. *Mayhew*, gained nothing thereby in the eyes of a large majority, but was assailed with a virulence of invective seldom surpassed. With unrelenting rancour, and unexampled wantonness of abuse, he was attacked in pamphlets and newspapers, and escaped not the malevolence of his enemies even after he had descended to the grave.‡

When it is recollected that the chief, if not the sole cause of this insatiate hate, was the aid which the Archbishop had rendered to the measure of an American Episcopate; in other words, his demand for *religious toleration* in America, it is difficult not to concur in the sentiment expressed by his affectionate and pious biographer. "What an idea (says Bishop *Porteus*)

* Bishop *White's* Memoirs, p. 53.

† Remarks on an anonymous tract, &c., p. 59.

‡ The following specimen is from the pen of an *Episcopal* clergyman in Virginia, whose name we deem it most charitable to his memory to withhold. The extract was published in Purdie and Dixon's Virginia Gazette of July 18, 1771:

"As to *Secker*, he is laid in the grave: disturb not his slumber. His character, no more than his body, can endure the keen question of the searching air. Unless you would give another specimen of your friendship, cause him not to STINK to futurity."

must it give mankind of his grace's character to have such a circumstance singled out by his bitterest revilers as the most exceptionable part of it !”*

Scarcely had the controversy which has been detailed been brought to a conclusion before it was again renewed, under the following circumstances :— At the annual meeting of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, held in 1767, the Bishop of Landaff preached the anniversary sermon, in which he alluded to the state of religion on some parts of the continent. Certain expressions which he used, representing the condition of some of the colonies as but little better than heathenish, were supposed by some to refer particularly to *New England*, though candour compels us to add, that such does not seem to have been a fair inference. On the contrary, New England is particularly designated as being worthy of great commendation for the attention which religion had there received from its earliest settlement.

Among those who professed to entertain this singular opinion of the bishop's sermon was Dr. *Charles Chauncy*, of Boston, a Congregational divine of much celebrity. He published “A Letter to a Friend, containing Remarks on certain Passages” in the sermon, and as the necessity of a resident Episcopacy was one of the points urged by the Bishop of Landaff, the door was open for a renewal of the war of pamphlets.

That Dr. *Chauncy* was justly entitled to the reputation which he possessed is evident from his publication, for it is not wanting in ability, and especially in ingenuity. The ground which he took was, that the introduction of bishops was not to be dreaded as a measure at all likely to convert Presbyterians into Churchmen ; nor was it on that ground opposed ; but from the fear of hurtful consequences both to the bishops and people ; and he thus expresses his views :—

“ Such consequences would certainly be the effect, if these bishops should make use of their SUPERIORITY, as most probably they would, sooner or later, to influence our great men here, and much greater ones at home, to project and endeavour to carry into execution measures *to force the growth of the Church*. It may be relied on, our people would not be easy if restrained in the exercise of that ‘liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free ;’ yea, they would hazard everything dear to them, their estates, their very lives, rather than suffer their necks to be put under that yoke of bondage, which was so sadly galling to their fathers, and occasioned their retreat into this distant land, that they might enjoy the freedom of men and Christians.”†

Nor did the Society for Propagating the Gospel escape the rebukes of the author of the letter. The sole design of the institution was stated to be “to *episcopise* the colonies.”

Dr. *Chauncy* was followed by Mr. *William Livingston*, a lawyer of New York, who, in 1768, published in that city, “A Letter to the Right Rev. Bishop of Landaff,” &c. It must be deemed most unfortunate for the literary reputation of Mr. *Livingston*, that he had ever seen the production of Dr. *Chauncy*. That he had seen it is proved by a quotation from it, accompanied with a very slight acknowledgment of his obligation for the quotation. From beginning to end, his letter is but a repetition of the arguments of Dr. *Chauncy*, presented in the gaudy trappings of a more florid style. Every

* Life of *Secker*, by Dr. *Porteus*.

† A Letter to a Friend, &c., p. 47.

passage of the sermon commented on by Dr. *Chauncy*, is commented on by Mr. *Livingston*, and none other is; nay, these passages are considered in precisely the same order, and not unfrequently answered, in part, in the very same words; nor is there a solitary thought worthy of note, which had not already been given to the world by Dr. *Chauncy*. It would be difficult to conceive of a more palpable plagiarism, unless it were a *verbatim* copy.

We should be the less disposed to record this instance of literary theft, if it were not prefaced by the affectation of a modesty which becomes ridiculous as soon as the theft is known. The advertisement to Mr. *Livingston's* "letter" contains a disclaimer of any desire to come before the public as an author, and an expression of diffidence, resulting "from the business of his profession, and a sense of inability."

The next production, and that which terminated the discussion on the bishop's sermon, was an anonymous pamphlet, entitled "A Vindication of the Bishop of Landaff's Sermon." This is now known to have been written by Dr. *Inglis*, an Episcopal clergyman of New York.* Extensive research, a familiar acquaintance with facts, a skilful arrangement of them, manly argument, and a keen and biting sarcasm, are characteristics of this production.

Before the discussion elicited by the sermon of the Bishop of Landaff had been brought to a close, the point in debate was presented anew, and new combatants were ready to enter the field of controversy.

Early in 1767, the Rev. Dr. *Johnson* of Stratford, in Connecticut, suggested to Dr. *Chandler* of Elizabethtown, in New Jersey, the propriety of addressing the public on the subject of an American Episcopate. It has indeed been intimated that the suggestion came from a higher source, and that the measure originated with the Archbishop of Canterbury. Of this, however, no proof has been met with, and as it was positively contradicted by Dr. *Chandler*, the insinuation was probably without foundation. Very soon after the proposition by Dr. *Johnson*, a voluntary association of the Episcopal clergy of New York and New Jersey,† at which were present some of their brethren from the neighbouring provinces, after discussion of the subject, were unanimous in the opinion "that fairly to explain the plan on which American bishops had been requested to lay before the public the reasons of this request, to answer the objections that had been made, and to obviate those that might be otherwise conceived against it, was not only proper and expedient, but a matter of necessity and duty."

The performance of this duty devolved on Dr. *Chandler*, and gave birth to "an Appeal to the Public in behalf of the Church of England in America," published in June, 1767. This production consisted substantially of a short but perspicuous view of the evidence in favour of Episcopacy, the hardships of the case of the Church, deprived of an officer deemed essential to its existence, the plan proposed, with an answer to the fears and objections of those who opposed it.

* Afterwards Bishop *Inglis*, and father of the late Bishop of Nova Scotia.

† Among the names of the clergy then assembled are to be found those of Dr. *Auchmuty*, Dr. *Chandler*, Dr. *Myles Cooper*, Dr. *Ogilvie*, Mr. *Charlton*, Mr. *Seabury* (afterwards Bishop of Connecticut), Mr. *Ingles* (afterwards Bishop of Nova Scotia), and Mr. *Abraham Beach*.

It was not to be expected, after the previous discussions of the subject, that the author could present much of *novelty* to attract his readers. The object of Dr. *Chandler* was to satisfy the American public, that the apprehensions which were entertained by many were groundless—that the claim of Episcopalians was founded in the most obvious justice, and that their peculiar opinions on the subject of Church Government were built upon apostolic and primitive usage. The work is marked by a sound judgment and lucid argument, and upon its first appearance was treated by many, even of those who were not Episcopalians, with the respect which was due to the talents and standing of the author. The more candid acknowledged that to resist such claims as were there presented, upon the ground of apprehended evils, which were all guarded against by the plan proposed, savoured more of intolerance than of Christianity.

The first opposition to the "appeal," there is reason to think, had its origin in disappointed feelings. An application for a charter by the Presbyterians of New York had been rejected by the authorities of the mother country, and the Bishop of London was supposed to have been active in defeating the application. These facts are stated repeatedly in the subsequent newspaper publications on the part of the Church, and are not contradicted in the replies of its adversaries; but of the precise nature of the application, or of its merits, we have no evidence on which to speak.

The attack on the Appeal commenced simultaneously from various quarters, thus giving rise to a very natural suspicion, that a combination had been entered into for the purpose of effectually crushing the plan of an American bishop. A series of essays appeared in the *New York Gazette*, under the name of the "American Whig;"* while the *Pennsylvania Journal* in Philadelphia gave to the world the lucubrations of the "Sentinel," and Dr. *Chauncy* of Boston (in his proper name) published the "Appeal to the Public Answered." The violent invectives of the Whig were re-published in the papers of Philadelphia and Boston, while the alarm sounded in Philadelphia by the Sentinel was instantly echoed from the presses of the sister cities; and thus was concentrated the opposition of the three principal cities into an attack more fierce than any which had preceded it.

It is impossible to read many of these publications without a humiliating sense of the infirmity of our nature. If in some, the questions fairly involved are discussed in the spirit of manly argument, in the greater part abusive personalities supply the place of facts, and railing is substituted for reasoning.

Nor is it intended to exempt from this censure many of the publications on the part of the Episcopalians. The *American Whig* soon found an antagonist under the assumed name of "Timothy Tickler," who followed its successive numbers with what he termed "A Whip for the American Whig," and it must be confessed that his lash is often laid on with merciless severity. There runs through his writings a bitterness of spirit not to be commended, and both these essayists will be laid aside by the candid reader with the feeling that the contest between *them* was, which could call the hardest names.

* These were attributed to Mr. *William Livingston*, already mentioned.

The Sentinel was met in Philadelphia by a gentleman whose talents have seldom been surpassed. Dr. *William Smith*, who for years had been an attentive observer and a prominent actor in the concerns of the American Episcopal Church, came before the public in a series of essays under the title of "The Anatomist." Of all the newspaper productions of that time, this will probably be read with most interest; for though not entirely free from bitterness, it is yet, for the most part, made up of facts and reasoning. There are exhibited a calm self-possession and a coolness of mind which it is obvious were the result of the author's conviction that his cause was good. He is never roused to unbecoming anger, and but seldom stoops to retort abuse. Still these essays are severe, but their severity consists principally in the unanswerable nature of their arguments.

The newspaper essays already mentioned were the most prominent in the controversy; but they were not all. There were "Remonstrants" and "Anti-Sentinels," not remarkable for ability: but for scurrility and vulgar humour the meed of superiority is justly due to "A Kick for the Whipper, by Sir Isaac Foot." The author aims at wit, and reaches blackguardism.

It is due to Dr. *Chandler* to say that in all his writings on this subject, he preserved his dignity. In reply to Dr. *Chauncy*, he published "The Appeal Defended," and subsequently, in 1771, "The Appeal Further Defended," in answer to a second production of Dr. *Chauncy*.

Of the arguments urged, nothing remains to be added to what has already been said in the history of the discussion between Dr. *Mayhew* and Mr. *Apthorp*. The reasons for desiring the proposed Episcopate remained unaltered; all that Dr. *Chandler* could say had already been said. He was able only to refer to facts more evidently showing the inconveniences under which the Church laboured,* and to remove prejudice as far as possible.

While the controversies of which we have spoken were at their height, legislative interference was not wanting to oppose obstacles to the obnoxious measure. The province of Massachusetts Bay was the first to interfere. At the period of which we are writing, *Dennis de Berdt*, Esq., was agent to the province in London, and to him on the 12th of January, 1768, the House of Representatives addressed a letter, from which the following extract is taken:—

* Shortly before the appeal was written, two missionaries perished in one ship upon the coast of New Jersey, almost in sight of their port, one of whom left a family in N. York dependent upon charity. But one of the most remarkable instances of the inconvenience and risk of obtaining orders in England was furnished in the history of the parish of Hebron in Connecticut. For nearly twenty years that congregation exerted themselves, and without success, to obtain a minister at their own expense. They first sent over Mr. Dean, in 1745, who was admitted to holy orders and appointed their missionary, but in returning he is supposed to have perished, as the ship was never heard of. The next was Mr. Colton, who in 1752 died on his passage from London. The third candidate sent to England by this unfortunate people, was Mr. Usher, who, on his passage in 1757, was taken by the French, and died a prisoner in the castle of Bayonne. The fourth was Mr. Peters, who in 1759, very soon after his arrival in England, was taken with the small pox, and narrowly escaping with his life, to the great joy of his people, at length reached them and officiated as their missionary.—The Appeal Further Defended, p. 127–128.

About one-fifth of all who ever went for orders never saw their homes again.

"The establishment of a Protestant Episcopate in America is also very zealously contended for: and it is very alarming to a people whose fathers, from the hardships they suffered under such an establishment, were obliged to fly their native country into a wilderness, in order peaceably to enjoy their privileges, civil and religious: Their being threatened with the loss of both at once, must throw them into a very disagreeable situation. We hope in God such an establishment will never take place in America; and we desire *you would strenuously oppose it*. The revenue raised in America, for aught we can tell, may be as constitutionally applied towards the support of prelacy as of soldiers and pensioners: If the property of the subject is taken from him without his consent, it is immaterial whether it be done by one man or five hundred, or whether it be applied for the support of the ecclesiastic or military power, or both. It may be well worth the consideration of the best politicians in Great Britain or America, what the natural tendency is of a vigorous pursuit of these measures."

It has already been mentioned that Episcopalians^{es} were to be found who, *at this time*, opposed the introduction of bishops into America. The most remarkable instance of this occurred in Virginia, and the Legislature of that province (composed chiefly of Churchmen) has left on record a disapprobation of the measure as decided as that of Massachusetts, though resting on a very different ground.

The circumstances which gave rise to the interposition of the Virginia Legislature were the following:—In the month of April, 1771, the Rev. Mr. *Camm*, at that time the commissary of the Bishop of London for Virginia, by public advertisement, requested a general attendance of the Episcopal clergy at the College of William and Mary, on the 4th of May. At this time there were more than one hundred parishes in Virginia, and most of them supplied. On the 4th of May, a very small number of the clergy assembled, and when the proposition was made to address the king in behalf of an American Episcopate, most of those present desired the commissary to call another meeting and inform the clergy of the nature of the business to be considered.

This was done, and on the 4th of June, twelve clergymen only attended, a number less than that of the former meeting. The first question considered was, whether such a minority of the clergy could be deemed a convention of the Virginia clergy: it was determined (not without opposition) that it was a convention. The proposition to address the king was then considered and determined in the negative. A third question was then proposed, whether the convention should apply to the Bishop of London for his opinion and advice; and in the propriety of this measure there was a unanimous concurrence.

But before adjournment a successful effort was made to reconsider the vote upon the subject of the address to the king, and it was finally resolved on. The grounds taken in opposition were, respect to the Bishop of London, the disturbances occasioned by the stamp act, a recent rebellion or civil war in North Carolina just suppressed, and the general clamour at that time; there does not appear to have been the slightest objection to Episcopacy, as such; but on the contrary, there is a distinct declaration of cordial and conscientious approval of the government of the church by the bishops.

Against the vote determining to address the king, two clergymen of eminence solemnly protested: they were Samuel Henley, Professor of Moral Philosophy, and Thomas Gwatkin, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, in the College. The reasons assigned in the protest were:

"First. Because as the number of the clergy in this colony is at least a hundred, we cannot conceive that twelve clergymen are a sufficient representation of so large a body.

"Secondly. Because the said resolution contradicts a former resolution of the same convention, which puts a negative upon the question, *whether the king should be addressed upon an American Episcopate?* and that an assembly met upon so important an occasion should rescind a resolution agreed to and entered down but a few minutes before, is in our apprehension contrary to all order and decorum.

"Thirdly. Because the expression *American Episcopate* includes a jurisdiction over the other colonies; and the clergy of Virginia cannot, with any propriety, petition for a measure which, for aught that appears to the contrary, will materially affect the natural rights and fundamental laws of the said colonies, without their consent and approbation.

"Fourthly. Because the establishment of an American Episcopate *at this time* would tend greatly to weaken the connexion between the mother country and her colonies, to continue their present unhappy disputes, to infuse jealousies and fears into the minds of Protestant Dissenters, and to give ill-disposed persons occasion to raise such disturbances as may endanger the very existence of the British empire in America.

"Fifthly. Because we cannot help considering it as extremely indecent for the clergy to make such an application without the concurrence of the President, Council, and Representatives of this province: an usurpation directly repugnant to the rights of mankind.

"Sixthly. Because the Bishops of London have always hitherto exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction over this colony; and we are perfectly satisfied with the mild, just, and equitable government of our excellent diocesan, the present Lord Bishop of London, and do think a petition to the crown to strip his Lordship of any part of his jurisdiction but an ill return for his past labours, and contrary to our oath of canonical obedience. We do farther conceive, as it had been unanimously determined by this very convention, that his Lordship should be addressed for his opinion relative to this measure, the clergy ought to have waited for his Lordship's paternal advice before they had proceeded any farther in an affair of such vast importance.

"Seventhly. Because we have particular objections to that part of the resolution by which the committee are directed to *apply*, as it is termed, *for the hands of the majority of the clergy of this colony*: a method of proceeding, in our opinion, contrary to the universal practice of the Christian Church, it having been customary for the clergy to sign all acts of an ecclesiastical nature in public convention: whereas the manner of procuring their concurrence, now proposed, is unworthy the decorum and dignity by which so venerable a body ought ever to be guided."

This matter was deemed of sufficient importance to occupy the attention of the House of Burgesses, and on the 12th of July, they passed the following vote:

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That the thanks of this house be given to the Rev. Mr. *Henley*, the Rev. Mr. *Gwatkin*, the Rev. Mr. *Hewitt*, and the Rev. Mr. *Bland*,* for the wise and well-timed opposition they have made to the pernicious project of a few mistaken clergymen for introducing an American bishop: a measure by which much disturbance, great anxiety, and apprehension would certainly take place among his Majesty's faithful American subjects; and that Mr. *Richard Henry Lee* and Mr. *Bland* do acquaint them therewith."

The circumstances which we have just detailed unfortunately produced a coldness between the Episcopalians of Virginia and those of the northern provinces. The clergy at whose request Dr. *Chandler* had prepared the

* The Rev. Messrs. *Hewitt* and *Bland* subsequently protested, or joined in the protest of Messrs. *Henley* and *Gwatkin*.

"Appeal," appointed a committee, who prepared "An Address from the Clergy of New York and New Jersey, to the Episcopalians in Virginia." This was published in 1771, and in 1772 a spirited pamphlet, in reply, was published by Mr. *Gwatkin*. (X)

There is a warmth of feeling betrayed in the Address and in Mr. *Gwatkin's* answer, the more to be lamented because it is obvious that the opinion of both parties was substantially the same on all the points discussed, save one, viz., ~~the expediency at that time of making the proposed effort.~~ Mr. *Gwatkin* explicitly declares that the authors of the protest "have not any aversion to Episcopacy in general, to that mode of it established in England, or even to an American Episcopate introduced at a proper time, by proper authorities, and in a proper manner." (✓)

The grounds of opposition to an "immediate establishment" are stated to be "a prudential regard to the practicable, a desire to preserve peace, heal divisions, and calm the angry passions of an inflamed people." (✓)

And on this point of expediency, it will probably now be confessed that the clergy of Virginia judged wisely. It certainly was a time when, in addition to all the objections urged on former occasions, there might have been presented the powerful consideration that the people of this country were hostile to the measure on political grounds, that they were fast verging to the point when they would not hesitate to resort to arms against the mother country, that the adoption of the scheme would inevitably exasperate the colonies to a forcible resistance in many parts of the continent. All this was known at home, and therefore the application was calculated only to increase the hostility among the colonists, without the slightest prospect of accomplishing any good.

Considerations of this kind seem to have been present to the mind of Dr. *Smith*, for in the concluding sentence of the "Anatomist" (which is terminated abruptly before he had finished the discussion of all the points proposed), he uses this language :

"But, in truth, from the gloomy prospect that seems gathering against us on the other side of the Atlantic, it might be better for you and for me to cultivate domestic harmony for the present, and to suspend the settlement of our remaining differences to a more convenient season." (✓)

THOUGHTS

UPON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

IN AMERICA.

[Written in 1764,—Author uncertain.]

As the Civil, Commercial, and Military States of America are at present under the consideration of his Majesty's Ministers, it is humbly hoped that, as soon as there is leisure to go through this extensive subject, the State of the Church of England in those parts will also be regarded, and the design so often mentioned, and so often misunderstood, of having Bishops appointed and settled in the Episcopal Colonies, will be maturely and impartially considered. The great accession to the British Empire in America calls for due attention to the Episcopal affairs there at this crisis. It cannot be thought presumptuous to revive this subject now with all respect and submission. It would be an omission not to do it, and it seems necessary to determine upon it at this juncture; to reject or to model this Design, which to many experienced wise and good men, conversant in these Countries, appears so desirable for the sake of Government as well as Religion.

The Church of England is established in many Colonies, but without considering it established it seems even from the charters of the Colonies of New England to have an equitable claim to have order settled amongst its members according to its own discipline, as well as every other Persuasion. Protestant Churches, of all Denominations, there, provide a succession of Ministers amongst themselves. This is the case of every Christian Church in the world except the Church of England in America. To supply that Ministry at great hazard and expence, a Voyage to England must be incurred by the natives of America, let them be ever so well qualified; and in consequence of the Difficulties many improper persons are unavoidably sent from hence.

The great New England Colonies were founded by those who fled from the Intolerance of the Church here in the last century; and they enjoy there full and free liberty of conscience, and order in regard to their Ministers and Churches. The Principle is right, that it is not advisable to send Bishops unto those Colonies, nor was it ever meant to disturb the minds of those subjects of his Majesty by such a proceeding, or to infringe upon any one's Liberty in any Colony; but to model everything upon the most extensive

Principles of Toleration. The Church of England is the only one in those parts distinguished by the want of the compleat Exercise of Religion according to its Rites and Ceremonies, whilst it desires that all its fellow Protestants may enjoy the full exercise of their religion without any obstruction, according to their forms in every part of his Majesty's dominions.

Though the Colonies settled with those who dissent from the Church of England are extensive and respectable, yet let it at the same time be considered that there are very great, equally great numbers of Episcopalians in America, who have equally an earnest desire and a fair claim to have the order of their Church completed which hath never been; and from this defect have arisen many inconveniencies and mischiefs; and as the concerns of Great Britain are enlarged, more inconveniencies and mischiefs must consequently arise both to Church and State.

The Bishop of London, by customary usage (which seems to have taken its rise from accidental connexion) hath exercised Jurisdiction by his Commissary in the Plantations. The first mention of it is in 1620. Instructions were given at different times to the Governors that the Clergy and Schoolmasters should have Certificates of their Conformity from the Bishop of London. Accordingly he Ordained and gave Certificates to those that went to America; and in 1685 the Governors are directed to give all countenance to the Bishop of London's Jurisdiction, except in collating to Benefices, granting Licenses for Marriages, and Probates of Wills, which are reserved to the Governors. So passed the Bishop of London's Pastoral care of the Colonies, very imperfectly indeed as to any real benefit to Religion. In 1725, Sir Philip York and Sir Clement Wearg, then Attorney and Solicitor General, in a Report to the Privy Council, declared that the whole Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction was in the Crown; that the Plantations were not part of any Diocese in England, and that no jurisdiction could be exercised there legally but by Commission from the King under the Great Seal. Upon this Bishop Gibson sent out a Commission. Bishop Sherlock who succeeded him in 1748 thought the Commission imperfect and ineffectual, and did not take one out. The last Commissary died sometime before Bishop Sherlock, and none hath been appointed since. The succeeding Bishops of London took out no Commission, and at present there is neither Commission nor Commissary, nor any legal jurisdiction in Ecclesiastical affairs in America but what is vested in his Majesty.

The Bishop of London acts now according to the old usage. But how impracticable is it in him to fulfill his duty as he would wish, in any respect, to any good purpose, even if he had a Commission from the King, as Bishop Gibson had! Some Jurisdiction is necessary, but Inspection is more so. No one who is sensible of the weight that is upon every honest mind in executing the trust of conferring orders, and the expediency of that previous knowledge which every Bishop would willingly have of the character of the candidates; No one who knows the necessity of constant attention to right conduct in the clergy, and to instruction of the youth; No one who has been witness of what may be preserved in order, or put into order by regular Visitations; No one who reflects on the great service which it is to persons of all ages, particularly through the common ranks of Life, with regard to plain knowledge and plain Virtue (which are foundations of the Principles of the

It seems equally improbable that a Commission of different Bishops here, or Itinerant Bishops sent there for a time, or a number of Commissaries inhabiting there would do any real service in the present state of America. Dioceses in England, which have been long formed and regulated, do not perhaps require so much attention as those extensive and irregular countries where vast Tracts are without Churches or Ministers, and nothing but the immediate eye of a constant resident Bishop can produce order amongst Instructors, as well as those who are to be instructed in Religion, can watch over the great influx of Foreign Protestants, and by encouraging of worthy persons acceptable to people increase the Establishments of Religion, and secure obedience to Government.

It could not be expected that a Bishop living in England could do anything effectually even in the enlightened state in which America was in the last century and the beginning of this. But the state of America within these last thirty years, and particularly by the late regulations, is so different, so much more known, and so much more valuable, that the subject of Ecclesiastical affairs, as well as all others, is greatly extended in comparison of former times. From the year 1672, when a Bishop was first thought of for Virginia, to 1750, when the subject was dropped in compliance with a Message from his Majesty's Ministers, it does not appear from any of the Papers, that this subject has ever been fully and impartially considered. It now becomes much more important for the service of Religion and Government, and objections may diminish or disappear, when the numbers, dispositions, and circumstances are brought into view in their present state, and the design fairly laid open, as it is here, with the most dutiful and zealous Intentions for his Majesty's service, and firm Resolution of cheerful obedience to his Royal Pleasure whatever he shall in his Royal Wisdom determine.

Upon a review of the numbers in May, 1762, exclusive of the new acquisitions, there were in the American Colonies and the Islands:

Blacks	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	844,000
Whites	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,260,000
Total of the Inhabitants								2,104,000

Of the whites the Religious Persuasions were thus divided, viz. :

Episcopalians	401,000
Presbyterians, Independants, and Anabaptists	391,000
People of various Denominations, German Sectaries, Jews, Quakers, Papists, &c.	468,000
	<hr/> 1,260,000

This general calculation was formed as exactly as the circumstances would allow upon particular calculations in each Colony by Persons conversant in America. The new acquisitions must increase the number of Inhabitants considerably.

In Maryland the Church of England is established by Charter, and in fact there are forty-two Parishes, though the proprietor was a Papist, and many Papists are now there.

In Pennsylvania all Persuasions are united, and no objections to Bishops arise from thence.

In New England many Independants may object, though perhaps not so many as is imagined, and none can give a reason but what must contradict their own Principles of Liberty, and deny to others an equal claim to such Privileges as they enjoy. If we can judge by the opinions of the chief persons of the established Church of Scotland, or of those who dissent from the Church of England here, the body of Dissenters will not be, as they have no reason to be, offended; though some of the warmest in America might care. Moderation on all sides is more universal. It is owned that order is necessary to every Establishment of Religion, and that religion itself cannot properly be supported without it. Now there is a manifest deficiency in the order and discipline of the Church of England in America, by wanting Bishops; and no objections against supplying it will be made by any one who has a just value for the doctrine of Toleration, and is a sincere well wisher to Piety, Virtue, and good Government: provided the Regulations in settling Bishops are calculated not to offend or disturb those who enjoy their Liberty of Conscience to its full extent.

In this and in all other important subjects there will be different opinions; and perhaps it creates fewer animosities to decide about a proposal upon a sense of its fitness than to seek for a variety of sentiments. Objections arise from different motives, from licentiousness, from a dislike of any inspection, from an undistinguishing aversion to all Church Discipline, from old inveteracy against the Church of England, from prepossession against unseemingly novelty, from various views and passions. In the late Reign the fears of disturbing his Majesty's Government, particularly in New England, influenced the Ministers that they not only, perhaps very wisely, hesitated about the Proposal of sending Bishops in America, but finally postponed it. These fears seem to have been carried too far, and probably other reasons were combined in them. But the scene has been so much more in view lately and so much enlarged, that in the opinion of impartial and understanding Persons Government is more likely now to suffer in its tranquillity and stability by the imperfect state of the Church of England in America, which can only be

set right by the residence of Bishops there. The Heats too of the most respectable part of the Dissenters are so abated, that in the eye of the most timid Policy apprehension of any considerable uneasiness in that Quarter seems groundless. There does not seem a greater likelihood of reviving Church Parties, and Dissensions, and Controversies by this step than by the Establishment of the Church of England in the new acquisitions. Nor can there be any sort of grounds to foresee consequences of exorbitant Church Power, of any Spiritual Tyranny, or Intolerance. The Inclinations and Principles of the chief of the Clergy manifestly do not tend that way; and if ever they should, the proposed regulations may entirely defeat such ideas. It must be owned that the probable consequence will be the increase of the Church of England in America when the present disorder of it is removed; but it should be considered that the Civil Government here may receive great support there from such increase, and that it is no less important, even as a matter of State, that Ecclesiastics should be able to do good, than that they should not be able to do harm.

That there may be some zealous Independants in America, who will cry out at such an appointment, and alarm themselves and others with false suspicions; and even that many persons will not care for any steps taken towards promoting order, is probably true; but it is fitting to be done by his Majesty upon principles of true Religion and sound Policy. The objections of such Persons might be an additional Reason to the State for doing it.

His Majesty's Royal Protection is extended to Protestants of all Denominations, and the Church of England humbly hopes for it in this instance of settling Bishops in America. This appointment is not only useful but necessary to the welfare of that Church, to the regular administration of its offices and purposes of Religion and Virtue which is the end of its establishment. This design appears reasonable in itself, and free from every material Inconvenience or just objection: And if his Majesty, upon a view of the Equity, the Safety, and Advantage of it, thinks fit to give orders for carrying it into execution, the mode must be referred to his Majesty's Determination. However, the following thoughts are humbly submitted for consideration, which occur after reflecting upon it, and which though imperfect may excite better.

Four suffragan Bishops to the See of Canterbury or London may be appointed by the King in conformity to the Statute in the twenty-sixth year of Henry VIII.

Of these none should reside in the Colonies where the Government is in the hands of Dissenters, as in New England. It is only desired that they may ordain clergymen for such Church of England Congregations as are in those Colonies, inspect into the manners and behaviour of the Episcopal clergy there, and confirm such fit persons as may offer themselves for that purpose.

First. The Residence of the four Bishops might be at Burlington in New Jersey, or at New York. His Diocese might comprehend all that is East of the River Delaware.

Second. At William and Mary's College at Williamsburg in Virginia. His Diocese might comprehend all that is west of the River Delaware as far as the Southern Boundary of North Carolina.

Third. At Charlestown in South Carolina. His Diocese might comprehend all from the Northern Boundary of South Carolina to the Gulf of Florida, and also the Island of Jamaica, for the passage to Jamaica is said to be easier from the Continent than the other Islands.

Fourth. At Coddington College in Barbadoes. His Diocese might comprehend all the Islands, exclusive of Jamaica.

As to the income, it should be suitable to such a character and sufficient to secure a proper respect, and as far as can be judged from the expense of living and extent of the Dioceses, it seems that £1000 sterling per annum is the least that can be allowed, and £1,500 is the most that is requisite.

The people of the Colonies must not be burthened with the maintenance of the Bishops, but the Income may be raised by many ways, some more eligible than others.

There is £3,800 now in the Funds at three per cent. which arose from various Benefactions towards this design, besides £1,000 given by Archbishop Tennison, and £1,000 left by Mr. Fisher this year; and £500 by Bishop Osbaldiston. This might be employed in buying houses, stock, &c., at first, and other Benefactions might come in. But to avoid uncertainty, the Income might be made sure by annexing some great Living in the Diocese to the See of the Bishop, who would also officiate as often as circumstances would allow, in the Parochial Duty of it. Some Prebend, or Sinecure, in England in the gift of the Crown, might be held with the Bishoprick, as some are by Persons in the Universities here; a Salary out of the Revenues of William and Mary College might be added to the Bishoprick of Virginia; and a salary out of the Revenues of Coddington College to the Bishop of the Islands. Besides this, Lands now unappropriated might be allotted to make up a sufficient Income; or a small part might be granted out of the Quit-Rents, which are said to be capable of great advancement for the King's service.

There has been of a long time £100 allotted out of the Quit-Rents of Virginia to the company there; and £20 has been given by the Crown ever since 1679 as a Bounty to each Minister that goes from hence for his passage to America. There would be a saving in these two articles; and in general the maintenance of the Bishops will not be a difficulty, and may be modelled in many ways, if it is thought fit to appoint them.

As to the powers. There has been the Difficulty and the stumbling block from a fear of spiritual Courts, without Reason or Distinction; but if the powers desired here are considered fairly, there is no real ground for objection or Suspicion, or Jealousy. The appointment of Bishops may appear unprecedented in the Colonies, but surely it is as unprecedented to have so many Episcopalian Churches without a Bishop, and to expect the end without the means of Religion. As to the Jurisdiction of the suffragan Bishops, it cannot be justly objected to, as it is no greater than what has been exercised by the Commissary of the Bishop of London. It may be specified to prevent harm, and limited by his Majesty to any Degree in conformity to the statute in the twenty-sixth Henry VIII. No coercive powers are desired over the Laity, but only to regulate the Behaviour of the Episcopal clergy and Clerks of Parishes, and to punish them according to the Law of the Church of England in case of Misbehaviour or Neglect of Duty. The directing and

enforcing the Reparation of their Parsonage Houses and Churches, together with a due Provision of all such things as the Laws require for the decent and orderly performance of Divine Service therein, should be also under the Jurisdiction.

Nothing is desired for such Bishops that may in the least interfere with the Dignity, authority, or Interest of the Governor or any other officer of State. Probates of Wills, Licenses for Marriage, &c., are to be left in the hands where they are. Delegates too may be appointed there or here, to whom appeal might be from a Bishop's Jurisdiction, and thereby all irregular extent of power curbed, if ever it should be thought of by him. No share in the temporal government is desired for our Bishops, but every endeavour should be used by them to co-operate with the Governors for the public good, by mutual advice and assistance; and chiefly by sowing the seeds that will insensibly produce right temper and conduct; and by instilling and propagating sound principles in the people, which are the strongest hold in the structure of Government, and the firmest guard to secure obedience. If his Majesty thinks fit the Bishop may be by his office a member of every Council in his Diocese, as the Surveyor General in his Department. This is not desired, except it is thought that it would enable the Bishops to be of more assistance to the Governors and useful to the State.

Many other regulations wiser and better may occur to his Majesty's Ministers in a course of candid deliberation upon this subject; and if the design is likely to be beneficial to the administration of Government in Church and State, and productive of every good end in both, surely there is no reason to stop it for fear of imaginary Dangers or Hierarchical Powers, which can never take effect, when there are real Difficulties which may now be removed, and lasting advantages which may be gained by pursuing it.

If this Proposal is not thought fit to be taken into consideration at this Juncture, there is little reason to hope for it ever succeeding. But the wise and good men in general are convinced from Reason and Experience, that the appointment of Bishops in America would have been at all times of considerable service, and is now become much more necessary for the cultivating Religion and Virtue, for the Propagating Principles conducive to the Quiet of the State, and securing the Allegiance and Loyalty of his Majesty's subjects in those parts; and therefore if unhappily it is thought advisable to lay aside so excellent a design, the Members of the Church of England, both at home and abroad, will receive this Decision with the most serious concern. Yet they will continue their sincere endeavours to carry on every good purpose agreeably to the Principles of their Religion as far as its imperfect state there will allow; and always shew themselves faithful, active and vigilant to the best of their ability in maintaining the Peace and Security of his Majesty's Government in the Colonies.

Archbishop of Canterbury to Dr. W. Smith, of Pennsylvania—1766.

“GOOD DR. SMITH :

“It is long since I wrote to you ; sickness and business have had their shares in preventing me, but the chief hindrance hath been, that I could say nothing determinate concerning our principal American affairs, nor indeed can I now. The beginning of last year we thought an ecclesiastical settlement of Quebec was almost made, on which a Bishop might easily be grafted. But that was opposed by one great man as too favourable, by another as not favourable enough, to the Papists. Then the Ministry changed : we were to begin again ; and could get nothing but fair words, though the King interposed for us. Now it is changed once more, and whether we shall fare better or worse for it, I cannot guess. I have begged the Bishop of London to take out a Commission. He is backward ; but I hope at length to prevail, and then we may set up our Corresponding Societies. There were no improper expressions in the Address of the Connecticut or of the New York and New Jersey clergy ; but they came when both you and we were on fire about the Stamp Act ; and so were not presented. But the King was apprised of the contents of them, and desired they might be postponed. The Bishops have expressed their good wishes to Mr. Wheelock’s School, but declined contributing to it, as the Society designs to set up one in imitation of it, which Sir William Johnson, who desires to be a member of the Society, presses as peculiarly seasonable. We have sent to ask his advice, and Mr. Barton’s, and shall be glad of yours and every Friend’s, in what place or places, under what Masters or Regulations, we may best begin the work. I was at first for sending Indians to Mr. Wheelock to be afterwards Episcopally Ordained ; but Mr. Apthorp was clear, that they would all turn out Presbyterians. Mr. Whitfield hath got such hold of Lord Dartmouth, who was First Lord of Trade till a few Days ago, that I laboured in vain to oppose his scheme for the Orphan House. But if it be not completed, I hope it may now be altered. I wrote a long Letter to Mr. Duche in December, in answer to one from him about his religious notions. I hope he hath communicated it to you, and hath at least received no harm from it. I considered Mr. Peters as some way superior to the compliment of a Dr.’s Degree ; but if you find he would like it, and think it would be useful, I can easily obtain it on your sending me word, where he was educated, what Degree he hath, what age he is, &c. I condole with you on the sad loss of Messrs. Wilson and Giles and your Brother, which I mentioned to the King as one argument for American Bishops. You will have had an account from Dr. Burton of what the Society have done on the occasion, and I hope you will find that sooner or later, such care, as we can, hath been taken, or will be taken, of every thing which you have recommended to us ; particularly we shall be mindful of what Mr. Peters and you desire concerning Sussex and Kent Counties. Mr. Neill hath been directed not to give his assistance any longer to Mr. Macclenachan’s congregation, as they have made no application to the Bishop of London. The clergy at N. York have been alarmed with a Report, that the American Dissenters are

uniting themselves with the Kirk of Scotland, in hopes of obtaining, by their means, some new privileges from our Parliament. I do not apprehend any danger of that sort. Pray write frequently and fully about everything, though I should write seldom and briefly. Yet I will endeavour to mend in that respect, if I am able. But at least be assured, that I shall take much notice of your Information and advice, and that I am,

“ With great Regard,
“ Your loving Brother,

“ THO. CANT.”

“ Lambeth, August 2, 1766.”

[The history of the alienation of the glebes in Virginia from the Church, by the Legislature, is well known. The following memorial will serve to show how manfully our brethren of the laity, of that day, contended for what they deemed their rights:]

“ Halifax County, Virginia, July, 1795.

“ *To the Honourable the Speaker and other Members of the House of Delegates, sundry Inhabitants of the Parish of Antrim and County of Halifax, beg leave to offer the following Remonstrance and Petition :*

“ Relying on the wisdom, the impartiality, and patriotism of the House, we come forward, on the present occasion, to express our sentiments by remonstrating with the most determined firmness against the attacks which are now made on our dearest rights. It is well known to the Honourable House that Petitions have frequently been presented to it by the Baptists and their adherents, praying for a sale of the Glebe lands always in possession of, and now for some considerable time vested by law in, the Protestant Episcopal Church. Concerning Petitions of this kind in general, permit us to observe, that from their origin we have always viewed them with extreme dissatisfaction, conceiving them to be hostile to the peace of the community, and opposed to those principles which give security to property, in every free government. At the late happy revolution, everything was settled on a sure foundation. The great principles of Republicanism were then established, and they have since continued to influence most of our publick deliberations. It was then declared ‘ That all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion ;’ a privilege which, since that time, we have all equally enjoyed. And the great maxim adopted by our Legislators since the Declaration seems to be, to separate religion, as far as relates to its temporal support or establishment, as much as possible from the political institutions of our country. Accordingly, by the first General Assembly that met, after the formation of our Constitution, in 1776, it was enacted, “ That all and every Act of Parliament which renders criminal the maintaining any opinions in matters of religion, forbearing to repair to Church, or the exercising any

mode of worship whatsoever, shall henceforth be of no validity or force within this Commonwealth.' In the very next section of the same Act, 'All Dissenters, of whatever denomination, from the Church,' at that time, 'established by law, are totally freed and exempted from all levies, taxes, and impositions whatsoever, towards supporting and maintaining the said Church, as it now is, or hereafter may be, established, and its ministers.' And by the fourth section of the said Act, it is farther enacted, 'That there shall in all time coming be saved and reserved to the use of the Church by law established, the several tracts of Glebe lands already purchased, the churches and chapels already built, and such as were begun or contracted for before the passing of this Act, for the use of the Parishes; all books, plate, and ornaments belonging or appropriated to the use of the said church, &c.; and that there shall moreover be saved or reserved to the use of such Parishes as may have received private donations, for the better support of the said church and its ministers, the perpetual benefit and enjoyment of all such donations.' This Act was generally satisfactory at the time it was passed. It gave the Baptists and other Dissenters all which, at that time, they demanded. It flowed as a consequent from the last article in the Declaration of Rights, concerning Religion; and serves as the basis, next to the Constitution itself, whereon the peace, the prosperity, the security, and independence of all religious societies rest. Therefore, to attempt innovations now with regard to religious affairs, or with regard to the property belonging to any religious society, indicates designs, in our apprehension, highly inimical to the spirit of our Constitution, designs of a threatening and revolutionary aspect, in their consequences pregnant with injustice and persecution, perhaps with tumult and blood, and such as we cannot contemplate in prospect without abhorrence.

"When we address this Honourable House, our duty and our wish is, to use the language of respect. But being sincere, the expression of our sentiments must correspond with our perceptions of the subject. Neither do we wish to weary the attention of this House on a subject which has so often come under its consideration. But we request to be heard with patience, whilst, not only for the foregoing considerations, but also for the following reasons, we remonstrate against all memorials and petitions for the sale of Glebes, either collectively or separately:

"1st. Because we conceive it to be contrary to the Constitution of this country.

"Neither the State nor Federal Constitution, indeed, say anything expressly concerning Glebes, or the property belonging to any religious society. This was unnecessary. They left such property as they found it, and as it always had been, in the possession, and to the use of each society respectively; and doing so, we conceive that it ought still so to remain. But it is not necessary for us in this case to rely on an argument merely negative. For if a law were passed by the Assembly for the sale of the Glebe lands which have been in possession of the Church ever since the first settlement of this country, and been confirmed to her by their own Act nearly twenty years ago, such a law, having an *ex post facto* view, would certainly, in its own nature, be unconstitutional.

"2dly. Because it would destroy that confidence which we and the rest of the community ought always to have in the Legislature.

"The Assembly of Virginia has already pledged its Legislative faith, the most solemn pledge and firmest sanction which a free State can give, that this property shall, 'in all time coming, be saved and reserved to the use of' our church. We are sensible that this Assembly has powers adequate to repeal the law. But should it now be repealed, and the property disposed of, according to the prayer of the Baptists, it would tend to sap the foundation of those rights by which property in general is held, introduce into the Acts of Assembly instability and uncertainty, be a fluctuation in law which we are confident is without precedent in Virginia, and thus would overturn that trust and security which should always be placed in the Legislature. It would also be a violation of right; for we think that the Assembly may, as in the case of escheats, vest landed property in an individual or society, which property cannot be taken away without an equivalent, by a subsequent Assembly, with equal powers, unless at the same time justice and the constitution be disregarded. Should the law simply be repealed, still the property would be held by a certain body of men who were in the rightful possession of it before that law was made. And a question of the greatest magnitude, and involving the highest interests, would arise: whether this property always held and enjoyed by a certain society, and still applied to the use for which it was originally set apart, could be taken from them without trampling on their rights as men and as citizens.

"3dly. Because we conceive that by the Baptists and their abettors, the meaning of the fourth Article of our Declaration of Rights is misrepresented, when they assert, that in conformity to the spirit of that article, the Act vesting the Glebe lands in the Protestant Episcopal Church is unconstitutional.

"That article declares 'That no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of publick services.' Here, as the Glebes are vested in us by law, they would insist that we enjoy 'exclusive emoluments from the community.' If we did, it would be something which the community paid for since the revolution; whereas the community or commonwealth of Virginia gave no new or original grant to the church, for all the Glebes were purchased and paid for before the revolution, and most of them one hundred years prior to that event. The community only pledged itself to guaranty to the Church, not any new property at that time or ever since given her, but the property at that time in her rightful possession, and which has been hers from the beginning. But we do not perceive that the article alluded to has any relation to this question; its object being to prevent hereditary offices in the civil government.

"4thly. Because your Remonstrants, with the rest of the community, are involved in an unnecessary expense.

"Glebes, from their very origin, have been held by Ministers and Vestries, by use, by prescription, by law, by everything that constitutes a sufficient right; and yet to maintain this right we are taxed, and that not only to pay those who advocate its security, but also those who wish to destroy it. But rather than relinquish our right to anything, however trivial that thing may

be in itself, and particularly before we will relinquish our right in the property belonging to us as a religious society, we will murmur at no expense incurred for its security.

"5thly. Because by holding this property no superiority or pre-eminence, as is alleged, is conferred on us by law, which indeed would be odious in Republican Government.

"We, as well as the Constitution and Laws of our country, justly abhor distinctions with regard to religious sects, or with regard to the right of holding property; and as we enjoy no superiority above others by law, so we claim none. But the rights and property which are ours already by the Constitution and by law, which were ours before the revolution, during its progress, and ever since, and which were never attempted to be taken from us until very lately, we cannot now be deprived of, without violating the principles of justice, and that principle of equality which they themselves pretend to advocate. For if this property is taken from us at the request of one sect or party, it will create a distinction in favour of that party or sect; and would be one mean of putting it in their power to establish their own religion and tenets on the ruins of those of another.

"For the foregoing reasons, and a variety of others which might be adduced, did we wish to trespass on the patience of this House, we remonstrate against the sale of Glebes in general; and to what has already been advanced, we add the following reasons why we remonstrate in particular against the Petition or Petitions praying for a sale of the Glebe belonging to Antrim Parish, in this County:

"1st. Because should the Glebe of Antrim Parish be sold by the operation of an Act of Assembly, none will deny that the Episcopalians would be entitled to their proportion of the money.

"But the injustice done the Episcopal Society must be obvious in taking their Church property out of their own hands, and appropriating that part of it which would fall to their share, even on the principles of those who petition for a sale, to a public purpose; for the Episcopalians are as able and as willing as any other denomination to pay whatever taxes may be expedient for the support of the Federal and State Governments, or whatever levies may be necessary for the order, the safety, or conveniency of their county, and do not choose that their share of the money arising from the sale of the Glebe, if an equal division is to take place after the sale, should be appropriated to a different purpose. If it be urged that a majority of the people in this county have a right to have the money appropriated according to their wish, yet it should be remembered that neither in a County nor in a State can a majority of the people violate the constitutional rights of the minority. If it be said that the right itself is in dispute, we reply that we and our ancestors have been in possession of this right from the earliest settlement of this country, and under different forms of government; that it is ours by use, by prescription, by law, and that now we cannot be deprived of it, without compelling us to submit to laws, in their own nature having retrospective views, and in their operation involving *ex post facto* circumstances; which would be unconstitutional and oppressive. If it be said that the county, or

people in the county, originally paid for the Glebe, or that it was paid for by the State or community at large, and therefore that the State or a majority of the people in this county, have a right to have it sold; yet it should be remembered that the State, and likewise the County, by its representation in the State Legislature, has, in a constitutional sense, 'saved and reserved' it to the religious uses of a certain society. And for the State or County to violate its publick faith, by taking back what it once gave, would be fully as unjust as for one individual to violate a contract entered into with another, or take back what he formerly gave him. Neither is it certain, although it may be so represented to this Honourable House, that it is the wish of a majority of the people in this county to have the Glebe sold; for no fair and equal measures have been adopted to ascertain their sentiments on the subject. It is, in fact, more a party dispute than anything else: and your Remonstrants are very sensible of the disadvantages they lie under in this, that they have it not in their power, except in their present address, to obviate any misrepresentations which may be made, as both the Delegates from this county are decidedly for the sale of our Glebe. We think that the Baptists are, perhaps, the most numerous denomination of Christians in this county at present, and for the most part busying themselves in elections, our candidates and delegates generally embrace the views, and espouse the claims of that party. But we also think that there is a part of the people fully as numerous as they are, who have joined no church, who are very indifferent with regard to affairs of this kind, and particularly with regard to the point in dispute; but who have been prevailed upon by the Baptists and their partizans to sign the petition for the sale of our Glebe, which, had the matter been represented to them in a just point of view, we are confident they would not have done. This House cannot be ignorant of the underhand and unjustifiable means which are often made use of in procuring subscribers to Petitions of this kind, that too often principle is sacrificed to party, and reason to passion. But we trust that this House, sitting as the Guardian of Rights, will not violate the sacred deposit placed in her hands, but that she will, 'without favour, affection, or partiality,' secure to every class and description of men, the privileges and rights which, by the Constitution, and by Law, they now enjoy.

"2dly. Because the Episcopal Society within this county has been at considerable expense in repairing the Churches of the Parish, and taking care of the social property.

"These expenses were cheerfully incurred under the firm belief—a belief which still forms part of their political creed—that the Assembly of Virginia would never grant its approbation to have their Glebe or any part of their Church property disposed of, to gratify the wishes of any sect or any party whatever; and which they conceive it cannot indeed do, consistent with justice and the constitution. But if the Glebe is sold, this money will have been expended, not for their own benefit and use, but that of the Baptists or some other sect, as the Churches will eventually fall into their hands, your Remonstrants being partly deprived of the means of procuring a Minister of their own persuasion. This, indeed, would not be a direct prohibition of the 'free exercise of their religion,' which by the constitution, 'all men are equally entitled to,' though in its effects it would extend that far; and there-

fore would be unconstitutional, inasmuch as it would do violence to their conscientious principles, either by depriving them entirely of religious ordinances and the means of instruction in that Church which they prefer to all others, or by obliging them to have recourse to some other with which their consciences will not permit them to join. And we expect it will not be denied, that whatever by a natural consequence produces an unconstitutional effect, must in itself be unconstitutional.

“3dly. Because the Incumbent of this Parish, one of your Remonstrants, has been at considerable expense in improving the Glebe lands and repairing the plantation.

“He has occupied these lands for nearly five years. When he received them, the fences were entirely in a ruinous situation; and the repairs and improvements he has made, not only in that respect, but in several others, have far exceeded the profits derived from the plantation, accurate statements of which he can produce. But if the Glebe is sold, agreeable to the prayer of the Petition for that purpose, he will thus have expended the little he had to spare for the benefit of the County at large, to which the Glebe, with its appurtenances and improvements, if sold, would be little more than a mite. It may indeed be represented to the House, that he wasted the Glebe lands by cutting down and selling the timber. Since he has occupied these lands, there has been timber sold off the premises to the amount of thirty-three shillings, all of which, except a few trees, would have been given gratis, as the rest encumbered a few acres intended to have been cleared. But the money laid out in improving the place has far exceeded that amount. Circumstances of this kind, however, are to be judged of by the Vestry of the Parish, and come with no propriety under the cognizance of any others. It may also be represented to this House, that the Incumbent neglects some of the churches in his Parish, and attends only at those where they pay him; to which it is replied, that the Incumbent makes known to the Vestry of the Parish and people at large on what conditions he can officiate at the churches, which conditions they deem reasonable. Where these conditions are complied with, he gives a regular attendance, either at the churches, or anywhere else in the Parish. Where they are not, it is not in his power. And your Remonstrants are astonished that circumstances coming entirely under their notice, as they relate to their own church government and the rules of their sect, should in the least be submitted to the consideration of others, and particularly when they are so represented that, through their medium, the minister may be seen in an unfavourable point of view.

“4thly. Because the petition for the sale of the Glebe of Antrim Parish in this County, strikes, in the most unconstitutional, arbitrary, and persecuting manner, in the first place, at the rights of the Minister and Vestry, and through their medium, those of the whole Episcopal Society within the Parish.

“In the year 1784, an Act was passed to ‘empower the Vestry of Antrim, in the county of Halifax, to sell the Glebe of the said Parish, and to lay out the money in purchasing a more convenient one.’ The former Glebe has been sold, agreeable to this Act, and the money laid out in purchasing a more convenient one, agreeably to the third section of the said Act, namely, ‘That the money arising from the sale of the said Glebe shall be by the said

Vestry laid out and applied towards purchasing a more convenient Glebe for the use and benefit of the Minister of the said Parish for the time being, for ever.' In the year 1784, an Act was passed for incorporating the Protestant Episcopal Church. This Act gave offence, and was repealed in 1786; in consequence of which the several powers of government and discipline in the said Church returned to the members at large, to be freely exercised by them as by any other religious society; for in the 'Act to Repeal the Act for Incorporating the Protestant Episcopal Church, and for other purposes,' there is a clause to the following effect, namely: 'Saving to all religious societies the property to them respectively belonging, who are hereby authorized to appoint from time to time, according to the rules of their sect, trustees, who shall be capable of managing and applying such property to the religious uses of such societies.' We, as a religious society, have appointed trustees, 'according to the rules of our sect, for managing the property to us belonging, and applying it to the religious uses of our society;' and 'according to the rules of our sect,' made in a Convention of the clerical and lay deputies of our church, it is an established Canon among us, 'That no person shall be received into any Parish within this Commonwealth, as a Minister, until he shall have entered into a contract in writing with the Vestry or Trustees on behalf of the society within such Parish, by which it shall be stipulated and declared that he holds the appointment subject to removal, agreeably to the rules and Canons of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church within this State.' Here is a contract entered into, by the Minister on one side, and by the Vestry or Trustees, in behalf of the Society, on the other; and that contract authorized to be made by law, 'according to the rules of our sect.' Your Remonstrants now wish to call the attention of this House to the tenth section of the first article of the Federal Constitution, and will submit it to their judgment, whether a Glebe can be taken from a Minister and Vestry without violating that part of the Constitution; for among the prohibitory clauses in the section just mentioned of the Federal Constitution are the following, viz.: 'No State shall pass any *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts.' Whereas a contract has been entered into, and is on record in the Vestry Books of this Parish, a contract authorized to be made by law, a contract of the most solemn kind, a contract concerning the use of that property which ever was, and still is ours, by the constitution, and by the common and statute laws of the land; and concerning that kind of service which is the most interesting and important of any. But all these bulwarks of happiness and security, law, prescription, custom, contracts, and constitution, are, by this Petition for the sale of our Glebe, to be prostrated beneath the feet of a party. No. The Assembly of Virginia, the House of Delegates, will never permit it. And even were not the constitution and laws so express on this subject, yet we doubt not but this House will abhor the prayer of any Petition, by whatever hand it is presented, or from whomsoever it comes, which, if it were granted, would disfranchise the citizen of his rights, and turn from house and home many indigent families and many worthy characters who have deserved well of the Republic. The Ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church would not then have the pleasing prospect before them of living in a land of peace and equal liberty, but all the horrors of proscription and exile; for if in one

parish the rights of the Protestant Episcopal Society be violated, so they may be in every parish in Virginia. And the question concerning the sale of the Glebe belonging to Antrim Parish in this county, involves, in fact, the question respecting the sale of the whole.

"5thly. Because to grant the prayer of the Petition for the sale of our Glebe would very much interrupt the peace and harmony of this country, and involve your Remonstrants and many others in much needless altercation and controversy.

"The dispute in itself has too near an affinity to religion not to participate in much of that animosity and rancour, which are the unhappy fruits of religious controversy. It directly militates against that wise and Christian maxim in our Declaration of Rights, which affirms it to be the 'mutual duty of all to practise Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other;' and we are confident this House will patronize no attempt that has a contrary tendency. And,

"6thly. We remonstrate against this Petition for the sale of our Glebe, and all others of a similar nature, because in its whole tenor we conceive it to be vexatious, unreasonable, unprecedented, and unjust; because it tends to destroy our political happiness; because it threatens to unnerve our Constitution and laws; and because it can be productive of no publick good, but may be productive of much publick evil.

"These, gentlemen, are the principles on which we remonstrate; they are the principles in which we have lived, which we teach our posterity, and in which we hope to die. And we trust this Honourable House will not, as it tenders the preservation of publick faith and publick peace, encroach on the rights of the peaceable,—rights which a very numerous part of your constituents maintain, and which we, your Remonstrants, hold most sacred and dear.

"And we pray that this House will come to some resolution indicative of its displeasure, at least, declarative of its sense in the most explicit and decisive tenor, respecting any Petition for the sale of a Glebe occupied by a Minister, if the money arising from the sale is to be appropriated to a different purpose; and that it will adopt such other measures as in its wisdom it may deem most eligible for a farther confirmation and security of the rights and property now enjoyed by the Protestant Episcopal Church, and for the prevention of future attempts to invade them. Such measures as these, we are persuaded, would soon put an end to this disagreeable contest, would contribute greatly towards the promotion of peace, piety, and morality, and more effectually diffuse their happy influence over the minds of the people at large.

"And your Remonstrants and Petitioners will, as in duty bound, ever pray."

Address of the Rector of Antrim Parish, Virginia, to the Members of the Church, on the proposed Sale of the Glebes in Virginia.

“BRETHREN :

“When I solicit your attention to what I have just now to say concerning the sale of the Glebes, I am well aware of the difference of sentiment which exists with regard to the subject. I have only to request of you to lay passion and prejudice aside, and calmly and impartially weigh the arguments I shall offer.

“It is, I believe, generally known, that for several years past, memorials and petitions have been presented to the Assembly by the Baptists for the sale of the Glebe Lands vested by law in the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State. These petitions have still been rejected by the Assembly, and generally by a very considerable majority; the members from the upper counties, where there are but few glebes, and few of the Episcopal profession, voting almost to a man in favour of the Baptist memorial; and those from the middle and lower counties generally opposing it. So long has this struggle continued, so much money has it cost the country, so much offence has it given to sober Christians of all persuasions, and so little prospect is there of its being terminated according to the wish of the Baptists, that even they and their abettors begin to be convinced, that to persist in presenting memorials of that kind will never be productive of the intended effect.

“The attention of the Baptists, therefore, is now turned towards effecting a sale of the Glebe Lands in each county separately. Accordingly a petition has lately been drawn up by _____, for the sale of the glebe in this parish, which I presently occupy, and sent out among the people, or soon will be, in order to obtain subscribers.

“This is a brief statement of the case, as far as has come within my knowledge. And, on the present occasion, I do not mean to lay before you the variety of arguments which is urged on either side, or to weary your attention by a multiplicity of words. I only design just now to submit a few things not unworthy the consideration, I think, of every impartial and honest man.

“To begin at the source, therefore, of this dispute. You know that before the late happy revolution in this country, the Church of England, the same, except in some points of discipline, with ours at this day, was the established religion in Virginia. But when the British yoke was thrown off, these States became sovereign, free, and independent, not only with respect to civil affairs, but with regard to religious affairs also. Accordingly, in the Declaration of Rights made by the Representatives of the good people of Virginia, met at Williamsburg, in May, 1776, it is said: ‘That Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practise Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other.’

“But this only goes so far as to establish free toleration, by declaring that

‘all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion.’ Still, however, there was a religion established by law, and all other sects were obliged to contribute to the support of the established Church. This was an intolerable grievance, and loudly called for redress. And it was not long before it was redressed. For by the first General Assembly that ever met in Virginia after the formation of our State Constitution, at Williamsburg, in October, 1776, it was enacted, ‘That all dissenters, of whatever denomination, from the Church established by law, shall, from and after the passing of this Act, be totally free and exempt from all levies, taxes, and impositions whatever, towards supporting and maintaining the said Church, as it now is or hereafter may be established, and its ministers.’ And in the very next section, the glebes and Churches, with their appurtenances, are vested in the church at that time, and ever since, possessing them, in the following words: ‘And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that there shall in all time coming be saved and reserved to the use of the Church by law established the several tracts of ‘Glebe lands already purchased, the churches and chapels already built, and such as were begun or contracted for before the passing of the said Act, for the use of the Parishes, all books, plate, and ornaments belonging or appropriated to the use of the said Church, and all arrears of money or tobacco arising from former assessments or otherwise; and that there shall moreover be saved or reserved to the use of such Parishes as may have received private donations, for the better support of the said Church and its Ministers, the perpetual benefit and enjoyment of all such donations.’

“This Act, seemingly, gave universal satisfaction to the Baptists and other dissenters at the time it was passed; but in a few years after, they began to petition to have that part of it repealed which makes over the Glebes and Churches to the Protestant Episcopal Society, and have continued to petition almost every Assembly to have this property sold.

“The principal arguments they make use of to support their plea, are the following:

“1st. As most of the Glebe lands were originally purchased with money levied upon the people at large, they say that in whatever County a majority of the people wish these lands to be sold, they ought to be sold, and the money refunded, or applied to some other use.

“The sentiments of the majority of the people, I allow, are always entitled to much attention; but when they petitioned to have an establishment of religion annulled, as it justly was, almost twenty years ago, then was the time for them to insist also on a sale of the Glebes and Churches. Whereas, in this petition at that time, they prayed for no such thing, although their claim at that day was just as good as it is now. And if in one instance, they petition for money to be given back, which was paid under the British Government, it is equally just that they should do so in every case.

“If they say that the laws were oppressive which compelled them to support a religion from which at that time they dissented, then let them recollect how few were dissenters when the Glebes were originally purchased, and that, even upon their own principles, if a part of the original purchase money is to be given back, it ought to be a part only in proportion to that number who then were dissenters. For if they, from conscientious motives,

have dissented from their forefathers, they can with no justice now have any retrospective view or claim to what was done by their ancestors with a good conscience.

“Whatever was then done with respect to religious affairs was done by the authority of those laws and that government under which we then lived. Many of these laws are now repealed, and especially those which had the least respect to an establishment of religion; and that government we wisely rejected for one of our own. And under our present constitution and laws, property of every kind is secured to the individuals and bodies who are the rightful holders thereof, by everything firm and sacred which the laws of God and of our country have devised. Glebes and Churches are held and enjoyed by ministers and vestries, by as good a right as each of you hold your private estates.

“You know that in this country landed property has always been considered in the eye of the law as the most sacred of any, and that she puts forth her hand with reluctance to seize it. And once the Legislative body passes an Act vesting in any individual or society any landed estate, there must be cogent and weighty reasons indeed to move it to rescind a confirmation made of that kind of property which, in its own nature, is the most permanent, and rendered the most fixed and stable of any, by the nature of our laws. We are not now in the heat of a revolution. Everything has been settled on a sure foundation, by a free Convention of the people. Nor do I conceive that any innovations can now take place, at least, until another Convention is called with similar powers. For should the Assembly pass an Act to take away from one society the property it has always enjoyed since the first settlement of this country,—and by their own grant, for nearly now these twenty years,—it would be a fluctuation in law, if not an innovation of right, which, I think, highly inimical to the spirit of our constitution, and, I am confident, is without precedent in Virginia. I allow that principle is not to be regulated by precedent. But if the principle be of suspicious or dubious tendency, it certainly stands in need of the authority of precedent, before it is suffered to be introduced.

“The Glebes did originally belong to the country at large, and they still are for the use of the country at large, agreeable to the purpose for which they were first set apart, for the churches are open to all without discrimination, and the services of ministers are tendered to all on the same terms. But the country at large did, by its representatives, at the commencement of the revolution, vest them in a particular society. And now to petition the Assembly to take back what it has already given, is to petition them to introduce a fatal precedent with respect to the right by which property in general is held,—to trample the rights of one society under their feet, and destroy that confidence which the people ought always to have in the faith of the Legislature.

“2dly. The Baptists urge, that by holding this property, a certain pre-eminence and superiority is conferred on us, which is odious in Republican Governments.

“But the constitution of this country is founded on equality, and abhors distinctions of every kind in its laws. The laws themselves cannot, and dare

not, without a violation of right, confer superiority or exclusive privileges on any one denomination of Christians above another. If we enjoy any pre-eminence above them, I am sure it is not derived to us from that quarter.

"But they give out that they are afraid of an establishment, and that they consider the Glebes as the foundation of a religious establishment. But it is impossible there can be any such thing as a religious establishment in America as long as there is a free government. Nor do I believe there are ten men in this county, of any discernment, who wish or expect such a thing. Yet I have often heard it said of the Episcopalians, by those of a different religious persuasion, that they generally wished to have their Church established by law. But the reproach is unjust. This spirit prevails no more among us than it does among others. Our Church can support itself without an establishment; and if it does not, why it ought not to exist. And I do not hesitate to say, that in her present state, she is more pure and perfect as a Church than ever she was under the establishment.

"And as we enjoy no pre-eminence by law, so we claim none; but the rights which are ours already by law, we cannot think of relinquishing; because if these rights are given up at the request of one sect, we cannot tell but we shall be obliged to deliver up others still dearer unto us; and that when they shall have it in their power to deprive the Episcopal society of the property which it enjoys,—they may next proceed to deprive it of the free exercise of its religion, and establish their own upon its ruins.

"3dly. They quote the fourth Article of the Declaration of Rights to support their assertion, that the Act vesting the Glebe lands in the Protestant Episcopal Church is unconstitutional.

"That Article declares, 'That no man, or set of men, are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of publick services.' Here they would insist, that, as we enjoy the Glebes, we enjoy 'exclusive emoluments from the community.' They might as soon say that the Members of the Council and Parish Ministers under the British Government, who are now living in this State, enjoy 'exclusive emoluments from the community.' For the money which partly purchased the estates they now live on, was certainly paid them by the publick. If we enjoyed any 'exclusive emoluments from the community,' it would be something which was paid for by this community since the revolution; whereas the community gave no emolument or new grant to the Church; it only confirmed to her what from the beginning was her's, and has ever since been in her possession. Most of the Glebes were purchased and paid for one hundred years before the revolution; and in many counties, from the frequent migrations to the western country and to other States, it is very questionable whether there be one third of the inhabitants remaining whose ancestors paid for the purchase of a Glebe. So that if they petition for the sale of them because their ancestors paid for them, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to find out to whom the money is now owing. If they say that the Country or the State first purchased them, and that they are to be given back to the Country or State, then it should be remembered that the State has already pledged its legislative faith, that they shall, 'in all time coming,' remain to the use of one religious society, according to the

intention for which they were originally given. And for the State to take back what it once gave, would be fully as unjust as for one individual to take back what he formerly made over to another.

"But it is unfortunate for them, that this article which they quote has not, I think, the smallest allusion to the point in dispute. Its intention is to prevent *hereditary* honours, offices, or emoluments in the civil government. This the connection of the whole Article makes plain—'That no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of publick services; which, not being descendible, neither ought the offices of magistrate, legislator, or judge, to be hereditary.'

"Influenced by these and arguments of a similar kind, the House of Delegates have hitherto negatived the prayer of the Memorial and Petition offered by the Baptists. But an attempt is now made to sell the Glebe lands belonging to this Parish, by a petition from the county ———, which will soon be circulated for this purpose, in order to procure as many subscribers as possible.

"In relation to the sale of this Glebe in particular, permit me to observe a few things.

"This Petition, therefore, for the sale of the Glebe in this Parish, or in any other Parish, let it be signed by ever so many, will certainly be opposed in the House of Delegates, and I am confident will be rejected by a considerable majority, for it involves the main question for the sale of all the Glebes in the State. The Vestry of this Parish hold their glebe lands by the very same right as all other Glebes in the State are held; and if the law is violated in one instance, it may be so in twenty.

"It is true there have been several Glebes sold by Act of Assembly, and the money applied to a different purpose; but it has been in such Parishes only where there was no minister or vestry, or for some other weighty reasons. But that a Glebe should be sold while it was occupied by a Minister, or that a petition should be presented for such a purpose, I know of no instance in Virginia.

"But, behold, here is a petition brought forward for the sale of the Glebe which I occupy; a Glebe which I procured neither by intrigue nor by stealth, but honestly and openly, and on which I have lived without interruption for several years. And what is it now that I have done, that I should be compelled to give up the privileges I have hitherto enjoyed? Have I taken a sixpence from any man by fraud or by oppression? Have I told lies? Am I guilty of robbery, drunkenness, or murder? Or what black and enormous crime am I to be charged with, that I should forfeit the rights of a citizen? On the contrary, has not my manner of life, since I came among you, been sufficiently known? I am not ignorant that on several occasions reports have been whispered prejudicial to my character. But I challenge any man to step forth, if he dare, and say anything in any company, and before my face, which an honest man would blush to own. In the discharge of my office I have industriously avoided all subjects of a controversial and inflammatory nature, though at the same time I have used all freedom in delivering my own sentiments,—a privilege I always will exercise. For as I know not, so I care not, to dissemble. I value the approbation of mine own mind more than that of all mankind.

“The friends of this petition are very confident of having a great majority of the freeholders and other inhabitants of this county as subscribers. I shall not attempt to undeceive them. It is very probable they will. But of the unprejudiced, of those who are averse from contention and discord, of the well-informed and peaceable, I hope they will have very few. The promoters of it also do everything they can to make it interest and agitate the minds of the people at large. But in fact, it is a matter of no such high concernment. It is a matter of small consequence to the county whether the Glebe be sold or not. They, however, have their own views. They know that as long as they are the heroes of the day they will not be forgotten. But if they are truly patriots; if they wish to promote the peace and prosperity of their county, let them abet no partial and party schemes, and gratify one part of its inhabitants at the expense of the other; but let them devise some plan equally beneficial to the whole; let them introduce among us manufacturers, or open to us channels by which we can more easily find a market for the commodities we now have to spare. These, and such like, are objects more worthy the attention of *Friends to the People*, and would confer on them more deserved and more lasting popularity.

“Those who favour this plan should also consider, that no material advantage can be derived from the sale of the Glebe, either to themselves or to others. You think, perhaps, it would annihilate the Church. If it should, would that be of any advantage to you? or would you wish to give power to one denomination of Christians to trample upon another? They will next trample upon yourselves. Although the Baptists are the most numerous sect in this county at present, they may not be so always. We find that first one sect has its day, and then another. In short, there can be nothing more variable and fluctuating than the state of religious sects with regard to decadency or increase. And in this county, it is a truth too plain and too lamentable, that, notwithstanding the number of preachers, there is not one half of the people at large who are in church communion with any denomination of Christians. They have joined no church. They attend regularly at no place of publick worship, and generally are very indifferent with regard to religious affairs. To these people it is a matter of no concern whether the Glebe be sold or not. They will, when asked, give their voices for it or against it, according to the prevailing opinion in the company where they may be, or in the neighbourhoods where they live.

“You, however, who have the smallest concern for the interests of religion in general and the peace and happiness of our county, but more particularly all freeholders who have a respect for the constitution and laws of our country, and are unbiassed by party views, I would have seriously consider and think what you are called upon to do, when you are solicited to sign these petitions for the sale of the Glebe. You are called upon to give your voice for taking away from one religious society the property they have always possessed, and that without an equivalent, and deprive a fellow-citizen; myself, of his just rights, who has had no other object in view than to promote your dearest interests. This appears so iniquitous and unjust, so arbitrary and persecuting, that I have no doubt it partly excites your righteous indignation as well as mine.

“I have lived on the Glebe since I have been Minister of the Parish, and

most of what I have received for my services has been expended in repairing and improving the plantation. These repairs have been of considerable value, and though my word, I expect, will not be doubted by any person present, yet I wish none to take it upon that authority alone. I am willing to submit their value to the determination of a jury. And if the Glebe is sold, I shall thus have expended the little I had to spare for the publick, to whom, when divided among them, it will be little more than nothing.

“For if the Glebe were sold, what would it be to the whole county? It would fetch little more than £200, perhaps not so much in ready money. This would not pay half your County and Parish levies for one year. Indeed, the proportion which would fall to the share of every man is too insignificant, and not worth the attention of any freeholder whatever. And, therefore, to agitate and inflame the public mind concerning a matter of so trivial importance to the county at large, must be done with no other end than to gratify the wishes of a party, or to promote selfish and particular views.

“The Baptists say they do not petition for the sale of the Glebes on account of their value. Neither need we wish to hold them on account of their value, but as a matter of right. The one I occupy has hitherto brought me every year into debt, authentic accounts of which I can at any time produce. If the law, however, which vests the Glebes in us be unconstitutional and oppressive, if it be contrary to the principles pervading Republican Governments and free States, for God’s sake let it be repealed. But if it is not; if the law is constitutional; if it secures rights which we hold dear as life and liberty itself; if it is wished to be repealed to gratify the views of one religious sect, then let it stand fast as the pillars of justice, and secure not only to us the rights which we presently enjoy, but to our posterity for ever.

“To the preachers, and other members of the Baptist Church, who are zealous in promoting this Petition, I would take the liberty of observing, that as this, at best, is but a circumstance of a political nature, it seems not with any propriety to come so particularly under the cognizance of those who labour in the vineyard of Christ. Ministers, to be sure, are men; and they have civil rights to defend; but this dispute is too nearly connected with religion not to partake of much of that animosity and rancour which are the unhappy effects of religious controversy. How different is this from the mild spirit of that religion which breathes unanimity, forgiveness, meekness, and peace! When we ourselves make it appear by our conduct, that Christianity has so little power over our hearts, can it be supposed that ever we will recommend it to the esteem of others? The infidel will never believe us, and the libertine will get confirmed in his vicious practices. Alas! we pull down with our own hands that Church of Christ which we ought to build up and defend. We fill the minds of the community, moreover, with ‘wrath, hatred, and emulations, envyings, and strife.’ How long shall it be before the doctrines of the Son of God have full influence on the minds of men! How long shall this land, the asylum of all nations, be filled with contention? When shall we fully prize the blessings we enjoy? We might now sit every man at peace ‘under his own vine, and under that fair Tree of Liberty which we planted.’ But, alas! the canker-worm of Jealousy feeds on its foliage; the whirlwinds of discord threaten to root it out for ever.

“On you, however, who are attached to this Church, and who in your respective neighbourhoods must have some influence, I must place my sole dependence for obviating the efforts which are now making to ruin your Church; and particularly that you will be industrious in procuring as many subscribers as possible to the remonstrances which I shall put into your hands. The issue of the affair will not depend on the number of subscribers, though it may be materially affected by it. For me to take an active part, farther than by endeavouring to set it in a fair and just light before the public mind, would be indelicate and improper. This is not so much my business as yours. And unless strenuous exertions are now made, the event may be very unfortunate for your Church. If the Glebe is sold, it will affect neither my reputation nor my property; but if it is, the church in this Parish, and in a great many others in Virginia, will well nigh be ruined. Yes, that Church which I believe in my confidence to be as pure as any at this day on earth, will be left without a vestige of her memory in the land. She will fall, as a bright star from heaven, and be lost in perpetual night. Unfortunate she! she has ‘nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against her.’ Like the sun in an unclouded sky, she was once the light and glory of this land; and shall she set in darkness and rise no more? Forbid it, heaven! forbid it, justice: forbid it, honour.

“I myself, whilst holding the station which I possess, will, I trust, discharge my duty with fidelity. If we are all united and act in concert, the effect we can produce will be considerable. Adversity is the fire which purifieth the Church. Through many such she hath passed, and ours when tried in that furnace will come forth still more pure. That at the present crisis you may act your parts with firmness as her friends, having due regard at the same time to the Christian character, is my earnest recommendation. Providence will thus smile on our labours, and conduct them at length to a happy issue. Conscience will approve of our conduct; and death will introduce us to glory.

“Antrim Glebe, Halifax, June 4th, 1795.”

MR. HENDERSON WALKER

TO THE

LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

“North Carolina, 21st October, 1703.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP :

“The great and pious designs of your Lordship towards these American Parts for the Propagation of the Christian Church, of which you are so pious and good a Pillar, imboldens me to lay before your Lordship the present State of North Carolina as to their Christian well-being; and I was the more encouraged to do it by reason that our Lords Proprietors were pleased to write to us concerning Mr. Bray, your Lordship's Commissary, coming to visit us.

“My Lord, we have been settled neer this fifty years in this place, and I may justly say most part of twenty-one years on my own knowledge without Priest or Altar, and before that time, according to all that appears to me, much worse. George Fox some years ago came into these parts, and by strange infatuations did infuse the Quakers' Principles into some small number of the people, which did and hath continued to grow ever since very numerous by reason of their yearly sending in men to encourage and exhort them to their wicked principles; and here was none to dispute nor to oppose them in carrying on their pernicious principles for many years, till God of his infinite goodness was pleased to inspire the Rev. Dr. Bray some time about four years ago to send in some books of his own particular pious gift of the explanation of the Church Catechism, with some other small books to be disposed of and lent as we thought fit, did in some measure put a stop to their growth; and about a year after did send to us a library of books for the benefit of this place, given by the honourable the Corporation for the establishing of the Christian religion, by one Mr. Daniel Bret, a minister appointed for this place. He for about half a year behaved himself in a modest manner, but after that in a most horrid manner; broke out in such an extravagant course that I am ashamed to express his carriage, it being in so high nature. It hath been a great trouble and grief to us who have a great veneration for the Church that the first minister that was sent to us should prove so ill as to give the Dissenters so much occasion to charge us with him. My Lord, I humbly begg you to believe that we do not think that the Rev. Dr. Bray knew any thing of the life and conversations of the man. We did about this time two years, with a great deal of care and management, get an Assembly, and we

passed an act for building of churches and establishing a maintenance for a minister amongst us, and in pursuance thereto we have built one church, and there is two more a going forward, and his Excellency Francis Nicholson, Esq., Governor of Virginia, was pleased of his pious goodness to give us £10 to each church, and we sent copies of that act of Assembly to our Lords proprietors to get the same ratified, and likewise a copy to Dr. Bray to entreat his favour with them to obtain a Ratification, which we are in hopes to obtain this shipping, but they not being come we are in a great loss. My Lord, I humbly beg leave to inform you that we have an Assembly to sit the 3d November next, and there is above one half of the Burgesses that are chosen are Quakers and have declared their designs of making void the act for establishing the Church; if your Lordship out of your good and pious care of us doth not put a stop to their growth, we shall the most part, especially the children born here, become heathens. I humbly entreat your Lordship to send some worthy good man amongst us to regain the Flock, and so perfect us in our duty to God, and establish us by his Doctrine, life, and conversation in the fundamentalls of our Christian profession that we in our time and those as come hereafter, may bless God that he has raised up so noble a pillar as your Lordship to regain those who are going astray, and put a stop to the pernicious growing Principles of the Quakers.

“Your Lordship may see the copy of our act by Dr. Bray, and I humbly beg your Lordship’s Pardon for giving you this trouble, and take leave to subscribe myself,

“My Lord,

“Your most humble and obedient servant,

“HENDERSON WALKER.”

AN ACCOUNT
OF
MR. BLAIR'S MISSION
TO NORTH CAROLINA.

"I WAS ordained in order to go to the Plantations 12th April, 1703, and then received the Queen's Bounty of £20, and soon after my Lord Weymouth's bounty of £50, upon which I lived in England till the 1st October following, which together with my fitting out for such a Voyage and Country consumed the most part of my money. I had likewise £5 sent me by my Lord of London to Portsmouth, and when I landed in Virginia, I had no more than £25.

"I landed in Virginia 14th January, 1703. As soon as I could conveniently travel, I waited on the Governor, and immediately after made the best of my way into the country where I was bound.

"I arrived amongst the Inhabitants after a tedious and troublesome journey on the 24th. I was then obliged to buy a couple of Horses, which cost me fourteen pounds, one of which was for a guide, because there is no possibility for a stranger to find his Road in that Country, for if he once goes astray (it being such a Desart country) it's a hazard if ever he finds his Road again. Besides there are mighty inconveniences in travelling there, for the roads are not only deep and difficult to be found, but there are likewise seven great Rivers in the country, over which there is no passing with horses, except two of them, one of which the Quakers have settled a Ferry over for their own conveniency, and nobody but themselves have the Priviledge of it, so that at the passing over the Rivers, I was obliged either to borrow or hire Horses, which was both troublesome and chargeable, insomuch that in little more than two months I was obliged to dispose of the necessaries I carried over for my own use to satisfy my creditors.

"I found in the Country a great many children to be baptized, where I baptized about one hundred, and there are a great many still to be baptized, whose parents would not condescend to have them Baptized with Godfathers and Godmothers.

"I married none in the Country, for that was a Perquisite belonged to the Magistrates which I was not desirous to deprive them of.

"I preached twice every Sunday, and often on the week days when their Vestries met, or could appoint them to bring their Children to be baptized.

"I called a Vestry in each Precinct, in my first progress through the country, to whom I gave an Account of my Lord Weymouth's charitable bounty, in supporting my Mission among them, and likewise of the good designs the honourable Society had for them, as I was informed by Mr. Amy that they had settled £80 per annum for the maintenance of two Clergymen amongst them. And likewise a proposal that Dr. Bray desired me to make to them upon their procuring good Glebes he doubted not but that there might be a settlement made for the advantage of the Church, such as there is in the Island of Bermudas, viz. two Slaves and a small Stock in each Precinct, and that to be continued good by the Incumbent to his successor, which will be a lasting Estate to the Church.

"They have built in the Country three small Churches and have three Glebes.

"In the three Chief Precincts there is a Reader establisht in each, to whom they allow a small salary, who reads Morning and Evening Prayer every Lord's Day, with two Sermons, and I took care to furnish them with books from the Library before I came away.

"I remained very well satisfied in the Country till their Assembly sat, which was on 1st March, where I expected they would propose a settlement for my maintenance; and they taking no care of it, together with my then circumstances, which were but very indifferent, Discouraged me very much, and occasioned my first thoughts of returning to England, for I was informed before I went thither that there was £30 per annum settled by Law to be paid in each Precinct for the Maintenance of a Minister, which Law was sent over hither to be confirmed by their Lords proprietors; and it being supposed not to be a competency for a Minister to live on, was sent back again without Confirmation, whereof the Quakers took the advantage, and will endeavour to prevent any such Law passing for the future; for they are the greatest number in the Assembly, and are unanimous, and stand truly to one another in whatsoever may be for their Interest, for the Country may be divided into four sorts of people: 1st, the Quakers, who are the most powerful enemies to Church Government, but a people very ignorant of what they profess; 2d sort are a great many that have no Religion, but would be Quakers if by that they were not obliged to lead a more moral life than they are willing to comply to; a 3d sort are something like Presbyterians, which sort is upheld by some idle Fellows that have left their lawful Employment and preach and baptize through the country without any manner of orders from any sect or pretended Church. A 4th sort, who are really zealous for the Interest of the Church, are the fewest in number, but the better sort of people, and would do very much for the settlement of Church Government there, if not opposed by these three Precedent Sects, and although they be all three of different pretensions, yet they all concur together in one common cause to prevent anything that will be chargeable to them, as they allege Church Government will be if once establisht by Law; and another great discouragement these poor people have is a Governor who does not in the least countenance them in this Business, but rather discourage them.

"Finding it impossible to travel through the Country at that rate I begun, I was resolved to settle in one precinct, but the people all alledging my Lord Weymouth's Charity was universally designed for the whole country,

would not consent to it, which bred some disturbance amongst them, upon which I was advised by some of the best friends of the Church to come over and represent their condition to the Honourable Society, not only of their want of Ministers, but likewise of Inhabitants to maintain them; and their desires, they complying with my necessities, was a powerful argument, considering I was then reduced to my last stake, and knew not where and upon what account to be further supplied. Besides such a solitary, toylsome, and hard living as I met with there, were very sufficient discouragement. I was distant from any Minister one hundred and twenty miles, so that if any case of difficulty or doubt should happen, with whom should I consult? And for my travelling through the Country, I rid one day with another, Sunday only Excepted, above thirty miles per diem in the worst roads that ever I saw, and have sometimes layn whole nights in the woods.

"I will now endeavour to shew you how ineffectual a single Man's labours would be amongst so scattered a people. In the first place, suppose him Minister of one precinct (whereas there are five in the Country), and this precinct as they are all, bounded with two Rivers, and those Rivers at least twenty miles distant, without any inhabitants on the Road, for they plant only on the Rivers, and they are planted in length upon these Rivers at least twenty miles. And to give all these Inhabitants an opportunity of hearing a Sermon, and bringing their Children to be baptized, which must be on the Sabbath, for they want spare time of another day, and must be in every ten miles distance, for five miles is farthest that they will bring their children or willingly come themselves, so that he must, to do his duty effectually, be ten or twelve weeks in making his progress through one precinct.

"You may also consider the distance that the New Colony of Pamlico is from the rest of the Inhabitants of the country, for any Man that has tried it, would sooner undertake a voyage from this City to Holland than that, for besides a Pond of five miles broad and nothing to carry one over but small Periaugers, there are about fifty miles Desert to pass through without any human creature Inhabiting in it. I think it likewise reasonable to give you an Account of a Great Nation of Indians that live in that Government computed to be of no less than 100,000, many of which live amongst the English, and all as I can understand a very civilized people.

¶ "I have often conversed with them, and have been frequently in their towns. Those that can speak English among them seem to be very willing and fond of being Christians, and in my opinion there might be methods taken to bring over a great many of them. If there was no hopes of making them Christians, the advantage of having Missionaries among them would redound to the Advantage of the Government, for if they should once be brought over to a French Interest (as we have too much reason to believe there are some promoters amongst them for that end) by their late Actions; it would be (if not to the utter ruin) to the great prejudice of all the English Plantations on the Continent of America.

"I have here in brief set down what I have to say, and shall be ready to answer to any Questions the Honourable Society shall think convenient to ask me concerning the Country, and shall be both ready and willing to serve them anywhere upon such encouragement as I can live according to my education, after my Lord Weymouth ceases to lay his commands on me.

"I have made a considerable losing voyage of it this time, both by my troublesome travelling in America and likewise by being taken into France, where I was prisoner of war nine weeks, and was forced to make use of my credit for my sustenance, and have lived in the same circumstances since I came to England, without any manner of relief, which has been very troublesome to me, all which has brought me considerably in debt, near £35, and now in no way to pay it, without my charitable Benefactor or the Honourable Society judge my labours worthy a reward."

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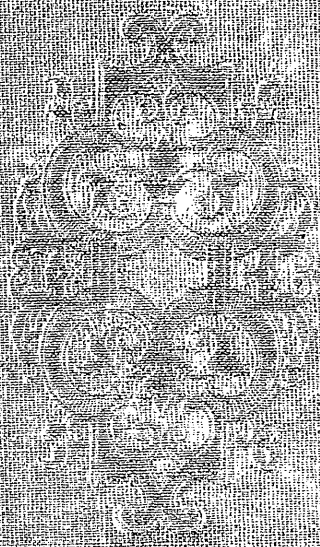
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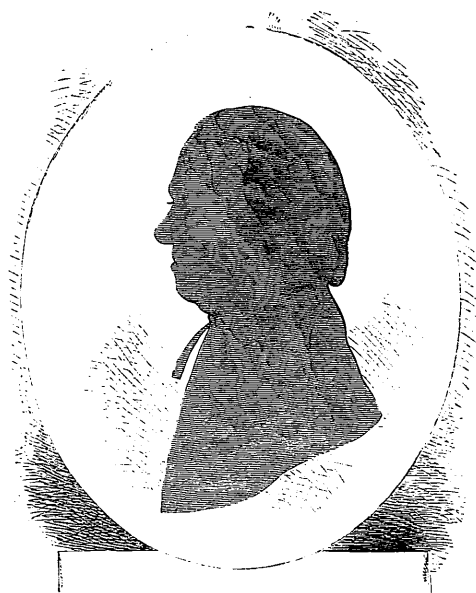
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THE

FRONTIER MISSIONARY:

A MEMOIR

OF THE LIFE OF THE

REV. JACOB BAILEY, A. M.

MISSIONARY AT

POWNAUBOROUGH, MAINE, CORNWALLIS AND ANNAPOLIS, N. S.;

WITH

Illustrations, Notes, and an Appendix;

BY

WILLIAM S. BARTLET, A. M.,

Rector of St. Luke's Church, Chelsea, Mass., and a Corresponding Member of the
Maine Historical Society.

WITH A PREFACE

BY

RIGHT REV. GEORGE BURGESS, D. D.,

Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Maine.

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TO THE
REV. FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D. D. LL. D.,
HISTORIOGRAPHER
OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
IN THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
THIS VOLUME,
BEING A CONTRIBUTION TO THAT
DEPARTMENT OF LITERATURE
WHICH HE HAS SO SUCCESSFULLY CULTIVATED,
IS,
BY PERMISSION,
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,
BY HIS OBEDIENT SERVANT
AND BROTHER IN THE GOSPEL,
WILLIAM S. BARTLET.

AUGUST, MDCCCLIII.



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NOTICE.

IN issuing the second volume of the Collections of the Protestant Episcopal Historical Society, the Executive Committee have to state, that the delay in its publication has arisen solely from the want of promptness on the part of the members of the Society in remitting their annual dues. Their attention was called to the subject in the spring of 1852, by means of a circular issued by the Committee, and sent, post paid, to every member of the Society, and also to every clergyman of the Church in the United States. To this appeal, scarcely any response was made, and it was only by the employment of agents to solicit new, and collect old, subscriptions, that a sum was obtained sufficient to defray the expense of the publication of the present volume.

The Committee are indebted for the portrait of Silvester Gardiner, M. D., to his descendant, Hon. ROBERT H. GARDINER, the engraving having been executed at his expense, and liberally placed at the disposal of the Society. The portrait of Bishop Bass is from a plate engraved some years ago, for the *Evergreen Monthly Magazine*. The Committee have also to express their obligations to the author of the work, not only for the free use of his manuscript, and his exertions in procuring the portraits and other illustrations to the volume, but also for his active aid in increasing the number of the Society's members.

New York, August, 1853.



P R E F A C E .

THE man whose biography forms the main thread of this volume, can scarcely be said to have been eminent in his generation. But both his character and his career were somewhat remarkable: he lived in eventful days; and he left behind him a singular abundance of those manuscript memorials, which bring the manners and the men of any period so visibly before the eyes of posterity.

These materials came to the hands of one with whom to examine, to study, to arrange, to digest them with scrupulous accuracy and indefatigable attention, was a labor of love. The pages of the book itself will sufficiently declare how faithfully every minute pearl of historical fact, whether more or less precious, has been brought to the light of day. They cannot disclose, however, what I can testify, — the vast extent, various contents, and discouraging aspect of that sea of documents, out of which these facts have been rescued.

It is difficult for one who has followed this frontier missionary, both along the banks of his own rivers, and through the autograph record of his struggles, to judge how far others may possibly be interested in such a tale, transferred to other scenes, and to the printed page.

There must be many, however, who will find an attraction in these simple glimpses of New England life, as it was a century ago; these college associations of a Harvard student, whose poverty placed him at the foot of a class which had a Wentworth at its head, and John Adams amongst its members; this experience of the schoolmaster, who exchanges his Puritan home for the rude interior of a man-of-war, and thence emerges into all the bustle of London, to talk with Franklin, and receive the speechless blessing of the dying Sherlock; these walks of the lonely missionary through the woods, and these journeys by water, short, but toilsome, in his pastoral vocation; these patient ministrations amongst his humble flock, interspersed with the recreations of a favorite garden and an ever-ready pen; these overshadowing skirts of the national tempest, reaching even to him, while the expedition of Benedict Arnold, on its slow way towards Quebec, through the wilderness, thins his little congregation as it passes by; these trials of the exiles who, honestly hostile to change, and knowing not how to be silent, leave their home to be overgrown with weeds, and their house of prayer to fall to the ground, and still, after years of separation, cannot but cast a lingering look behind. As a picture of the times which just preceded the Revolution, this book must have its value, even for general history.

To the history of Maine it offers no unimportant contribution; and, in a much inferior degree, it may be subservient to that of Nova Scotia. Some of the local particulars which are here collected, would otherwise have been irrevocably lost; and they will entitle the author to grateful remembrance in the regions with which his narrative is chiefly connected.

This book will also take its place amongst the author-

ities of those who, in a future day, shall trace the early annals of the Episcopal Church in America. It was in the researches to which it led, that the author brought to light those interesting facts detailed in the journal of the colony of Popham, at Sagadahock; the name of the first minister who preached the Gospel in New England, a minister of the English Church; and the erection of the first house of worship, a church or chapel, for the performance of divine service, according to the Book of Common Prayer. Through the delay in the publication of this volume, these facts have become somewhat known already; but they might long have remained unknown, if the manuscripts of Mr. Bailey had fallen into other hands.

The post of Jacob Bailey on the Kennebec, was one which was established and supported by the Christian charity of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and of all the deeds of its beneficence which have lately been commemorated in the review of its century and a half of growth, few were kinder than the effort to supply the means of grace to the poor settlers of Frankfort, otherwise so friendless. There was no encroachment upon sectarian ground: it was a simple work of charity; and the time may come when even this seed, which appeared to be quite trodden down in the struggle of revolution, will be seen to have borne its fruit after many days.

That a considerable portion of the clergy maintained their allegiance to the British crown, may be remembered with regret, but not with shame. There is no cause to blush for a mistaken conscience, or for sacrifices to principles, the highest in themselves, though erroneously applied. Should a crisis arrive, when the citizen of one of the United States shall be compelled to choose be-

tween the commands of his own State and those of the Federal government, the position of those clergymen may then be appreciated. Many of their brethren were on the popular side: the patriarchal Bishop White sustained that side from settled conviction; and, knowing as we now do, the great designs of Providence for our Republic, and the boundless blessings which its establishment has shed abroad, we must lament that good men should have shipwrecked their temporal fortunes, and, for a time, the interests of their communion, by their too tenacious adherence to obligations which the national will had dissolved. We can read of the sufferings of the loyalists without danger lest our sympathies should persuade us to forget the preciousness of our political heritage, or the great deeds by which it was purchased; and this book will cast some light over that painful story.

It would be delightful indeed, did the narrative disclose, in its chief subject, the proofs of a more exalted order of piety. For him it can only be claimed that, in an age of little zeal, and on a remote spot, where he was quite without those incitements of brotherly counsel and society, to which we all owe so much, he strove honestly to fulfil his pastoral duty according to the measure of his age. His own papers reveal strong prejudices; a rather unyielding temper; and some tinge of eccentricity. But they will also exhibit a fidelity, a courage, a sensibility to kindness, and a willingness to labor under discouragement and self-denial, which must win respect, though the example, viewed as that of a Christian minister, be, even in our eyes, far from faultless.

G. B.

Gardiner, Me., August, 1853.

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THE FRONTIER MISSIONARY.

CHAPTER I.

NEAR the north-east corner of the old Bay State, lies the ancient town of Rowley.

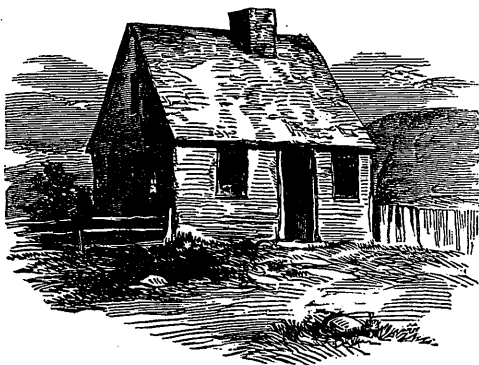
The northerly line of Massachusetts, if it continued in the straight course in which it runs from the westerly border of the Commonwealth, would strike the ocean to the southward of this place, throwing it and the neighboring ancient town of Newbury within the limits of New Hampshire. The dividing line between the two States, however, crosses the Merrimac River, some forty miles from its mouth, and then running parallel with that river at a distance of three miles from it, proceeds in an irregular course, generally in a north-easterly direction, till it meets the sea which washes Salisbury Beach. The townships spoken of, lie, therefore, as it were, in the bow of a parenthesis.

Even now, when the improved facilities of travel have brought Rowley into close connection with other places, it remains a comparatively quiet and secluded spot. Though near the sea, the communication with it is circuitous, and small vessels only can approach any part of the township. There is hardly sufficient water power for the grist-mills, needed by the inhabitants.

If such be the present condition of this ancient settlement, when almost every New England town has greatly increased and wonderfully changed during the last fifty years, it may

well be supposed that a century since, Rowley was a place in which manners and customs, once formed, would continue stereotyped for a long time.

Distant, as it was, a long summer day's ride on horseback from the metropolis; seldom resorted to, either for business or pleasure, by strangers, and the occupation of its inhabitants being mainly agricultural, the stamp which its Puritan settlers affixed upon its society was not only visible, but still sharply defined. A seaboard town, and yet, practically, almost cut off from the sea, it had hardly the resources that are common to most New England communities, and its society resembled more nearly that of settlements far in the interior, than might be expected in a place in which the roar of the Atlantic might be heard in every easterly storm.



[Birth-place of Jacob Bailey.]

In this community JACOB BAILEY,* the subject of this Memoir, was born, in the year 1731, and the following account is in his own language, written when he had arrived at middle age, and after education and travel had improved his mind.

“ In my very childhood, as soon as I was able to read, I was seized with an insatiable desire of travelling, and a boundless

* See note A.

curiosity to visit foreign countries. This inclination I was obliged to suppress, since such numerous obstacles arose to check my ambition; and to prevent me from indulging those desires, which all my acquaintance looked upon as extravagant and romantic.

"When I had completed my tenth year, I found myself an inhabitant of a place remarkable for ignorance, narrowness of mind, and bigotry.

"An uniform method of thinking and acting prevailed, and nothing could be more criminal than for one person to be more learned, religious, or polite, than another. For instance, if one happened to make advances in knowledge beyond his neighbors, he was immediately looked upon as an odd, unaccountable fellow, was shunned by every company, and left to drink his mug of flip* alone on lecture-day night. He was sure to draw upon him the contempt and ridicule of the other sex, and always became the banter of the young females, not only at the frolic and dance, but at the washing tub and spinning wheel.

"Whenever a person began to make a figure in religion, or had the boldness to be more virtuous than his companions, he instantly drew upon him the envy of the old professors, who branded him with the odious names of upstart, hypocrite, and new-light.

"As for all politeness and every kind of civility, except what their great-grandfathers taught them, it was esteemed a crying sin. Thus I have known a boy whipped for saying Sir to his father, when he came from school,—a young fellow severely reprimanded for drinking a health,—and a very pretty girl obliged to live a virgin ten years, for once preferring a gentleman to a plough jogger, and for saluting every body with a courtesy. The old people were so tenacious of the customs of their ancestors, that no consideration could prevail upon them to vary in the minutest instance. This stupid exactness might be discovered in the field, at home, at the tavern, and

* "Flip; toddy made with New England rum."—*Gage's History of Rowley*, p. 269.

even in the meeting-house. Every man planted as many acres of Indian corn, and sowed the same number with rye; he ploughed with as many oxen, hoed it as often, and gathered in his crop on the same day with his grandfather. With regard to his family, he salted down the same quantity of beef and pork, wore the same kind of stockings, and at table, sat and said grace with his wife and children around him, just as his predecessors had done before him.

"At the tavern the same regulation obtained, where it was esteemed impious to venture, except on a training or lecture-day. Upon the former occasion, the good man always bought a piece of sweet cake for his spouse, and a roll of ginger-bread for each of his children; upon the latter, you might see the fathers of families flocking from the house of devotion, with a becoming gravity in their countenances, to the house of flip.

"The young sparks assemble in the evening to divert themselves, when, after two or three horse-laughs at some passage in the sermon, they proceed in the following manner. They send for an old negro, who presently makes his appearance with the parish fiddle, part of the head of it is broken, it is glued together in several places with rosin, has three strings, etc. Now the music begins, which instantly inspires the youths, who lead out the willing fair to mingle in the dance. They hold this violent exercise, till sweat and fatigue oblige them to desist. In this interval, one is despatched to the tavern for a dram, which revives their spirits till midnight, when they separate. They have one excellent custom here, and that is, their constant attendance on public worship. Upon the ringing of the bell on Sundays, every one repairs to the meeting-house, and behaves with tolerable decency till prayers are over. As to singing, the greatest part have renounced their prejudices to what is called the new way, but others continue to place such sanctity in a few old tunes, that they either hang down their heads in silence, or run out of the meeting-house, while their neighbors are singing one of a more modern composition.

"When the sermon begins, every one has the privilege of growing drowsy, about the middle many catch a nod, and

several sleep quietly during the application. These honest people would esteem it a great hardship if they were denied the privilege of taking a nap once a week in their meeting-house.

“ Thus, at the age of ten, I found myself among these people, without any education, without money; and to increase my misfortune, I was bashful to the extremest degree.

“ This disposition had taken such a possession of me, that I was even afraid to walk the streets in open daylight, and frequently, when I have been sent abroad in the neighborhood of an errand, I have gone a mile about through fields and bushes. A female was the most dreadful sight I could possibly behold, and till I was eighteen, I had never courage to speak in their presence. Whenever I had the misfortune to meet one of these animals in the street, I immediately climbed over the fence, and lay obscured till she passed along. And, if a young woman happened to come into the room where I was sitting, I was seized with a trembling, but if she spake, my confusion was so great, that it was a long time before I could recover. But these difficulties, instead of abating my thirst for knowledge, or lessening my unbounded desire for travel, only served as so many incitements to these acquisitions.”

The following is a copy of a letter written in mature life. It will be perceived that it was addressed to a lady. Neither her name, nor the date of the letter, however, are preserved.

“ I was born in a country town on the coast of New England, of honest parents, who, notwithstanding they were extremely industrious, could obtain but a scanty maintenance for themselves and their numerous family.

“ It was my misfortune, from the earliest period of my life, to be bashful to the extremest degree.

“ I was, when a child, even under all the disadvantages of poverty and a narrow education, extremely ambitious, and my curiosity was unbounded, and my thirst for knowledge perfectly insatiable. I was for taking hold of every opportunity

to increase my knowledge, improve my understanding, and to gain intelligence of humane affairs. The means I enjoyed for mental acquirements were indeed very infrequent and slender. I was disposed to pass all my leisure hours in learning, and yet was unfurnished with any kind of books, or any means of acquiring knowledge.

"I was constrained to labor with the most constant and unwearied diligence, and had scarcely time allowed me for needful recreation. However, a season is never wanting to those who are ready to improve upon any occasion. I used to redeem an hour every evening from the small portion that was allotted for my sleep. This, for want of books, I usually spent in scribbling, so that I composed matter upon a variety of subjects, sufficient, I suppose, to have filled several volumes.

"It happened, one evening, after I had, as usual, been employed, just before the hour of repose, with my pen, that I was suddenly called away upon some urgent occasion. In the hurry of my rising, I dropped the paper which I had been using, so that it was taken up the next morning by a person of no small curiosity. He was so pleased with the contents, that he instantly communicated it to the perusal of some others, till at length it arrived at the Parson of our Parish, who was a pious and ingenious gentleman. He was so taken with the performance, that he resolved to pay the author a visit. By some means or other, I gained intelligence of his design, and took care to avoid his conversation, by secreting myself from the knowledge of any person. I took a ramble through a neighboring grove, where I gave my attention to the whispers of the breeze, the noise of the turtles, and the croaking of the frogs, till I thought the time of his visit had fully expired. For, not to dissemble, Madam, I esteemed our minister, in that day, such a great man, that thousands would not have tempted me to come into his presence. Being arrived at my father's, I understood that he had paid the family a visit, and had prevailed upon my father to let him have the instructing me a twelve month, and that without any consideration. Such was his unparalleled generosity!

"This proposal, however advantageous and agreeable, I

found encumbered with insuperable difficulties, for I imagined it impossible to introduce myself to the family without perishing under an intolerable weight of blushes, and the deepest confusion. The day soon approached. I arose in the morning, having never closed my eyes the preceding night, and directed my course to the Parson's. I passed the house, and walked backwards and forwards by it, I think, no less than ten times. At last, a strange and unusual pang of courage and resolution came upon me, and forced me up to the door, but, alas, when I arrived, my heart failed me, and I presently perceived my spirits beginning to sink, till finding that the eyes of a young female in the neighborhood were turned towards me, I concluded, of the two evils, prudentially to choose the lesser, and so instantly entered. I gat over the difficulties of my first address, and was put to learning that very afternoon, and, as I had the good fortune to perceive, greatly to the acceptance and admiration of my master."

No information is to be found of the time spent in his preparation for college. Enough, however, has been stated, to show his great desire for learning, and the serious obstacles he met with in its acquirement.

To the Rev. Jedediah Jewett, Pastor of the First Congregational Society in Rowley, belongs the credit of taking this poor and almost friendless young man from his obscurity, and giving him the opportunity to gratify that taste for learning, of which he has spoken in the foregoing extracts.

CHAPTER II.

THE subject of this Memoir entered Harvard College in 1751, when he was twenty years old.

The reason of his commencing his preparation for college at an age when most young men have completed their collegiate course, appears in the extracts from his own writings, which have already been given.

We can hardly expect to find much that will interest the general reader during the life of an undergraduate. But Jacob's practice of writing, by which, as he has testified, he acquired most of the education he had before he was noticed by Rev. Mr. Jewett, was now very freely followed, and portions of copious daily journals kept by him are still in existence. Most of their contents might have been pleasant to him as reminiscences in after life, and would be valued by his relations and friends. Beyond this circle they possess but little interest. Yet there are some matters in them which may be alluded to, and a few portions of them will be extracted. If but little can be copied from these writings to illustrate the personal biography of their author, still, the glimpses they afford of the state of society at the time, may not be uninteresting in themselves, as well as because they exhibit to us, to some extent, *the influences that helped to form his character at this period of his life*. It would appear, from these journals, that the bashfulness which he formerly felt in female society, and of which he has spoken, (see previous extracts from his writings,) had now entirely disappeared, and that the company of the softer sex was now eagerly sought by him, and highly enjoyed.

• It has ever been a practice for persons to complain of the age in which they live, asserting that religion and morals have deteriorated from their former condition, and, supposing that

their tendency was still downward, to indulge in gloomy forebodings as to the future. We read the writings of divines and others, who flourished two centuries since, and meet with evidences of this belief.

Fifty years later, the complaint is repeated in the books of that time. Another half century furnishes us with lamentations over the degeneracy of the times as compared with those that are past. Doubtless there is reason always to mourn over the disregard that men manifest to their highest good. A thoughtful person can view with no satisfaction the interest which the majority show in perishing trifles. A pious mind, in any age, cannot but be pained at the evidences around him, that "the things that are seen," and "that are temporal," so entirely usurp the place in the heart which should be occupied by "the things that are not seen," and that "are eternal."

Still, we cannot but think that the last one hundred years have witnessed material improvements in the *decencies of society and its minor morals*, and where these are improved, the way of advance in more important matters is made easier.

Some practices were current during the youth and early manhood of Mr. Bailey, that would not now be tolerated. New England society, at that time, in country towns, was harsh and hard. No influences prevailed to refine the manners, and but little existed, around which the finer feelings could entwine themselves. The love of letters was mostly confined to professional men, or to some of those in other pursuits, who had received a liberal education. As a general thing, it was not supposed that females need be taught more than the mere rudiments of learning. Hence, though a few trifling amusements were occasionally resorted to as a means of preventing listlessness, sensual pleasures were the principal ones of that generation.

Modesty prevents more than an allusion to some of the social customs of the time. Suffice it to say, that the intercourse between the sexes in rural districts was frequently of a character so improper, and in many cases so gross, that the present age could hardly believe a plain statement of its

nature, were it not certified by those who lived at that day, and who speak of it as a matter of course.

The subject of this Memoir lived in the country till he was twenty years of age, and he fell somewhat into the habits of those around him. But as a larger acquaintance with the world expanded his views, as the company of females educated in cities, (where no such customs prevailed,) gave him juster notions of the purity of female character, and as Divine grace strengthened in his heart, he saw the nature of the intercourse spoken of in a truer light, and his journals and letter-books show his convictions on this subject, and the efforts he made for reform. To him fairly belongs the credit of having, in early manhood, advanced beyond the age in which he lived, in his ideas of what females were capable of becoming, and the honesty of his convictions was abundantly manifested in his persevering efforts for their improvement in secular and religious knowledge.

Ardent spirits were a common beverage in Mr. Bailey's day, among all classes. The minister, the deacons and the people, all indulged in a practice, now so loudly condemned. Playing cards was nearly as universal. Young men, almost on the point of entering the ministry, did not hesitate to join a party at whist, or other games; and, if after they had been ordained, they scrupled at engaging in this amusement, they did not forbid its being indulged in under their roof. The same may be said of dancing.

A portion of his journal, while he was a college student, illustrates what has been said touching the three last customs. Under date of January 19, 1753, he gives an account of the marriage of a daughter of a pious and orthodox New England clergyman in a country town. "After the ceremony was past," says he, "dinner was prepared, but first I waited upon the gentry with a bowl of lemon punch. * * * * About the coming on of the evening, the younger sort, to the number of about fifty, repaired to the western chamber, where we spent the evening in singing, dancing, and wooing the widow."

The festivities appear to have been renewed at the clergy-

man's house the next day, when several young people assembled. Mr. Bailey says: "Having saluted the bride, we spent our time, some in dancing, the others in playing cards, for the space of two hours. * * * * After dinner, we young people repaired to our chamber, where we spent the day in plays, such as singing, dancing, wooing the widow, playing cards, box, etc."

Thus much for the social habits of that day. Who can deny that they have been much improved in the mean time?

It is with much satisfaction that we make extracts from Mr. Bailey's journals, recording the liberality of certain persons in assisting him to pay his expenses when in college. The Rev. Mr. Jewett was the friend on whom he mainly relied for means to obtain his education. Yet Mr. Jewett probably thought that others ought to share this burden with him.

"*April 13th, 1753.* * * We resorted to Messrs. Cushing and Newman's, (in Boston,) where we were led into a room most curiously adorned with rich and costly furniture. Mr. Jewett, after having entered into some discourse with these gentlemen, easily persuaded them to subscribe £85, O. T., a-piece, for my support at college. From these gentlemen I had an invitation of making free at their house for the future." This bounty, however, added to what other resources he might have, does not seem to have been sufficient to meet his expenses, as we may infer from the following entry in his journal, dated "*Rowley, January 28th, 1754.* This day, meeting with many discouragements, I had almost resolved to fix off to sea, but just as I had the matter in agitation, I had an offer to go to Bradford, where, I hoped, I should find something to divert my mind." On his return, he says, "I called in at (Rev.) Mr. Chandler's, about sunset, who gave me two dollars and a pair of gloves. He also lent me his Hebrew Bible."

The aid of Rev. Mr. Jewett was called in on this emergency. He advised a journey to Portsmouth, N. H., and an appeal to several persons in that town and its vicinity. Jacob, being furnished with letters of introduction, travelled to Portsmouth, and the extracts from his journals, which follow, show his success.

"*Portsmouth, N. H., January 31st, 1754.* Waited upon Col. Gilman with a letter. * * * Called on my classmate, John Wentworth. * * * Rev. Mr. Langdon came home, to whom I presented my letter. He, upon receiving it, spake very discouraging of my receiving any donation in the town. However, he promised, the next day to use his interest among the gentlemen.

"*February 1st.* * * * The first place we called at was Wentworth's, who welcomed me to his house, and gave me his hand. After I had been there a few minutes, his son, my classmate, made his appearance, and invited me to dine with him, as did his father, and Mr. Langdon being invited also, I consented. At our coming away, Mr. Wentworth gave Mr. Langdon £12 for me. After this, we went to Sen'r Col. Sherburne's, where we were courteously entertained, and invited to dine with him. He, at parting, gave me £2. * * About nine o'clock, having obtained leave of Esq. Bell, I set out for New Castle with the Esq. and three of his men, to row us down. It happened to be a very cold, dark, and stormy night; the rain that fell froze upon everything, but though we were much fatigued, yet we arrived in about half an hour at New Castle, it being about three miles from Portsmouth. On our arrival, Esq. Bell sent one of his men to show me to (Rev.) Mr. Chase's. When I arrived there, about ten o'clock, I found myself perfectly unknown."

Mr. Chase read the letter of recommendation from Mr. Jewett. He "made some of his servants bring me some supper, and very courteously entertained me all night."

"*February 2d.* After prayers, we all breakfasted upon chocolate, etc. When we had done, Mr. Chase called me into another room, and gave me £3, Hampshire money. Afterwards, we fitted out for fishing, and getting into Mr. Chase's boat, we, six in number, launched off, but changing my mind, I was set on Kittery shore. Being come to land, I travelled over the rocks up to (Rev.) Mr. Stevens's. Here I found his wife and he at dinner, and, upon invitation, sat down with them. After dinner, Mr. Stevens * * gave me a dollar, and a recommendatory line to Sir William Pepperell. About two, I

set out with the intention of seeing York, but before I had got to Sir William's plantation, an exceeding thick fog arose and covered all the land, so that it was almost impossible to discern the ground right under one's feet. I at length, however, found the knight's house, and went first into the kitchen, where I waited till after he had dined, and then sent in my letter. When he had read it, he immediately sent for me, upon which I was conducted into the room, where I found Sir William and his lady and three gentlemen. The knight ordered me to sit down, and turned me out a glass of wine, upon which I drank his health. After I had been, with the gentlemen present, long entertained with an account of his travels in England, he sent a young scribe in his employ with a couple of blacks up to Portsmouth in a boat, with whom he ordered me a passage. Accordingly, about three o'clock, we prepared for our voyage, and being ready to set off, Sir William's lady presented me with a dollar, and he gave me twenty shillings in copper, and came with us down to the water, where he helped me into the boat, and charged me to come and see him, if I came that way again."

* * * * *

"*February 4th.* This day I proposed to set out on my journey home, but after breakfast Mr. Langdon and I took a walk, first to Mr. Wiberd's, the Counsellor, and then to Mr. Wiberd, the Merchant, who gave me two dollars a-piece. During my stay here, I was taken aside by my lady Wiberd, who bestowed upon me a yard and a half of very fine muslin and a pair of fine worsted stockings. As we were going out of Mr. Wiberd's we met Mr. Jefferds, who gave me nine livres.

"From hence we proceeded to Col. Atkinson's, who out of his generosity put me into the possession of £12, Hampshire money, and treated me very handsomely. From Col. Atkinson's we directed our course to Capt. Warner's, where I had an opportunity of seeing his son, who, together with his father, treated me very handsomely. Being invited to dinner here, we refused and retired home, where we dined; after which, Capt. Warner's son came to Mr. Langdon's, and after we had sat together a little time, I took my leave of Mr. Langdon's

family. On coming out of the door, Warner came with me and gave me four dollars and a bundle of things, worth £10, O. T. I have the greatest reason to esteem this town, for the kindness I received from several of the principal inhabitants, especially from Mr. Langdon and his family, who all treated me with peculiar respect."

* * * * *

"*Cambridge, February 27th.* This day received by Mr. Warner, from (Rev.) Mr. Langdon, of Portsmouth, the remaining part of my bounty from those gentlemen I had lately visited, consisting of one pistole, one English shilling, and forty-two livres."

The following portion of Mr. Bailey's Journal, containing an account of a journey which he made into Connecticut, will no doubt prove interesting.

"*July 9th.* This day having concluded to accompany Wm. Brown and his sister to New London, I arose early in the morning, about half after four o'clock. * * I went to Stockbridge's chamber, who rose and went with me to Stedman's after a horse, but not prospering, Elliot rode down to Charlestown and got one of Mr. Wood. * * Brown coming from Salem about eleven o'clock, we left Cambridge a little before twelve. Before we had gotten a mile I perceived I had left my great coat, upon which I rode back after it, and took leave of several scholars. I set out again, and rode directly for Bills, in Jamaica, where I found Mr. Brown and Miss Nabby at dinner with Capt. Fry, of Andover, and several others. After dinner we three sat together upon the benches before the door awhile, and about two o'clock set out on our journey, riding through Jamaica, a pleasant parish in the upper part of Roxbury, beautified with the country seats of several gentlemen. We came at length to Mr. Walter's, a very pleasant seat, where gravity and elegance seemed to reside. A number of venerable trees spread their agreeable shades and formed a fit habitation for the Muses. Here Wm. Walter invited us in, but being on our journey we refused.

The next town we came to was Dedham, where Ames, the

famous astronomer lives. Just as we passed his house, an accident happened. The swivel, by which the horse drew the chair, came loose and fell against his heels, which set him in a terrible fright. He ran with all his might and took the chair into a small gate-way, but people being near at hand, delivered my young companions from impending ruin.

DEDHAM.

No remarkable place, but an old settled town. Some good buildings towards the middle. It contains three parishes. The roads are good, but pretty much up hill and down. After we repaired our chair, we rode as far as one Dean's, where we diverted ourselves with the affected gentility. Leaving Dean's, we rode next through Walpole. Here we had the company of a Bristol man who had that day come from Ipswich.

WALPOLE.

A country town, most remarkable for valleys and hills. The roads, as in Dedham. The Rev. Mr. Payson is the only minister here. About dark, we came into Wrentham, where we put up. After we had brought in all our things, we took a room to ourselves, drank a bowl of beverage, and supped upon lamb steaks. At supper, we had a very odd creature to wait upon us. By its dress, we judged it to be of the feminine gender. We made some sorrowful reflections upon the situation of our chums at college, but soon began to divert ourselves with Madam Dean's affected gentility. Miss Nabby made several pert observations. After we had considered the great deliverance we had experienced in the day time, with wishing each other good night, we betook ourselves to repose. Miss Nabby lodged in our keeping room, Mr. Brown and I in a chamber overhead.

July 10th. This day arose in the morning. We had the company of the Bristol man I had seen before on our journey for several miles; but before we set out, we breakfasted upon tea.

WRENTHAM.

A pretty, plain country town; one or two very neat buildings; one meeting-house, and a very good road through the

greatest part of it. After we had rode about an hour, we came into Attleborough, and at length passed by Parson Weld's,* where we had a view of his numerous file of daughters, out of a chamber window they were in. We made some stop, afterwards, at one Parson Clark's. The people begin now to appear in a sylvan roughness; the women in these parts wear but little more clothing than what nature gave them. The first stage we made was at Day's, where we called to change our horses, but not succeeding, we departed, and proceeded towards Providence, riding through a very sandy plain.

ATTLEBOROUGH.

A long country town, situated at a vast distance from the Eastern Ocean, the land somewhat poor and sandy, the roads very good, and but one meeting-house. We came, at last, to Sekonk, which is three miles in length and breadth, having upon it neither tree nor stone, but an exceeding fine road, and glorious riding.

REHOBOTH.

We saw nothing here but a large plain: it is the southern bounds of the Massachusetts dominions. After we had passed Sekonk Plains, we came over a large bridge, built exceeding high from the water; the stream itself has a prodigious fall. About twelve o'clock, we came to Providence, and put up at Capt. Ones, where we dined, and had a very good entertainment. A very pretty young lady belonging to the family, afforded us her company, and entertained us with her pleasant conversation. The house is furnished in a very elegant and curious manner. After we had rested ourselves and horses, we proceeded and rode through the delightful town of Providence, and passed the great bridge.

PROVIDENCE

Is a most beautiful place, lying on both sides of a fine river, in the north-westerly part of Rhode Island government. The

* Rev. HABIJAH WELD, who died in 1782, after a ministry of fifty-five years. His family consisted of four sons and eleven daughters.

north-east side is built with two streets of painted houses, above which lies a most delightful hill, gradually ascending to a great distance, all cut into gardens, orchards, pleasant fields, and beautiful enclosures, which strike the eye with agreeable surprise. Here is a fine harbor for shipping, and a well-built bridge across the river. The town, on the south-west side, is not less elegant than on the north-east, but contains two or three streets of well-built houses. Providence is a very growing and flourishing place, and the finest in New England. Here is one meeting-house, one church, one Quaker and one New-Light house for divine worship. The inhabitants of the place, in general, are very immoral, licentious and profane, and exceeding famous for contempt of the Sabbath. Gaming, gunning, horse-racing and the like, are as common on that day as on any other. Persons of all professions countenance such practices. From Providence we rode over a fine plain to Patuxet.

PATUXET

Is a pretty compact place, built upon a small river, over which is a very good bridge. From Patuxet we rode through a long desert country, in which we saw but a very few people, and they almost as rough as the trees. In riding through a great wood, we came, at length, to a house about the bigness of a hog-sty. The hut abounded in children, who came abroad to stare at us in great swarms, but were clothed only with a piece of cloth about the middle, blacker than the ground on which they trod. Miss Nabby began to wonder that the poor creatures did not wholly abandon themselves to sorrow and despair, but I told her, I made no doubt they enjoyed themselves as much in their savage condition, as she in all her elegance and plenty.

We spent some time, as we rode along, in reflecting upon the unhappy circumstances of these people, and upon the different genius and inclinations of the humane mind. At length, being very dry, we came to another house, where we lit, and coming in, found five or six women in a little room without any floor, either over head or under foot. Two or three of them appeared to be young. One of the young

wenches made haste to draw us some water, while another made search for a drinking vessel, and the last gave us water in an old broken mug, almost as ancient as time, of which we drank very sparingly. After we had rode a few miles further, we came to Major Stafford's: his daughter came to wait upon us, (after absconding for about two minutes,) barefooted and barelegged, with a fine patch and a silver knot on her head, with a snuff box in one hand, and a pinch at her nose in the other. She afforded abundance of amusement for my polite companions, which stuck by us longer than anything we met with in our journey. This Stafford's is in Warwick, about fifty-seven miles from Boston.

WARWICK.

A poor, but old-settled town, something populous, on the borders of Greenwich; the inhabitants very profane and unpolite. From Stafford's we proceeded to Wolcot's, just upon the edge of Greenwich.

At Wolcot's, where we put up in the evening, we were much interrupted by the town's people coming in, cursing and swearing, and drinking, but at supper time we had a room by ourselves, and enjoyed freedom of conversation, which turned chiefly upon the affairs of the preceding day. Our supper afforded us some amusement, it being fried chickens and currant sauce, sweetened with molasses; but nothing so much diverted us as the Major's daughter. *Observation.*—Those people who, to appearance, live the most mean and sordid lives, seem to enjoy themselves, and to take as much pleasure in life as those who pass away their time in the most elegant and sumptuous manner.

July 11th. This day arose very early in the morning, and, having fitted for our journey, we took our leave of Mr. Wolcot, and set out through Greenwich; but before we had got a mile it began to rain.

GREENWICH

Is a very populous shire town, and built compact on the north side. Here is one Baptist meeting-house and a court-house,

handsomely erected. A little to the southward of the town, is a road, for about half a mile, upon a high ridge, with terrible valleys on both sides. We rode through Greenwich and a part of North Kingston, over a prodigious rocky way, about eight miles, while rain fell in impetuous showers, and made no stop till we came to Thomas, the Quaker's, where we dried ourselves, and breakfasted upon tea. We found here the dirtiest tavern-keeper that ever was made; all the while I stopped, I could scarce get a word out of him. After we had sufficiently dried our things, we called for our horses, and proceeded on our journey to North Kingston, through a most terrible rocky country.

NORTH KINGSTON.

A very scattering town, exceeding stony, but very fertile, abounding in grass and the best of pasturage. After we had got to South Kingston, we came to the foot of Tower Hill; the ascent to the top is very easy, though from the first rising it is, for four miles, scarce perceivable. In many places the country on each side affords a most beautiful prospect. The ascent, within a mile of the top, grows something steep and rough. About one o'clock we reached the top of the hill, which is a large spacious plain, on which is built a handsome town, the houses exceeding neat, and the gardens very elegant.

SOUTH KINGSTON.

The whole township seems to contain Tower Hill, which is the most fertile part of New England. It is in the north-eastern part of the Narraganset country; the compact part of the town is on the top of the hill, about ten miles from Newport, the metropolis of the government. The descent from the town, on the eastern side next the water, is very steep, but exceeding pleasant, diversified with little fields, grass enclosures, and artificial groves. Near the Presbyterian meeting-house, which stands in the centre of the place, are several large and elegant buildings, with some of the finest gardens in New England. The people here live in better position than in most parts of the government. South Kingston is a shire town, and is favored with the presence of the General

Assembly once in two years. Having gained the top of the hill, we put up at Esq. Case's. Here we were received with the utmost civility and complaisance; the Esq. came out himself and welcomed us to Tower Hill, led us into one of his best rooms, and served us out wine with his own hands. Dinner being ready, we sat down, and had everything in the best order, with the most genteel attendance. We found the Esq. to be a prodigious loquacious gentleman. Among the rest of his discourses, he told us that all the gentlemen that travelled the road from South Carolina to Piscataqua, had heard of his fame, and made his house a stage, and by a few subtle hints, gave us to understand that he was a Justice of the Peace. After dinner was over, we rose from the table, he clasped his wife round the neck and kissed her, and going into our room, he entertained us with a long relation concerning the family of the Browns, and then offered to wait upon us down to the eastern part of the hill, to see a man that hung there in gibbets, but we, excusing the matter, went ourselves to the bottom of the hill, and there beheld the sorrowful sight. The man had been there three years already, and his flesh was all dried fast to his bones, and was as black as an African's. The crimes for which he was thus exposed were robbery and murder. He was taken in the southern parts of Long Island with some indisposition, and being in a strange place, one Jackson, a leather merchant, travelling with his horse, found him and took pity on him, and being on his way to Rhode Island, bore all his expenses, and treated him with all the tenderness of a father, for near one hundred and fifty miles, till he arrived at South Kingston, where, being together about the dusk of the evening, near the great Quaker meeting-house, he took up a stone, and with it struck him down. Jackson begged his life, and that he might, and welcome, take all his wealth; but he cursed and then fell upon him, and in a few minutes made full despatch of his innocent patron; thus we have at once an horrid instance of ingratitude. After we had looked at the sorrowful spectacle a long time, we travelled up the hill with some difficulty. Being returned to Case's, we paid our reckoning, and set out. After we had rode about a mile, we came

to the great Quaker meeting-house, which is an odd-built thing, having a kitchen and chimney at one side. Towards the southern part of Kingston, we came to a hill, over which the road lay, with a shocking ledge of rocks. With much difficulty we passed it, and continuing our journey till about the dusk of the evening, we arrived at Capt. Hill's, in Charlestown, after a very tedious day's journey, through abundance of wet and heat. After we had taken in our things, we were entertained all the evening with divers stories concerning the adjacent country, by Capt. Hill's son. He gave us an insight into the laws and customs of the government, and told us that the natives inhabited those parts, to the number of five or six hundred, and that their king was a young man about eighteen years of age, at school at Newport. The place where we lodged is about five miles from the place where the great Narraganset battle was fought, in which so many soldiers expired.

July 12th. This morning, about daybreak, it rained very hard. We arose with the sun, soon after which it cleared away, and looked like a pleasant day. We breakfasted upon tea, and calling for our horses, set out. After we had rode about a mile and a half, we passed by the Narraganset king's house, which stands in the midst of a spacious plain. It is a building two stories high, with two or three rooms on a floor, but of late it is miserably fallen to ruin. We had a sight of two of the king's sisters, who came to the door as we rode by. We still continued our progress through the Narraganset country, till we came to the borders of Westerly.

CHARLESTOWN.

Charlestown lies in the centre of the Narraganset country, in the place where the great battle was fought, so famous in our New England annals. The land here, for several miles near the sea-coast, is very smooth and pleasant. Here are some of the finest groves, fields, and grass enclosures, of any in New England. We rode through Westerly, meeting divers Indians, till we came to Weeden's, where we stopped till eleven. The weather being very hot, our horses were much overcome,

but having refreshed both them and ourselves, we proceeded over a terrible rough and uneven way, till we came to a river, which divides Rhode Island from Connecticut.

WESTERLY

Is the most western town in Rhode Island, and is a miserable, poor, unpopulated place, having nothing in it but woods, mountains and rocks, yet near the separating river there are divers good farms. The inhabitants seem to be, a great part of them, Indians. After we had passed the river over a large bridge, we came into Stonington, up and down whose rocky hills we rode, till coming to a great tree, we sat awhile under its shade and refreshed ourselves, after which we proceeded several miles, till at length Miss Nabby missed her capuchin. I immediately rode back, and found it within a mile of the place where we first missed it. After we had rode over some of the most frightful hills, so that Mr. Brown and his sister were obliged to alight and walk on foot, and so steep were they in places, that it was hardly safe riding down upon a single horse, having gone through a great deal of difficulty, we came to Col. Williams's. Here we made a small stop, and though almost overcome with the tediousness of our journey, we left the tavern, and with it Stonington, about four o'clock.

STONINGTON

Is in the south-east part of Connecticut. It is bounded on the north by Preston, on the east by the Narraganset River, on the south by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the west by Groton. It is so called, from the great abundance of stones found here. The roads here were formerly almost impassable, but by reason of their being, for the most part, movable, it continually grows better. The town is all under improvement, and divided into stately farms. Here are four large parishes. Having got into Stonington, we came into the borders of Groton, of all places the most horrid and shocking. After we had rode about four miles, over a prodigious continuation of rocky mountains, we ascended upwards for some time, till at length we began to descend, and came to a smooth place, as we thought, at the

bottom of the hill over which we rode; but coming to the end, we found before us a most horrible precipice, encumbered on every side with impenetrable thickets. The road we had to pass was excessive steep, over one entire chain of rocks, which descended like a winding pair of stairs, having the steps at an enormous distance from each other. Mr. Brown and his sister got out of the chair, and I dismounted for their assistance. Having fastened my horse, one took hold of the chair and the other of the horse, and with a vast deal of trouble, having followed the path which led to almost every point of the compass, we came to the bottom in safety; but bringing down my horse, he had like to have broken his neck. After this, we rode by a Quaker meeting-house, then by a Presbyterian, and at length, about half after eight o'clock, we came to the ferry, and thus, after a tedious journey of four days, we arrived in New London. The roads were so excessively bad, that we were four hours and a half in riding the last eight miles. It was past eleven before we had crossed the ferry and got to Mr. Winthrop's. Mr. Brown and his sister were received by the whole family with all imaginable expressions of joy and satisfaction. After supper, we betook ourselves to repose.

GROTON.

Groton, the last town through which we passed, is bounded on the north by Norwich and Preston, on the east by Stonington and Preston, on the south by the Atlantic, on the west by the River Thames, which divides it from New London. It is a prodigious mountainous place, and may justly be reckoned to exceed all others on account of rocks. One thing remarkable here, is a bridge made of one entire stone. Here are two Dissenting meeting-houses, one Church, and one Quaker. The inhabitants live very scattering, except on the river, where is a street, comfortably built, inhabited by Baileys. The people differ exceedingly in religious sentiments. Mr. Johnson, one of the ministers, records in his parish no less than fifteen different religions.

Observation.—I have had an opportunity of seeing divers of the natives of the country in their own proper habits, on

their own land, and in the exercise of their peculiar customs; and, upon the whole, one may justly conclude, that there is a great analogy between them and the people in the first ages of mankind; those who lived in the golden age, so much extolled by the poets, in their dress, religion and manners, were very similar to our Indian neighbors.

July 13th. This day arose, and found myself in a new country. After I had dressed myself, went down and breakfasted with Mr. Winthrop, his lady, and Madam Hide, together with our own company. Then Mr. Brown and I walked out into the garden, which is very pleasant. A little to the north of Mr. Winthrop's house, is a fish pond, at the upper end of his orchard, from which a canal is cut, about two feet wide, and near as deep, to the bottom of the garden, which lies on the south side of the house, so that this delightful stream falls through the orchard, house and garden; at the lower end of which, next to the south, stands a mill, which is carried by this cascade. The garden itself is beautifully laid out, and abounds with a variety of herbs, fruits and flowers. After I had a view of all the works round the house, and had some conversation with Mr. Winthrop, I concluded to pay Mr. Jewett a visit. Accordingly, about eleven o'clock, I set out, and after riding ten miles, over a vast number of holes and rocky mountains, I came to Mr. Jewett's, where I was very civilly received. Mr. Jewett's consort lay very sick of the mumps, or some other strange disorder. She had this afternoon two doctors, who concluded that she might recover. In the afternoon, Mr. Jewett being absent, I spent a great deal of time in walking in the fields, and in his garden. His house stands in a very sightly place on the eastern side. We may see, from the doors, near forty miles down country. Mr. Jewett's family is not large. He has one son and one daughter, and a negro servant. After we had prepared for bed, we all betook ourselves to repose.

July 14th. This day being Sunday, I arose, and having breakfasted, we prepared for meeting. At about eleven o'clock we rode to the house of God, where I had an opportunity of

hearing Mr. Jewett preach for the first time, though he had often preached before in Rowley, yet I always happened to be absent. After meeting, at noon, went to Esq. Raymond's, where I found Nathan Jewett, a young man that had formerly been at Cambridge, with Rev. Mr. David Jewett, at my chamber. Here I met with a great deal of civility, and was invited from among the company to go into another room, where I sat down and refreshed myself. The people in these parts never make a dinner on Sunday between meetings, but have a feast at night.

Observation.—The people in the north parish of New London appear to be civil and courteous, though not so polite as in Boston. They are not so showy in the meeting-house as in most country parishes in Boston government. Some of the young women wear hoops, though very much out of fashion. Their clothes are commonly good, though not very elegantly put on. The greatest part of the men wear caps: a wig is scarce to be seen in the whole meeting-house. Many children wear no stockings or shoes.

July 15th. * * * * After we had rode several miles, we came to Paugwank, or North Salem, a place belonging entirely to my class-mate, Brown. Here we saw several fine fields of wheat and other grain. Here are thirty tenants to near twelve thousand acres of land. When we had gotten out of Paugwank, we rode through a thick wood in the edge of East Haddam, till we came to Lyme. The first house we came to was Capt. Jewett's, the father of the young persons with me. As soon as we had hung (*sic*) our horses, we went in where the people were. When they came to know from whence I came, they treated me with a great deal of courtesy and kindness. The Capt. gave me an invitation to tarry at his house as long as I pleased. In a few minutes dinner was made ready and brought in, and set upon a long table, round which the whole family gathered, both white and black. His family consists of nine sons and one daughter, two maids, and five to six negroes, in all, sixteen persons. After dinner I went out with Mr. Jewett and his sons, to see them work at a little distance from the house. Here I beheld an abundance of

good land, cleared and well brought to, upon which grew the finest grass, wheat, and Indian corn, I have seen anywhere this year, yet still I fancied it an unpleasant place, on account of its being encumbered with rocky and mountainous land, and having not above two houses in sight. * * * * *

Observation.—I am greatly astonished when, upon travelling, I find the people of this country to carry their resentments against each other so high, on account of the differing sentiments with respect to a few unessential modes and trifling circumstances in religious worship, at the same time all, of every persuasion, indulge in a custom, not only notoriously indecent, but the most subversive of the reverence due to the Grand Object of adoration, and this is a practice they have in all their assemblies of persons of both sexes meeting together, by which practice they utterly overthrow the design for which religious societies were established; that people should make music vocal only, or vocal and instrumental together; and that they should imagine the reading of prayers, or the pronouncing of them extempore such a serious matter of conscience, and admit, universally, an evil from which so many fatal practices flow, to be practised with impunity in the congregations.

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MOHEGAN.

July 22d. This town is about three miles square, lying in the north-east corner of New London. It has in it two hundred or three hundred Indians, who live in almost the primitive mode, and many of them cannot speak a word of English. They wear a dress the most savage and barbarous that ever I saw. The Rev. Mr. Jewett formerly brought them to his meeting, but the separate preachers have of late drawn them away. However, Mr. Jewett continues to instruct them once a fortnight, in the principles of the Christian religion, at the public school-house, where they have a master to teach their children. * * *

As an instance of the prodigious plenty in these parts, the last year, I shall mention a short story my landlord told me, viz.: a man in his near neighborhood, having buried upwards

of eighty bushels of potatoes last fall, made proclamation in the spring, that if any person would be at the trouble of digging them up, he should have them all for his reward, but nobody appeared to undertake it, which is not only an instance of great plenty, but also of the wealthy circumstances of the people in town.

WETHERSFIELD.

July 23d. This paradise is seated on the western bank of Connecticut River, on an extended plain, gradually rising from the first range of squares, and reaching two or three miles each way, contains a vast number of the neatest buildings in America. The main street is most curiously levelled, and runs from north to south, as straight as a mathematical line, in the midst of which is a meeting-house of the oddest form. On the eastern side, between the buildings, and among a beautiful range of orchards, lay a ravishing continuation of gardens. The western head forms the front of several most elegant squares, all richly occupied with gardens and little fields of onions. But it is impossible for my tongue to utter, or my pen to describe the beauties of this place. In short, the town, by reason of its vast variety of squares, cut into most elegant forms, and decorated with the profusion of nature and art, the neatness and beauty of its edifices, and, lastly, by reason of the most delightful scenes and ravishing prospects, opening themselves to view on every hand, may well be thought to equal, if not to exceed, those blooming fields where the first and only happy pair of humane kind confessed the gentlest passion, and united in the softest embrace."

Mr. Bailey continued his journey through Hartford, Springfield and Worcester, to Cambridge, where he arrived on the 27th day of July. His journal is full and minute to the day spoken of, but enough, perhaps, has been already extracted from it.

In August of the same year, Jacob was again in Portsmouth, and a guest of Rev. Mr. Langdon. Among others, he called on Mr. Wiberd, who, at his leaving, gave him "a pair of fine worsted stockings." Afterwards, calling on Mr. Haven,

he dined with him, by invitation. "He took me into his study, and presented me with a view of all his books, and, in the end, gave me three volumes in quarto."

It would seem that greater liberty, in some respects, was allowed to students in Harvard College during Mr. Bailey's residence there, than would now be granted.

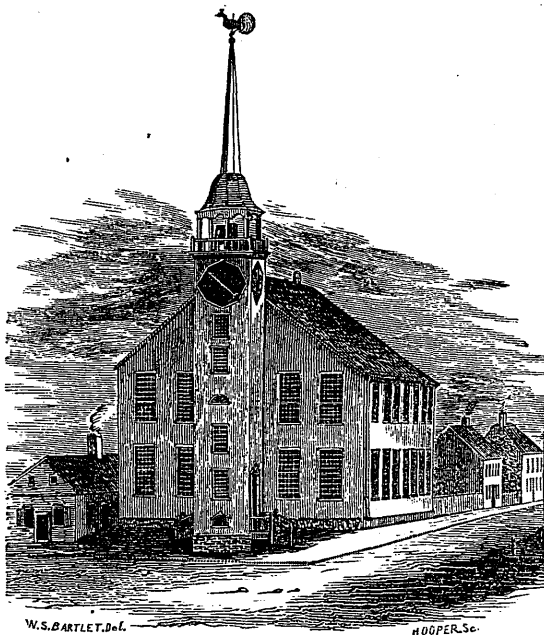
"*May 1st, 1753.* This day arrived here about three o'clock, Mrs. Page, and also Mrs. Nabby Thompson, of Mystic, and Mrs. Sally Clerck, of Boston, who came first to my chamber and then to Goodhue's, where we drank tea; after which we went into the library, and then to my chamber, where I entertained them with a bowl of punch. Then Goodhue, Powers and I waited upon them back to Goodhue's chamber, and after drinking, conducted them to their chair, and there left them."

The following is deemed worthy of being extracted:

"*Newbury, August 11th, 1754.* This day being Sunday, we were, very early in the morning, called upon to arise. Upon coming down, we found a table prepared, and everything in order for drinking tea. After breakfast and prayers, we made ready for meeting, which began about ten o'clock. I sat this forenoon in (Rev.) Mr. Parsons' pew, it being the second highest in the meeting-house. The next to ours was Dr. Sayres', and round about I saw several persons of my acquaintance, who came to me after meeting, and invited me to their habitations, but being pleasantly engaged with Mr. Parsons' family, I refused their kindness. At noon we drank a dish of tea again, after which Jona., Sam. and I retired into the orchard, where we spent the time in too much jollity for the season. In the afternoon we attended public worship. Here, as Mr. Parsons was urging the use of examination, and telling the people 'that some could not endure such doctrine, who, though they had never told the minister of it, had hinted as much to others,' upon which a certain fellow starts up and cries, 'Sir, you had better call me out by name;' at which the whole congregation fell into laughter. After meeting, we returned to Mr. Parsons', and had a good supper in readiness, after which I had some discourse with Mr. Parsons upon divers subjects,

but more especially concerning those rambling preachers, that have dispersed themselves over these parts of the country, to the great disturbance both of ministers and people. Night

[The following cut is a view of the meeting-house in which the incident, spoken of in the preceding page, took place.]



NORTH WEST VIEW OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
NEWBURYPORT, MASS.,
IN WHICH ARE DEPOSITED THE REMAINS OF
REV. GEORGE WHITEFIELD.
INCLUDING A DISTANT VIEW OF THE HOUSE IN WHICH HE DIED,

coming on, S. Parsons, Jonathan and I, having obtained leave of his father, took a ramble through the town. We presently lit with N. Parker and some other young sparks, who joined themselves to our club. After we had visited several streets and lanes, we went into D. Bailey's, where we tarried a few

minutes, and in going down to the water, we had the pleasure of seeing Thos. Bradbury and his cousin, Miss Betty Nolton, who invited me to visit them the next day. Accordingly, I engaged to breakfast with them the next morning, and so left them, after which we returned, through several streets and lanes, to Mr. Parsons'. The old sir and his lady being now gone to repose, we three went into the kitchen, as far remote as possible from the intelligence, where we discoursed a long time with the maid, a young Scotch girl. We at length arrived at such a degree of extravagance, as to say whatever came uppermost. About twelve or one o'clock, the old lady arose and came into the room where we sat, which at first gave us some alarm, but finding her design not unfavorable, we contented ourselves till she retired, when we again resumed our merriment, till near two o'clock, when we went to rest.

OBSERVATIONS.

Observation 1.—Guilty persons seldom need any accuser but their own conscience, or witnesses beside themselves to declare their crimes. He must be endued with a more than common share of impudence, who can hear the aggravations of his guilt displayed without some evident tokens of regret in his countenance.

Observation 2.—We should ever be cautious of exposing our weakness before servants, and persons of low stations in life, especially if we have any regard to being extensively useful."

Mr. Bailey was graduated at Harvard College in 1755. Among his classmates were JOHN ADAMS, afterwards President of the United States; John Wentworth, who received the honorary degree of LL. D. from the Universities of Oxford and Aberdeen, and from Dartmouth College, was royal governor of the province of New Hampshire and of Nova Scotia, and was created an English baronet in 1796; William Browne and David Sewall, both of whom became judges of the supreme court of Massachusetts, and the former afterwards royal governor of Bermuda; Tristram Dalton, U. S. Senator;

Samuel Locke, S. T. D., President of Harvard College in 1770; Rev. Wm. Willard Wheeler, Missionary of the Church of England at Georgetown, Me.; Charles Cushing, Jonathan Bowman, and others.

In a letter to his parents just before his graduating, he speaks in terms of warm gratitude of the interest which the Rev. Mr. Jewett of Rowley had taken in him. He says: "He not only instructed me for this society, (i. e. Harvard College,) but has since been almost the procuring cause of all my benefactions; and now, whilst in Boston, he spared no pains to advance my interests. I have everything of clothing for commencement, but only a pair of stockings and a gown."

In a letter to Rev. Mr. Jewett, about the same time, he expresses the like sentiments, and from his giving Mr. J. a statement of the amount due from him to the college, it is probable that he expected from that gentleman a loan of the sum necessary to discharge this debt.

CHAPTER III.

THE importance which has always been attached to an universal system of education in New England, is well known to all who are familiar with her history.

From its earliest period provision has been made by law that every male* child should have the opportunity of acquiring at least the elements of learning at the public expense.

This provision, of course, has called into requisition the services of many persons competent to teach. And as the school districts were of necessity small in area, their number was far greater than that of the towns. Till of late years, school teaching has not, as a general thing, been a distinct profession.

The business was formerly followed mainly by college students of small means, in their vacations, or by graduates, who finding that a debt remained for their education, taught school in order to earn the money for discharging that debt.

The profession to which they looked was at the end of their course as school-masters, and their continuance in this employment depended entirely on the length of time necessary to free them from pecuniary embarrassment.

Mr. Bailey followed this course. He had tried it during his second year in college, but from the short time in which he was so occupied, it would seem that it did not prove as profit-

* It is believed that no provision was made for the *public* instruction of *females* till in the latter half of the last century. It is stated that females were not admitted into the public schools in Boston till the year 1760, and then at first only six months by way of experiment.—[Barnum Field's statement at Teachers' Convention, Worcester, Mass., 1849.]

Previous to the year 1789, boys only were taught in the public schools of Boston. In the year 1789 measures were taken for "instructing both sexes."—[The Public Schools of Boston, *Boston Almanac*, 1849, pp. 83, 84.]

able as perhaps he expected. The following extracts from his journal relate to this matter.

Rowley, Jan. 13th, 1753. This day concluded first upon my keeping school. The young men to find wood, and the young women candles, and pay besides three shillings O. T., per week. This school was kept, as he says, in the first place in his sister's house, and was afterwards removed to ———.

Jan. 15. The number of those who put themselves under my instructions is, males, seventeen; females, ten; total, twenty-seven.

The school soon terminated, for under date of February 9th, he says, "this was the last day of my keeping school here."

We next find him engaged in this employment shortly after completing his college course. He had left his native province and was in that of New Hampshire before August of this year, discharging the duties of his temporary profession. He thus writes to a friend at Cambridge:

"KINGSTON, N. H., Sept. 29th, 1755,

"*To Mr. E. Sparhawk, at Cambridge:*

"*Dear Sir:—*My lot is cast in a solitary region, where I have no amusement, except reflecting on that pleasant situation I enjoyed a few weeks ago. I call it solitary, not so much for want of company, as because I can find no agreeable companions in the place where I reside.

"It is a large town, consisting of three parishes, and this has no less than three hundred and sixty houses. My school has belonging to it above one hundred and fifty scholars, mostly young.

"My time passes away unchecked with variety. I have no scenes of novelty to amuse, nor changing appearances to entertain my fancy. To-day opens the same prospect with yesterday, and to-morrow I expect nothing new.

"I feel, however, the same temper towards Mother Harvard, which the Israelitish Songster had towards his beloved Jerusalem, when seated beside the waters of Babylon.

"But instead of rivers or purling streams, I find nothing

except stagnating pools and dismal swamps; instead of willow groves, the usual repose and retreat of disconsolate lovers, I have only ranges of shaggy hemlock, and the gloomy shades of lofty pines. As to a harp; never having used one, there remains none, either to hang up, or to fling away. The people in these parts have no very musical ears, so that an un-Harvardinium story will serve instead of a song."

A letter which Mr. Bailey addressed to his classmate, John Adams, dated Kingston, Dec. 29th, 1755, brought one in return, of which a fac simile is here given.*

The nature and amount of his labors at this time may be learned from an extract of a letter that he wrote, dated Jan. 4th, 1756:—"That you may have some conception of my situation, I must endeavor to acquaint you with my constant employ. From nine in the morning to the hour of ten in the evening, I am constantly in my school, except two hours, viz., from twelve to one, and from five to six. And this will by no means appear incredible, if you only consider the numbers under my inspection.

"My constant attendants in the day are fifty, not to reckon divers others, who come and go as the weather permits: in the evening I have between thirty and forty, so that the whole number of my scholars, at least, are eighty-five. I have three grammarians, sixteen arithmeticians, and thirty-two writers."

Shortly after this Mr. Bailey writes thus to a friend:

"Though whole forests of pine and hemlock cover this country, and oftentimes disturb our senses with their sooty influence, yet all this is but a trifle, compared with the sooty conversation which fills every private apartment, as well as more public places of resort. Not only taverns and retailers' shops are infected with the most poisonous balderdash, but even the temples of the Most High are not exempted.

"The late terrible dispensations of heaven have no manner

* A fac simile of a letter from John Adams, afterwards President of the United States, is given opposite. This letter is thus superscribed: "To Mr. Jacob Bailey, Schoolmaster, at Kingston, N. Hampshire. These."

Dear Sir

Jan 20 1841

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th inst. in relation to the purchase of a lot of land in the town of New York. I have the honor to inform you that the same has been purchased and the title is now in the hands of the proper authorities. I have the honor to inform you that the same has been purchased and the title is now in the hands of the proper authorities. I have the honor to inform you that the same has been purchased and the title is now in the hands of the proper authorities.

our pleasures of ~~the~~ ^{an} ~~accidental~~ ^{accidental} ~~by~~ ^{by} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~total~~ ^{total} & complete ~~happy~~ ^{happy}
and my ~~had~~ ^{had} ~~received~~ ^{received} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~total~~ ^{total} & complete ~~happy~~ ^{happy}
ness, that all the ~~philosophy~~ ^{philosophy} I can muster can scarce support
the mind the amazing shock! ~~these~~ ^{these} ~~one~~ ^{one} source of plea-
sure is left me still. & that is the ~~source~~ ^{source} of my
sorrows. & the more streams flow from this source
the greater is my ~~pleasure~~ ^{pleasure}. I should be extremely
glad therefore of correspondence with you! &
I promise you I will improve every opportunity of
writing to you. If you see any of my old friends, tell
them I am well & should take a line from them very
kindly. — But I can add no more now, than that I am
your friend & friend

your friend & friend

Yours
—

Pass on all our compliments

Sir,

Henceforth I know not what day
1756.

I reciev'd your favour of Decr 29. about 3 or 4 days after
it was arriv'd. ~~It was~~ The bearer left it at the
Govern & proceed on his journey. So that I despair'd of ever
getting an opportunity of answering it, till this moment. I am
I heartily sympathize with you in your affliction. which I am
the better qualify'd to do as I am confid' myself to a like
place of Torment. When I compare the loss, the delight
some friends of Howard, with the harsh, & barbarous na-
ture of Joubert ~~and~~ that now constant by grate any ears
I ~~can~~ can hardly imagine myself the same body, that
I ~~afford~~ afford to Mr. Matthews' afflictions, and new to in all the

FACSIMILE OF A LETTER FROM JOHN ADAMS TELEGRAPHED TO BRITAIN 1793

1793

My dear Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst. and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Yours, &c.

of effect upon them, except it be to render them more hardened and vile. Drinking, Sabbath-breaking, swearing, and immodesty prevail, and what will be the event, God only knows.

* * * I must tell you that I have the satisfaction of finding several blooming young creatures under my inspection, something inclined to virtue and modesty, but alas, I must leave these dear disciples in a few weeks, and I am afraid that after all they will be ruined by bad example."

February 19th, 1756. Concluded his keeping school at Kingston for the present. A few days after he returned to his native place. While there, he mentions that one "night there was a (religious) meeting at my father's." He adds, by way of observation: "Private meetings tend greatly to keep up the life and spirit of religion in the world, if managed with prudence and discretion."

Mr. Bailey returned to Kingston and opened a *private* school on the 1st of the following March, which, owing to some cause unexplained by him, terminated in about two weeks.

He then made a visit to Cambridge, and says, that on the 19th March "he saw the story of Queen Esther and Haman acted in the college chapel."

A second attempt to establish a private school in his native town, seems to have proved equally unsuccessful, for he records that about April 14 he "set up a small private school in Rowley," and about a month afterwards that he was "out of all employ."

On a journey which Mr. Bailey made to Boston shortly after this, he says, "it was our fortune to fall in with Sir William Pepperell, a familiar gentleman, with whom we had no inconsiderable diversion, till we arrived at Ipswich, at which place we parted."

"On the 16th of June," as his journal states, "there was a general muster through the province, none being excused upon any occasion from making their appearance in the field."

1756 On the 21st of the same month Mr. Bailey went to Hampton, N. H., in accordance with previous arrangements to take charge of the public school in that place. He says: "About

the dusk of the evening, I was visited soon after my arrival by Dominic Weeks and the selectmen, with whom I had a wearisome conference.

"*June 22d.* This day first entered into my school. I found a vast difference between my scholars here and those I had at Kingston. Afterwards he writes: "My situation at Hampton is perfectly agreeable. I enjoy all the satisfaction and delight a person can receive from objects of sense. My lodgings are contiguous to the great road, and surrounded with a variety of entertaining prospects. I am favored with the conversation of scholars, men of sense and learning, and when the gentle shadows of evening approach, a company of easy, ingenuous young ladies afford us their pleasing society to walk abroad into the streets or neighboring fields to view the beauties of nature."

"*July 2d.* This day begin to train my scholars in military exercises. I propose to set apart every Friday afternoon for spelling, and to appoint the boy who remains uppermost after the last word in the appropriated portion, captain, and the other officers successively in order."

Some evidence of the estimation in which Mr. Bailey's services as a teacher were held by the people among whom he now was, will appear in the fact, that when he had been with them about four months, and was solicited to remove to a neighboring town, the citizens of Hampton increased his yearly pay £80, O. T.

The following was evidently intended for publication. Whether or not it ever appeared in print, is not known. It is, however, thought worthy of a place here, for its statement of certain practices prevailing when it was written, and also for the singular theory of the writer as to their cause.

"HAMPTON, Jan. 10th, 1757.

"*To Mr. Fowle, Publisher of the New Hampshire Gazette:*

'Discite non temnere divos.'—*Virgil.*

"It is enough to fill a considerate mind with the deepest horror, to see with what irreverence and inattention many peo-

ple attend sacred worship; they seem to rush into the Divine presence with the same lightness and airy appearance they carry to shows and places of diversion; even in their addresses to the Supreme Majesty of Heaven, when their minds ought to be filled with the profoundest solemnity and the most awful conceptions, how often do their eyes rove unguarded, and wander from one gay object to another, till their hearts become lost to all serious impressions, till some pleasing amusement steals upon the fancy, and warmly engages all their devotion.

"I shall add no more at present, but refer this question to the judgment of sober-thinking men, whether these disorders do not, in a great measure, proceed from both sexes being permitted to mingle in our public assemblies promiscuously?"

In April, 1758, Mr. Bailey's labors, as a teacher at Hampton, were concluded. The following is entered in his journal at that time :

"April 1st, 1758. This being the day I had appointed for any of my scholars who had an inclination to pay me a visit, I had my study almost full from nine o'clock to sunset, during which season I was inspired with many tender sensations. The little creatures who had been so long under my instruction, were exceedingly moved at parting, and the tokens of sorrow which they exhibited, had almost the same effect upon me.

Observation.—Nothing gives a person, I believe, a more sensible feeling, than a separation from those who have, upon every occasion, afforded him their kind instructions."

In speaking of a female acquaintance, whose disregard to sacred things, and even violent opposition and scoffing, had been succeeded by a love and reverence of her Maker, an interest in the spiritual state of others, and an "aversion to all kinds of immodesty and immoderation," then too common, Mr. Bailey observes: "I had an opportunity, of late, to take notice of the Divine power in influencing the hearts of several, in a truly wonderful and surprising manner, which plainly shows, that no human consideration can avail against the efficacious operations of Heaven."

What were the motives which induced him to leave Hamp-

ton, where, he says, he spent nearly two years very pleasantly, he has not stated.

Nor are there any means of knowing how he obtained a school in Gloucester, Mass., to which place he now removed, after a space of two months, in which he was unemployed. His first impressions may be learned from the following entry in his journal:

"*April 10th, 1758.* This day being Monday, first opened my school, but found everything vastly different from what I had before been accustomed to in those regions of rusticity where I had formerly placed my abode. The scholars, I observed, began to use every method to impose upon me, and I presently found myself in a very unhappy situation, on account of my perfect ignorance, both of their characters and the manner of instruction they had been used to under former masters."

After having been in Gloucester nearly two months, Mr. Bailey undertook a journey to Portsmouth, and lodged with Col. Weeks, in Hampton. The next day he went on to the place of his destination. * * * "It being Sunday, we should have found it something difficult to travel, had not the smallpox been in Hampton, so as to prevent the use of their meeting-house. * * We reached Portsmouth just as the bells were ringing for one (o'clock), and came to Col. Warner's, where we met with exceeding handsome treatment. In the afternoon I went to church, but was so overcome with the extreme heat, the fatigues of the journey, and the want of rest, that I should have certainly fallen asleep, had not novelty kept me awake. At evening I returned to the Colonel's, and spent some time in conversation with Mrs. Warner, on the ceremonies of the church."

The next day, he adds: "I went to the printer's, where I engaged him to print a little book for children."

On the fourth of the same month we find him at Exeter, N. H., at the house of Rev. Mr. Odlin, where the association of (Congregational) ministers were assembled. "Here," says he, "I found Mr. Merrill, Mr. Parker, Pike, and others, who came with an expectation of hearing my approbation dis-

course. However, it was with the greatest difficulty I was prevailed upon to overcome my bashful humor so far as to read my discourse. When I had finished, I had the satisfaction to find it well received, and accordingly, after dinner, they gave me an approbation to preach the Gospel. O, that I may be improved as a blessing to mankind, and be an instrument of advancing the Redeemer's kingdom!"

The subject of this Memoir was now a regular clergyman, according to the rules of the predominant denomination. His labors in school teaching, during the three years since he left college, were arduous (as we have seen) and almost unintermitted. Under these circumstances, how he could have the opportunity of acquiring any large amount of theological knowledge, it were difficult to tell. Yet, those "having authority," in his and their view, gave him official permission, publicly, to teach and preach in the congregation. They must also have been satisfied of his personal piety, else they would hardly have consented to his occupying a position in which he would not only be regarded as a guide, but as an example to others.

"*July 19th.* Commencement day at Harvard College. * * About four o'clock in the afternoon meeting began, when I had to ascend the rostrum a second time, and to dispute from this question: Imperium sive hominibus prorsus necessarium sit?"

In the course of a few days, Mr. Bailey again visited Portsmouth. "When I arrived, about sunset, I called upon Mr. Fowle, where I found the little book printed, which I had prepared for children, after which I put up at Col. Warner's, and was very courteously received by him and his lady." On leaving this hospitable family, he received "seven louis from the Colonel, and to the value of as many pounds from his lady, to his own use."

The journeys of which we have spoken above, did not, it would seem, interrupt Mr. Bailey's school at Gloucester, which was kept for him by a friend in his absence.

It certainly appears strange to our present ideas of ministerial conduct, to read an entry in which he records that, being

+ in company on an evening in August of this year, he "played several games of cards."

On another journey, made to New Hampshire, he stopped at Col. Weeks's, in Hampton, on the 13th of August. He says, in his journal of that date: "Mr. Brackett called at the gate, where I waited upon him, and had an invitation to Portsmouth, which he imagined might be greatly for my advantage, as there was a mission vacant for a minister of the Church of England. This proposal wonderfully pleased both me and Mr. Weeks."

The next day found Mr. Bailey in Portsmouth, at the house of his benefactor, Col. Warner. Dr. Brackett interested himself in the matter about which he had spoken to Mr. Bailey in Hampton. But it would seem that, at present, inquiries only could be made, the result of which the Dr. promised to write to Mr. Bailey, after the return of the latter to Gloucester.

Mr. Bailey did not fail, however, to call on Col. Weeks, in Hampton, on his homeward journey—when he says: "I relieved their impatience to hear of my success at Portsmouth." He also called on a classmate of his, in Salisbury, and "acquainted him with" his "designs of visiting England."

On the evening of the same day, being in Rowley, he says: "I visited my parents, where I found my Aunt Bailey, who all cried out upon me when I discovered my resolutions of visiting London for orders; and after all, I found it extremely difficult, with all the arguments I could use, to gain them over to any favorable sentiments concerning the Church of England."

Mr. Bailey, on the next day, resumed his occupation of teaching in Gloucester.

"*October 21st.* This day, at evening, visited Capt. Gibbs, and acquainted him with my business at Portsmouth, who seemed much pleased at the prospect, and assured me that he should see Mr. Brown shortly, himself, in Boston, when he would use his interest in my behalf."

Under date of the 31st of the same month, Mr. Bailey writes to Dr. Brackett, at Portsmouth, N. H., who, it will be recollected, made the suggestion to him, that it might be for his

interest to visit the latter place. Mr. Bailey refers to the above conversation with Capt. Gibbs, and says, that while he engaged to use his interest with Mr. Brown, he "imagines it proper, in the mean time, to have it mentioned to some gentlemen in Portsmouth."

In a letter addressed to a friend, and dated Gloucester, February 26th, 1759, he says: "I was at Hampton the first of this month;" and afterwards, in the same letter: "They have almost made a Presbyterian preacher of me since I saw you."

It is difficult to tell to what this statement refers. Mr. Bailey had, for some months, been made, i. e., "approbated" as a preacher, by a Congregational association. Does the above refer merely to a change of relations from that denomination to the Presbyterian, or a regular ordination as a Congregational minister? And had this anything to do to prevent Mr. Bailey's intention of entering the Church of England? We have no means of answering these questions.

An extract on page 40, has shown that the general ideas of what was proper in ministerial practice were not offended by clergymen who engaged in playing cards, and the subjoined extract will show that the public were equally tolerant with reference to their engaging in another amusement, as much objectionable to our modern notions of propriety.

"Rowley, May 30th, 1759. Towards evening, the actors came together at Mrs. Woodman's, when we attempted to perform the play of the Scapin. The actors were:—

<i>Octavian,</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	J. BAILEY.
<i>Leander,</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	_____.
<i>Gripe,</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	_____.
<i>Thrifty,*</i>	_____.
<i>Scapin,</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	_____.
<i>Sly,</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	_____.
<i>Shift,</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	_____.

WOMEN.

<i>Clara,</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	POLLY P.
<i>Lucia,</i>	.	.	.	.	.	.	ANELIA.

* The gentleman who sustained this character became a clergyman afterwards, if, indeed, he was not one at this time.

"After taking a dish of tea, we all together walked down to the meeting-house, and there diverted ourselves till dusk, then returning, we had an agreeable dance.

"*Hampton, June 3d.* At eight o'clock I went down to (Rev.) Mr. Cotton's, and took breakfast, under the most painful anxiety. After which, I resorted to the great chamber and perused my sermons, viewing, at the same time, with a pensive dulness, those surrounding scenes of beauty I had formerly, with so much pleasure, wandered through; a glorious sun had brightened all the fields, and painted the grass with golden splendors.

"When the bell rung, and we entered the meeting-house, I ascended the pulpit with the utmost agitation of spirit, but was enabled to go through the exercise with greater freedom than I expected. At noon, I had some compliments passed upon me, which were a little disagreeable. In the afternoon, preached from this text: 'And thou Solomon, my son,' etc. I had the satisfaction of having the utmost attention given, the whole congregation appeared serious, and when I came to address those dear young creatures, who had formerly been under my instruction, the concern which became visible in their countenances, affected me almost beyond measure. After meeting, I perceived that my discourses and performances had been greatly to the acceptance of Mr. Cotton. When family prayers were over, I walked up to Col. Weeks's. Here I received a great many compliments on account of my performances. Good heavens, preserve me from the mighty swellings of pride!"

Being in Cambridge on the 19th of July, Mr. Bailey was invited to preach three Sundays in Plymouth, Mass., which invitation he accepted. On the 21st, he began his journey from Gloucester, and reached Plymouth on the evening of the 22d. "The famous Deacon Foster soon paid us a visit, but was, I perceived, under some apprehensions lest I should be a North Shore man, an appellation for Arminians." Mr. Bailey preached both parts of the next day in Plymouth, and left early the following morning for Gloucester.

The following Sunday Mr. Bailey was again in the former

town, and preached all day. "About six o'clock," he says in his journal, "I returned to my lodgings, and repairing to my chamber, endeavored to study, but was prevented, by a prodigious tumult in the street. I looked out of my window, which faced the great street, from whence, to my great surprise, I beheld a vast number of boys and girls diverting themselves in the most noisy manner. At length they entered a ruinous building on the opposite side of the way, and spent the remainder of the day and part of the evening, in playing hide-and-go-seek. This is the more remarkable, as the Plymouth people have always been most zealous pretenders to religion, and still are the greatest sticklers in the country for orthodoxy."

Mr. Bailey fulfilled his agreement by preaching the third Sunday in Plymouth. Mr. Bailey also preached in "Gloucester Old Town," March 25th of this year, and at Cape Ann Harbor the 19th of the following August, as appears by endorsements on a MS. sermon of his, still in existence.

The following letter needs no remark :

"GLOUCESTER, Sept. 24th, 1759.

"*To Rev. Mr. Caner, in Boston :*

"Rev. Sir : — I take this opportunity to return you my grateful acknowledgments for the favor you have done me in lending me 'Potter, upon Church Government.' I have carefully perused it with Bennet's Abridgment, and find all the objections against Episcopal ordination and conformity to the Church of England, answered entirely to my satisfaction. I would still entreat your advice, and should highly esteem the favor of receiving from you any further directions."

In a letter of the same date, addressed to Dr. Silvester Gardiner, at Boston, Mr. Bailey thanks him for the loan of his books, which had proved very satisfactory in determining his future course.

"You will have an opportunity," the letter proceeds to say, "of conversing with Capt. Gibbs, whose generous notice first recommended me to gentlemen of your persuasion. And if you think proper to encourage my proceedings, I shall immediately endeavor after proper testimonials."

Mr. Bailey remained in Gloucester till the 13th of December, to which date he probably kept school in that place.*

A convenient opportunity is afforded, in this stage of his history, to make some observations on his character and acts up to this time.

His early associations and struggles have been pretty fully spoken of, principally in his own language.

Social distinctions were much more strongly marked a century since in New England than now. Even down to the Revolution, (as the writer is informed, by good authority,) the names of the members in the classes in the catalogue of Harvard College were arranged according to the social rank of the parents or guardians of the students.

Mr. Bailey's name stands *last* in the class of 1755. His father was a farmer, a calling now considered as respectable as most occupations, but then placed below many others, which at the present time do not, of necessity, confer any marks of distinction.

But when Mr. Bailey became a college student, he was at once admitted to the society of those who would not have noticed him as "a tiller of the soil."

Thus we have seen him, in his sophomore year, the guest of the reverend clergy and of lawyers of distinction; noticed, on more than one occasion, by Sir William Pepperell, and invited to visit that baronet; and dining with the father of his classmate, John Wentworth, the father then holding the office of Royal Governor of New Hampshire, which was afterwards conferred upon the son, who graduated in the same class with the subject of our sketch.

Mr. Bailey deserves the credit of so discharging his duties during the four years that he taught in different places, that the thoughts of his faithfulness must have been a satisfaction to him during the whole of his after life. Those of his journals and letter-books that remain, afford abundant evidence of his interest, not only in the intellectual progress of his scholars,

* In a letter, written many years afterwards, he says that he "kept the Grammar School at Cape Ann Harbor for about two years."

but also in their manners and morals. To read them, one would suppose that he was engaged in a business to which he had devoted his life, and the labors in which were rewarded with abundance of honor and profit.

Many letters to his female scholars are preserved. The mere fact that the master would write to his pupils, must then have been considered as a remarkable condescension. These letters are not mere didactic compositions, excellent in themselves, but from their form not likely to be interesting to youth, but they show a wonderful degree of ingenuity, in their *adaptation* to those to whom they were addressed. Some of them contain stories of considerable length, whose object is to show the misery in which wickedness results, and especially some forms of wickedness peculiar to the time, and but lightly regarded. A publication of these writings would do honor to the head and heart of their author.

The schoolmaster also tried to refine the minds of his female scholars, by lending them such books as he thought conducive to that end. And from the mention he makes of his reading to them the works of suitable writers, it is fair to infer that his conversation with them was frequently of a higher character than that which at that time often marked the intercourse of parties in similar relations.

It is not intended here to speak in detail of the religious character of that portion of the last century, which is now under notice. But it is confidently believed that the piety of Mr. Bailey was as deep and genuine as that of most other church members and ministers of the time. That a religious man, and more than all, a minister, should in these, our days, play cards, engage in private theatricals, drink wine and punch, and occasionally dance, would destroy his influence, and subject him to discipline. But the very fact that these things were then done *without any concealment*, and with no apparent consciousness of their impropriety, shows, in the absence of all other proof, that public opinion on these matters, was different then. And we have other evidence to satisfy us that this view is correct. At this time it must be remembered that Mr. Bailey preached for Orthodox ministers and congrega-

tions, and no exception was taken to practices which must have been known.

• The Plymouth deacon "was under some apprehensions, lest Mr. Bailey should be a North Shore man, an appellation for Arminians;" but the time had not then arrived for inquiring the minister's views on Total Abstinence; being satisfied whether he knew how many cards there were in a pack, or knowing whether he had ever worn the sock or buskin. These were evidently trivial things in the eyes of that generation. That the latter part of the Lord's day should be desecrated by the noise and sports of children in the public street, and near Forefathers' Rock, "frightened not the town from its propriety." Church members and officers were too much intent on metaphysical questions, to concern themselves much with the works by which, as the Scriptures assure us, a true faith may be discerned.

Mr. Bailey was one of the many who have left the ministry of the different denominations, and entered that of the Episcopal Church. It would be interesting to know his motives. Unfortunately, however, the series of his journals and letter-books at this time is broken. Could these missing documents be recovered, much light might be shed on this change. We learn, from those that remain, that it was not till nearly three years after he had graduated, that he ever attended the services of the Church of England,* for he speaks of the "novelty" of what he witnessed in the church at Portsmouth, N. H., and that this novelty prevented his falling asleep from the combined effects of the heat, fatigue, and want of rest. His conversations with Mr. Warner and Dr. Brackett, of that place, doubtless had some effect. He had interviews with the Rev. Arthur Brown, Rector of Queen's Chapel. From what we can learn, however, the influence and exertions of Capt. or Esq. Gibbs, of Gloucester, were most efficacious in determining Mr. Bailey to change his religious relations. In several parts of his journal this gentleman is spoken of in

* The corner stone of Christ Church, Cambridge, Mass., was not laid till 1760, five years after Mr. Bailey graduated at Harvard College.

terms of warm approbation. Mr. Bailey records his first meeting with him in the following words :

"*April 20th, 1758.* This evening had an interview with Esq. Gibbs,* who behaved towards me with a degree of complaisance I had always been unaccustomed to, though, I must acknowledge, I have had my share even of extraordinary caresses from several persons, who have been in exalted stations. I was pleased with this gentleman's aversion to rusticity and profaneness."

Mr. Bailey's letter to Rev. Mr. Caner, then Rector of King's Chapel, in Boston, has been given in full, and also extracts from his letter to Dr. Silvester Gardiner, at that time senior warden of the same church. Both these gentlemen loaned books to the subject of this Memoir, and undoubtedly had conversations with him on the subject of the Church. Beyond what has been mentioned, the materials for knowing the progress and means of the change in his religious opinions, do not now exist. But it is the candid belief of the writer, that Mr. Bailey was qualified to discharge the duties of a minister to any Orthodox congregation over which he might be called to settle.

* The writer of this Memoir has been able to obtain but scanty information respecting the gentleman spoken of. The following was politely communicated by John J. Babson, Esq., in a letter, dated Gloucester, May 16th, 1851 :

"I can only, at the present moment, say a word of Mr. Gibbs. Of him all my knowledge may be expressed in a very few words. He first appears in Gloucester on the occasion of his marriage, November 30, 1727, to Mary, daughter of Thomas Sanders, a shipwright, who lived an obscure life here, but whose descendants, for three or four generations, emerged into considerable notice. * * * * *

"Mr. Gibbs was a merchant in good standing, taking little part, I suppose, in town affairs, as I do not find his name often mentioned in connection with any public business.

"No children are recorded to him, and, I think, there is no doubt that his marriage was unproductive of issue.

"Mr. Gibbs is one of the few whose death is given by our Town Clerk, in office at his decease : — 'Daniel Gibbs, Esq., died March 21st, 1762, in the 61st year of his age.' 'Mrs. Mary Gibbs, wife of Daniel Gibbs, Esq., died January 17th, 1769, in the 60th year of her age.'"

CHAPTER IV.

MR. BAILEY left Gloucester, for Boston, on the 13th December, 1759. As he walked the whole distance, he was obliged to stop one night on the road. He lodged at Norwood's tavern, in Lynn. Speaking of the company which he found there, he says: "We had among us a soldier belonging to Capt. Hazen's company of rangers, who declared that several Frenchmen were barbarously murdered by them, after quarters were given, and the villain added, I suppose to show his importance, that he 'split the head of one asunder, after he fell on his knees to implore mercy.' A specimen of New England clemency!

"*December 14th.* This morning we arose with the dawning light, and travelled on towards Boston. The wind blew from the N. W., and the weather was excessive cold. I presently found myself unable to proceed on my journey, which Mr. D. observing, he was so kind as to let me ride to the ferry, while he travelled on foot.

"The sun had been risen about an hour when we arrived at Winnisimmet, but it was almost ten before we made Boston. * * * I then proceeded to Dr. (Silvester) Gardiner's, but, to my sorrow, found him very sick, and in such a situation that he could not be spoken with. This put me under a great disadvantage, as the ship, I was informed, would infallibly sail within a few days. I perceived, however, that the Dr. took notice of my affairs in the intervals of his disorder. His son, Jeremy, was heartily disposed to promote my interest, and engaged to see my business settled to my content. * * In the afternoon I visited (Rev.) Mr. Caner, who advised me to proceed immediately to Cambridge, for proper testimonials from the President and Fellows of the college, especially with regard to my conduct while I was a member of that society.

"*December 15th.* About ten o'clock I arrived at college, and entered those walls, where I had formerly resided with so much satisfaction. * * I waited upon the President.* He kindly invited me into a parlor, and behaved towards me in a genteel and obliging manner, not only before, but after I had manifested my request. When I desired some testimonials of my moral conduct at college, he answered with mildness, and told me that a diploma would be the most advantageous thing I could possibly carry from that society, and added, that it should cost me nothing for the seal. I thanked him, and returned to college, after which a freshman waited upon me with a copy of a diploma. * * * About three o'clock I waited again upon the President, who behaved towards me not only with incivility, but a kind of barbarous roughness. Notwithstanding the weather was extreme cold, he caused me to tarry in an outer kitchen for near half an hour, without any fire to mitigate the prevailing severity, and finally refused to give me any testimonials, although it was well known that I was never punished for the breach of any college laws. He, however, signed my diploma, and sent me to the gentlemen of the corporation for the like favor.

"About six o'clock I waited upon Mr. Caner, and was constrained to give him the disagreeable news of my unsuccessful journey to Cambridge. Upon which he declared, with some emotion, that all my affairs were entirely confounded, and that it would be next to impossible for me to act with success. This afforded me a great deal of uneasiness, till he informed me that he had drawn my recommendatory letters to the society and his lordship, the Bishop of London; and now, says he, if you can prevail upon the ministers of this town to sign these letters, you may possibly succeed, but if they refuse, nothing further can be done.

"These discouragements whetted my industry, and made me careful to lose no time. I proceeded directly to Dr. Cutler, who readily put his name to the papers, as did likewise Mr. Troutbeck, to my great satisfaction.

* Rev. Edward Holyoke, A. M.

"December 16th. This day being Sunday, went to Christ Church. Dined with Dr. Cutler. * * In the evening, waited upon Mr. Caner, where I found Mr. Apthorp, who did me the favor of signing my letters. I was very much pleased with his conversation, and that modesty he discovered in proposing his sentiments.

"December 17th. Called, in the evening, upon Parson Hooper,* who behaved towards me with a great deal of complaisance. After looking over my testimonials, he declared them sufficient, but, nevertheless, refused to set his name to my recommendatory letters, objecting, that Mr. Caner had drawn them up without sufficient caution.

* * * * *

"December 21st. This day, attended prayers, and dined with Mr. Caner. This gentleman has, upon every occasion, shown me an infinite deal of kindness. May Heaven prosper all my benefactors! * * * *

"December 26th. This morning, waited upon Mr. Paxon, who engaged to use his interest with the commander of the Hind in my behalf, for a passage to England.

* * * * *

"January 6th, 1760. This morning, early, received orders from Capt. Bond, to wait upon him the next day at his lodgings. After church, went into Mr. Caner's, and tarried till dinner, but having received an invitation from Mr. Paxon, I waited upon him, was politely received, introduced into a fine parlor among several agreeable gentlemen. I found here the famous Kit Minot, Mr. McKensie, and one Mr. Stuart, a pretty young gentleman. I observed that our company, though chiefly upon the gay order, distinguished the day by a kind of reverent decorum. Our conversation was modest and perfectly innocent, and I scarce remember my ever being in any company where I could behave with greater freedom. After attending divine service at Trinity Church, and hearing a sermon by Rev. Mr. Hooper, I waited upon Mr. Caner, and received from his own hands into my custody, those letters of

* Rev. William Hooper, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston.

recommendation which he had prepared to his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, his lordship the Bishop of London, and the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

* * * * *

“January 10th. * * Towards evening the boat appeared. In the boat’s crew I discovered a young man, whose appearance and behavior pleased me more than all I had seen. I immediately applied to him for advice, and he courteously answered, that it was my best way to go directly on board. Accordingly, the boat was loosed in a few minutes, and I found myself floating upon the water. In our way to the ship we met Capt. Bond in a small schooner, returning towards the shore. He desired me, with all the insolence of power, to step into the schooner, while he entered the boat and proceeded to land. The wind blowing strong, it was some time before we could get on board the ship. At length, with difficulty, I clambered up the sides, and found myself in the midst of a most horrid confusion. The deck was crowded full of men, and the boatswain’s shrill whistle, with the swearing and hallooing of the petty officers, almost stunned my ears. I could find no retreat from this dismal hubbub, but was obliged to continue jostling among the crowd above an hour, before I could find anybody at leisure to direct me. At last, Mr. Letterman, the captain’s steward, an honest Prussian, perceiving my disorder, introduced me through the steerage to the lieutenant. I found him sitting in the great cabin. He appeared to be a young man, scarce twenty years of age, and had in his countenance some indications of mildness. Upon my entrance, he assumed a most important look, and with a big voice demanded to know my request. I informed him that I was a passenger on board the Hind, by the permission of Capt. Bond, and desired that he would be civil enough to direct me to the place of my destination. He replied, in this laconic style: ‘Sir, I will take care to speak to one of my mates.’ This was all the notice, at present, from these great nothings. But, happily, on my return from the cabin, I found my chest and bedding carefully stowed away in the steerage. In the

mean time, the ship was unmoored, and we fell gently down to Nantasket.

"The cold was extreme at this season, the wind blowing hard from the north-west, and what added vastly to my affliction, was the disagreeable conversation around me. I spent an hour in walking under the half-deck, during which time I observed a young gentleman at a distance, walking, with a pensive air in his countenance. Coming near him, he advanced forward, and in a courteous manner invited me down between decks, to a place he called his berth. I thanked him for his kindness, and readily followed him down a ladder into a dark and dismal region, where the fumes of pitch, bilge water, and other kinds of nastiness almost suffocated me in a minute. We had not proceeded far before we entered a small apartment, hung round with damp and greasy canvas, which made, on every hand, a most gloomy and frightful appearance, but a little superior, in my imagination, to the infernal abodes, where darkness and horror remain unmolested. In the middle stood a table of pine, varnished over with nasty slime, furnished with a bottle of rum and an old tin mug, with an hundred and fifty bruises and several holes, through which the liquor poured in as many streams. This was quickly filled with toddy, and as speedily emptied by two or three companions, who presently joined us in this doleful retreat. Not all the scenes of horror about us could afford me much dismay, till I received the news that this detestable apartment was allotted by the captain to be the place of my habitation during the voyage! I endeavored to soothe the melancholy ideas that began to intrude upon my mind, by considering that I should, through the permission of a favorable Providence, shortly be in brighter regions.

"Our company continually increased, when the most shocking oaths and curses resounded from every corner, some loading their neighbors with bitter execrations, while others uttered imprecations too awful to be recorded. The persons present were: first, the captain's clerk, the young fellow who gave me the invitation. He was born in Northampton, about sixty

miles from London, and was educated to the stationery employment. I found him a person of considerable reading and observation, who had fled his native country on account of a young lady to whom he was engaged; but his parents, for certain reasons, appeared so violently against the match, that he was prevented from marrying. He would sometimes get drunk, and at other times behave in a most unaccountable manner. Second: Another was one John Tuzz, a midshipman, and one of my messmates; he proved a good-natured, honest fellow, was apt to blunder in his conversation, but too frequently gave it a dash of extravagant profaneness. Third: Another of my messmates, named Butler, was a minister's son, who lived near Worcester, in England. His mother was a Bailey, and himself a descendant from Butler, the author of *Hudibras*. He appeared to be a man of fine sense, considerable breeding, a stiff Jacobite; his language, upon all occasions, was extremely profane and immodest, yet nobody seemed a greater admirer of delicacy in women than himself. My fourth companion was one Spears, one of the mates, a most obliging, ingenious young gentleman; he informed me that the captain had recommended me to him, and that he should endeavor to make the passage as agreeable as possible, and accordingly he treated me, upon every occasion, with uncommon civility and kindness, and was as tender of me in my cruel sickness, as if he had been a brother, and what I most valued him for, was his aversion to swearing and obscenity. Fifth: One of our company, this evening, was the carpenter of the ship. He looked like a country farmer, drank excessively, swore roundly, and talked extravagantly. Sixth: Another was one Shephard, an Irish midshipman, the greatest champion of profaneness that ever fell under my notice. The sacred name, at every word, was uttered with the strongest emphasis, and I scarce ever knew him to open his mouth without roaring out a tumultuous volley of stormy oaths and imprecations. After we had passed away an hour or two together, Mr. Lisle, the lieutenant of marines, joined our company. He appeared about fifty years old, of a gigantic stature, and quickly distinguished

himself by the quantities of liquor he poured down his throat. He also was very profane.

“About nine o’clock the company began to think of supper, when a boy was called into the room. Nothing in human shape did I ever see before so loathsome and nasty. He had on his body a fragment only of a check shirt, his bosom was all naked and greasy, over his shoulders hung a bundle of woollen rags, which reached in strings almost down to his feet, and the whole composition was curiously adorned with little shining animals. The boy no sooner made his appearance, than one of our society accosted him in this gentle language: ‘Go, you * * rascal, and see whether lobscouse is ready.’ Upon this the fellow began to mutter and scratch his head, but after two or three hearty curses, went for the galley, and presently returned with an elegant dish, which he placed on the table. It was a composition of beef and onions, bread and potatoes, minced and stewed together, then served up with its broth, in a wooden tub, the half of a quarter cask. The table was furnished with two pewter plates, the half of one was melted away, and the other, full of holes, was more weather-beaten than the sides of the ship; one knife with a bone handle, one fork with a broken tine, half a metal spoon, and another, taken at Quebec, with part of the bowl cut off. When supper was ended, the company continued their exercise of drinking, swearing and carousing, till half an hour after two, when some of these obliging gentlemen made a motion for my taking some repose. Accordingly, a row of greasy canvas bags, hanging overhead by the beams, were unlashed. Into one of them it was proposed I should get, in order to sleep, but it was with the utmost difficulty I prevented myself from falling over on the other side. Here I endeavored to compose myself, but had no rest this night, except a few uneasy snatches.

“*January 11th.* In the morning I awoke with ten thousand dismal apprehensions ringing in my ears, which gave me a very melancholy idea of my present situation, but being sensible that I must, for some time, endure it, I arose and put on as

much cheerfulness as possible. We expected to sail every minute, till evening, when, the wind becoming unfair, we were obliged to continue still at anchor.

"*January 12th.* This day began to reconcile myself, in some measure, to my new method of living. Nothing remarkable happened, except that the captain and officers endeavored to conceal a negro servant, belonging to Capt. Ellis, of Beverly, but Mr. Ellis, understanding his business, recovered his servant by authority.

"Towards evening, several passengers came on board, viz.: Mr. Barons, late Collector, Major Grant, Mr. Baron's footman, and Mrs. Cruthers, the purser's wife, a native of New England. After some considerable dispute, I had my lodgings fixed in Mr. Pearson's berth, where Master Robant, Mr. Baron's man, and I, agreed to lie together in one large hammock.

"As the Sabbath approached, I critically observed the behavior of our people, but found not the least respect paid to the approaching season by one person on board.

"*January 13th, (Sunday.)* This day spent in a very disagreeable and scandalous manner, without any kind of divine worship. Our people, instead of keeping the Sabbath day holy, passed it away either in diversions or quarrels. * * * This evening the barge returned from a cruise to one of the neighboring islands, when Mr. Glover, the lieutenant, and Mr. Pearson, gave an account of the following adventure. They came to a house where lived a man, who, in our country dialect, is called a substantial farmer; he had several pretty young daughters, whom he had taken great pains to educate. They could not only read and write, but understood letters to a considerable degree of perfection. Every lady admired their innocence, modesty, and decent behavior, but the neighboring youths, in general, imagined themselves too inferior to offer their addresses to these excellent virgins. Mr. Glover and Mr. Pearson, however, had the happiness, by means of laced clothes, and loud, rattling oaths and imprecations, to get introduced to their company. They followed their suit with all expedition, and, in less than two days, seduced and ruined a couple of fine creatures, the one about sixteen, the other about

eighteen years old. That this was really true, the following accident discovered. As Mr. Pearson was taking something out of his pocket-book, he dropped a paper that I took up and read, which was as follows:—

“‘DEAR SIR:—’Tis with the utmost regret I am forced to part with you, and shall have many a sorrowful hour till you return.

“‘I cannot think you will ever be so cruel as to forget one who has sacrificed my innocence, and, I fear, my happiness, to your pleasure.

“‘Pray let me hear from you before you sail.

“‘I am, sir, yours forever,

“‘SALLY.’”

Five days passed, after the events recorded in the last extract, and found the fleet still at anchor in Nantasket Roads.

“*January 19th.* This morning, almost before daylight appeared, I awoke with the clangor of trumpets and the noise of whistles, and the bustling of all hands upon deck, by which I perceived that the ship was, at last, unmooring, and that we were preparing to sail. This instantly drove me from my repose, upon the quarter-deck, where I found a most serene and pleasant morning. In less than an hour, the whole fleet was under sail, and enjoyed a gentle breeze till we had sailed some leagues to the eastward of the lighthouse. Our fleet consisted of seven sail, viz.: the Hind, a twenty-gun ship, the Maria, the Ruby, the Molly, the Genoa Packet, the Galley, and the St. Paul. I stood with a melancholy feeling, to see the New England shores grow further and further distant, till the tops of the mountains, and, at last, the whole country, entirely disappeared. The wind quickly died away, and it was perfectly calm for an hour or two, which gave us some fearful apprehensions, but towards evening it sprang up a little to the eastward of south. It blew fresh, and we were obliged to keep the ship close hauled to the wind, which caused a great motion, and I presently was obliged to repair to my hammock, extremely sick, and so continued all night.”

The daily occurrences of the voyage are related with more or less minuteness. Mr. Bailey mentions several acts of kindness and attention to him on the part of the petty officers of the ship, but which were, nevertheless, accompanied with much that was unpleasant and repulsive. Thus, they with whom he dined, by invitation, one day, "tried to tempt him into some fashionable excesses, and as the acquaintance increased, were perpetually criticising his conversation." On one occasion he dined with the doctor of the ship, who did not hesitate to express Deistical, and even Atheistical, opinions.

He states, in his journal, after he had been at sea a few days, that "at this season I was much emaciated with sickness, and oftentimes not less disconcerted at the abominable profaneness that everywhere prevailed, more especially in the apartment to which I had the misfortune to be confined."

The following is gladly inserted, as it makes the captain of the ship appear in a more amiable light than previously: "I cannot help taking notice of the kindness of our captain to me, which, though conferred with a good deal of insolence, yet was exceedingly comfortable to me in my reduced condition, since he ordered his servant to send me something every day from his table."

After a terrific storm,* which nearly proved the destruction of the ship and all on board of her, their ears were saluted, on the morning of Feb. 16th, with the joyful cry of *land!* "Such was my satisfaction," says our voyager, "at the sight of the British shores, which I had so long sighed for in my native country, that I could not forbear shedding tears upon the occasion. * * Exactly at twelve o'clock we came to anchor between St. Helens and Spithead, it being completely, to an hour, twenty-eight days, from the time we weighed anchor at Nantasket. The next day, (Sunday,) about eleven o'clock, the barge was hoisted out, and the captain, with Mr. Barons and

* Mr. Bailey subsequently speaks, in his journal, of the accounts which the newspapers contained, of the disasters occasioned by this storm. The *Hind* was signalized by the *Ramilies*, a ninety-gun ship, on the 15th inst. That very night, this ship was shipwrecked, and of a crew of seven hundred and thirty-four persons, only twenty-five escaped with their lives.

his attendants, were preparing to land at Portsmouth, when I requested leave of our haughty commander to visit the shore, but he returned me answer, with all the insolence of tyranny, that 'I must wait for the return of the boat.' This disappointment raised my spirits to a prodigious degree, but I was constrained to vent my disappointment in silence. I took, however, a social dinner with the doctor, the purser, and his agreeable consort, after which, Mr. Major, a young gentleman who had conveyed his chest on board the Hind, but was disappointed of a passage, joined our company. Towards evening he was disposed to return towards Portsmouth, and having a large boat alongside, I requested the favor of accompanying him to the shore, which he readily granted. Having taken my leave of all friends in the ship, I left it with the greatest satisfaction, but not without a strong inclination of seeing again those who had been companions in so many dangers. In our way to the harbor, we passed by a vast number of ships, either lying at anchor, or getting under sail. In less than half an hour we landed on the strand, in Portsmouth, which was covered with a great multitude of people, chiefly boys and servants, at their several diversions. This opened to me a new scene, and quickly made me sensible that I was in a country different from New England. The gentleman who came on shore with me was a stranger to the city as well as myself, which occasioned me a great deal of uneasy confusion, since I was not acquainted with any living person. While I stood staring around me in the wildest disorder, a young lad came down to the water, and offered to carry my chest to any place I should direct. I, in a moment, recollected that it might be proper to have it repositied in some wagon-house, till it could be conveyed up to London. Accordingly, he put it down at the Blue Anchor, where I was informed that it would be put into the wagon the next morning."

One of the officers of the Hind had given Mr. Bailey a letter of introduction to a lady who kept a boarding-house in Portsmouth, and immediately on his arrival there, he set out in search of her dwelling. He rambled through the streets, inquiring of many persons where the person lived to whom his

letter was addressed. For a long time he could gain no information, till, at last, "an honest-looking tar" offered to conduct him to the place of his destination. "I made no scruple," says Mr. Bailey, "to commit myself to his direction, especially when he told me that he belonged to the *Diana*, the ship in which Mr. Greateon* took his passage for England." The letter of introduction procured him a welcome, and, at last, he found himself in comfortable quarters, waiting for the first public conveyance to London.

The reader can hardly have failed to remark the difficulties which Mr. Bailey encountered, and the trials to which he was subjected in his efforts to obtain orders in the Church of England. We cannot easily account for the coldness with which he was treated by the President of Harvard College, or the refusal of that officer to certify the acknowledged fact, that his character was unexceptionable while he was a member of that institution. This refusal caused Mr. Bailey much anxiety and trouble, and nearly prevented his obtaining the testimonials required by the ecclesiastical authority in England.

Although the subject of this Memoir found friends who had sufficient influence to secure him a passage in an armed ship, yet, it would seem, he could not obtain decent accommodations on board, and that he was even obliged to share his hammock with the man servant of one of the passengers. The captain treated him with a superciliousness little to be expected from one of a profession with which civility and politeness are uniformly associated. The petty officers of the ship, including the surgeon, appear to have been almost brutes in human shape, who bore the royal commission. Their passenger was an educated man, a licensed clergyman of the Congregational denomination, and the object of his voyage to England was to obtain orders in the Established Church. Yet their profaneness appears to have been unrestrained in his presence; they sought to tempt him into some fashionable excess; they made severe reflections on his native country;

* Afterwards Rector of Christ Church, Boston, Mass.

and, even when he was a guest at their table, they criticised his pronunciation and manner of speaking.

We know not if Mr. Bailey's experience in obtaining testimonials, and on his voyage to England, was a fair specimen of that of other candidates, in general, for holy orders. If it were so, we cannot but admire the perseverance, and respect the strong principle which influenced these young men, not only to sacrifice the time and money necessary to the voyage, and to incur the dangers of the sea, but which could support them under the trial of being associated, for an indefinite time, with unmannerly, drunken, profane and licentious companions. We are sure, that a person of a similar standing with Mr. Bailey, who should *now* take passage in an armed ship, would not suffer as he was compelled to do. The naval service has gentlemen for its officers, and among them are bright ornaments of the religion which they profess.

On the second day after Mr. Bailey's arrival in Portsmouth, he commenced his journey to London. The public conveyance in which he took passage, is thus described by him: "These stage machines are built in the form of a common coach, but somewhat larger; they are drawn by six horses, are capable of carrying six persons, with their bundles, which must never exceed fourteen pounds to a single passenger. Besides the proper body of the coach, there is a large apartment erected behind, which frequently contains seven or eight people. But it is very uncomfortable riding there in stormy weather, it being wholly uncovered, and exposed to the open air." Of the passengers that occupied the coach with him on this journey, he says: "A greater variety of characters and employments in life, perhaps were never before assembled together in so narrow an apartment."

In the evening of the same day, Mr. Bailey reached the city of London, and lodged at "the great Spread Eagle Inn, Grace Church Street." The next morning he called upon "Mr. Butler, a noted bookseller, near King Street, Cheapside," and delivered to him a letter of introduction. Through his assistance he engaged lodgings with a family, where other American clergymen and candidates for orders had resided. The same day

he found Mr. Greaton, who had visited England to obtain ordination.

On the 27th February, the subject of our Memoir waited upon Rev. Dr. Bearcroft, the Secretary of the Society for Promoting the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and delivered to him some letters, "together with a will, wherein a New England lady had left a legacy of £1,000 sterling to the society." The same day he called on Rev. Dr. Nichols, and presented him with letters for his lordship the Bishop of London.

"*February 28th.* This morning Mr. Greaton and I waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury,* at his palace at Lambeth. We had the good fortune to find him at home. After being conducted, with a vast deal of ceremony, through extended walks, grand halls, and spacious chambers, we were, at length, presented to his grace, who immediately rose from his seat and gave us his blessing, before we had an opportunity to kneel. He then desired us to sit, and conversed with us in the most easy and polite manner. He inquired of me concerning the war in America, and asked me 'what the sentiments of people were, in general, concerning Col. Amherst?' I answered him with caution and coolness, more than was necessary. After he had conversed freely for more than half an hour, taking pen and paper, he wrote to Dr. Nichols, that upon the recommendation I was able to produce, he need not be under any scruple of admitting me to ordination. * * *

"*February 29th.* This morning I arose full of anxious concern, and, not tarrying for my breakfast, walked near two miles, to the place of my examination. I was presently introduced to the Doctor, (Nichols,) who received me with all that mildness which he always assumes towards his dependants. Requesting me to sit, he proceeded to ask me a great number of questions concerning my country, relations, and education. I observed that my answers appeared to give him satisfaction. At length, examination came on. He gave me, first, the Greek Testament, and desired me to render a portion of it either into Latin or English, according to my inclination. He likewise

* Dr. Secker.

gave me liberty to choose what book or chapter I pleased. I happened to open about the middle of the first chapter of Matthew, and passed through this part of my examination with ease. The next book he put into my hand was Grotius de Veritate. Here I was not at my liberty, but he heard me to the first section in the Second Book, where I read off that and two sections besides, into English, without receiving any correction. The last part of the examination was, to render the Thirty-nine Articles into Latin, and then to explain it. This I had the happiness to perform, not only to his acceptance, but even far beyond what I could wish. After I had passed through the several forms used on these occasions, he dismissed me, with a declaration that he had the pleasure to find me qualified, and would recommend me for ordination the next Sunday.

* * * * *

“ March 2d. This morning arose early, and met my companions, according to agreement. * * I found Mr. Morton; a young gentleman from Philadelphia, arrived before me. * * When we had finished our breakfast, a couple of coaches appeared, to convey us to Fulham. We had a pleasant ride through a beautiful country, for the space of five miles beyond the town. * * About ten, we came in sight of the bishop’s palace. * * The servants conducted us into a very odd apartment. We found, however, a good fire, which afforded us a very seasonable refreshment, as the weather was chilly. We were presently joined by several other gentlemen, candidates for ordination. His lordship the Bishop of Rochester,* soon arrived, when we were called into his presence. Here we were obliged to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles. The bell, a few minutes after, ringing for prayers, we were all shown into the chapel, where, after taking three oaths, we were admitted to deacons’ orders by the Bishop, with the assistance of Dr. Nichols and another clergyman. When we returned from the chapel, we were conducted into a vast large hall, entirely composed of the finest marble. It was arched

* Dr. Zachary Pearce.

overhead, and was at least twenty feet high. All the walls, as well as the grand canopy, were covered with the most striking figures, so that this spacious apartment might truly be said to be fine without hangings, and beautiful without paint. In the middle stood a long table, covered with silver dishes. We sat down with his lordship of Rochester, the Bishop of London's lady, and several others, being, in all, twenty-one. We had ten servants to attend us, and were served with twenty-four different dishes, dressed in such an elegant manner, that many of us could scarce eat a mouthful. The drinking vessels were either of glass or of solid gold.* The Bishop was very sociable at table, but was seen to behave with a very important gravity. After paying eleven shillings a-piece for our orders, we drove into the city, and took a dish of tea together, and then parted in friendship.

"*March 5th.* This morning waited upon the famous Mr. Benjamin Franklin, and received an invitation to dine. * * His son dined with us, a barrister-at-law. He is a gentleman of good education, but has passed away the flower of his youth in too many extravagancies.

* * * * *

"*March 14th.* This day was appointed for public fasting and prayer through Great Britain, to implore the divine blessing on the arms of the nation. In the afternoon, walked abroad with Messrs. Greateon and Morton. After rambling several miles, we came to Moorfields, and passing through them, we entered the lane which leads to Mr. Whitfield's famous tabernacle. We saw multitudes of people crowding along from

* In reading this description, allowance should be made for the novelty of the sights which met Mr. Bailey's eyes on this occasion. His early days were passed in humble circumstances, and though afterwards he had some opportunity of associating with persons of wealth and refinement, yet it can hardly be supposed that he had ever been present at any entertainment in which much display of luxury and wealth had been made. Besides, America could not compete with England in the style of furniture and decorations of buildings. His description of his visit at the house of the Bishop, was, no doubt, according to his impressions at the time. That he was mistaken, in some degree, we know, from his remark, that "the drinking vessels were either of glass or solid gold." It has been stated, by competent authority, that, even at the present day, services of gold plate are composed of silver, more or less heavily gilded.

every quarter, to hear the entertaining impertinence of that gentleman. By the calculation I was enabled to make, I am sensible there was not less than ten thousand persons in and about the tabernacle. Here were many serious people of the lower sort, several of fashion, and a great number of villains, who take the advantage to pick the pockets of the innocent rabble. Upon our return, we met Mr. Milner, a young gentleman from New York, who came over for orders. But Mr. Morton being obliged, with me, to wait upon Dr. Nichols, we parted with these gentlemen, and walked to Piccadilly. The Doctor met us at the door, and with an easy smile informed us that he had been so happy as to procure us a private ordination, which would be conferred the next Sunday, by the Bishop of Peterboro'.* This news was very joyful to us, who wished for nothing more than to have our affairs settled.

* * * * *

“*March 16th, (Sunday.)* This being the day appointed for my admission into priests' orders, Mr. Morton called at my lodgings a little after eight. We took coach, and ordered the coachman to drive to Piccadilly. We stopped at Dr. Nichols' door, and found that obliging gentleman ready to enter upon our affairs. We were soon conducted into the presence of his lordship the Bishop of Peterboro', and, under his direction, took all the oaths which the canons of our church require upon these sacred occasions. We were next conducted, with the usual ceremonies, into St. James' Church, and there received ordination from the Reverend Bishop. The whole affair was conducted with the utmost solemnity. O, that our minds may ever be sensible of the weight and importance of this sacred office to which we are now appointed, and may the Divine influence animate and direct our actions to the glory of Heaven and the happiness of those beings which surround us! The ordination being over, we returned into the Doctor's apartment, and there paid half a guinea for our orders, and half a crown to the man who attended at the altar. We received orders from our reverend superiors, to partake of

* Dr. Terrick.

the Sacrament at the King's Parish Church of St. Martins-in-the-Fields. We had an excellent sermon, suitable to the occasion, and parted from the holy ordinance in some measure sensible of the favors Heaven had bestowed upon us, in making everything succeed to our wishes.

"*March 17th.* * * * We arrived at the Bishop of London's palace (at Fulham), and were admitted, with usual ceremony, into the secretary's apartment, from whose hand we received our license, after paying £1 18s. 6d. We had the honor of being introduced to His Lordship's presence. He was sitting with his consort in a beautiful parlor, with his hat upon his head. When we approached him, he endeavored to move, but with the greatest difficulty. We came around on the other side of the table, and saw, in the face of His Lordship, an object which at once excited horror and compassion. His face was swollen to a prodigious degree, and his tongue, infected with some terrible disorder, hung out of his mouth, and extended down his chin. The good Bishop, unable to speak, looked earnestly upon us, as if he meant to convey us a blessing. Having subscribed the articles required, we took leave of His Lordship.*

* * * * *

"*March 19th.* Mr. Morton calling on me, we dressed in our robes, and went, first, to wait upon Mr. Franklin. We found him and his son at breakfast, with several ladies, who prevailed upon us to take a dish of tea. After engaging to dine with them the next Tuesday, we went to St. Martin's, expecting to meet the Venerable Society. We tarried prayers, but not finding those reverend gentlemen we wanted, we repaired to the chapter-house, and were introduced into a handsome apartment, with the Archbishop's gentlemen, and other attendants. About one, the assembly broke up, when we had an opportunity of seeing several bishops. * * His

*This was Bishop Thomas Sherlock, the antagonist of Bishop Hoadley, in the Bangorian controversy. He died in a few months after the interview recorded in the Memoir. His attestation to Mr. Bailey's declaration of conformity to the Liturgy of the Church of England is preserved. The Bishop's signature, in the margin, shows the tremulousness of a hand enfeebled by sickness.

Grace, in passing out of the great room, condescended to address us very complacently, and gave us his blessing. * * From the chapter-house we went directly to the treasury, * * thence to the chancellor's house. Here we received £19 7s. 6d., the royal bounty to all American clergymen after ordination. The king himself signed the order for the delivery of the money. I cannot but thankfully acknowledge the goodness of Providence, this day, in succeeding my concerns, and so happily finishing the business for which I made this dangerous voyage to London. I had the pleasure to be informed that the generous Society had appointed me their missionary, with a salary of £50 per annum, to begin from last Christmas. This was favorable, even beyond my most sanguine expectations.

* * * * *

" March 22d. This day received half a year's salary from Alderman Gosling, banker to the Society. * * I then rode to the upper part of New Bond Street, and bought a number of books. The afternoon I spent in collecting articles I designed to take with me to New England, having first visited the New England Coffee House, and agreed with Capt. Watt for a passage, first paying for it ten guineas.

* * * * *

" March 25th. Visited Dr. Bearcroft with Mr. Greateon and Morton, where we received Leland's View of the Deistical Writers, a present from his royal highness the Prince of Wales, and several other excellent pieces. About two, Mr. Morton called on me, and accompanied me to Mr. Franklin's, in Craven Street. We had four ladies at table. They all dined in full dress, without so much as taking their hats from their heads. Nothing could possibly be more agreeable than the conversation, behavior and entertainment of this afternoon.

" March 26th. This day went down the river with Mr. Greateon, to put our — on board the — frigate, at Stone Stairs.

* * * * *

" May 28th. About ten o'clock, to our inexpressible joy, we made the mountains of Agamenticus, on the coast of New

England, having been out of sight of land from Cape Cornwall, in Great Britain, thirty-two days."

Mr. Bailey arrived in Boston a few days after, as we learn from the following item from the "Boston News Letter," of June 5th, 1760: "Custom House, Boston, June 4th. Entered inwards, Watt, from London. In Capt. Watt came Passengers General Winslow, who was welcomed on shore, and congratulated by a great number of People, upon his return; also, the Rev. Mr. James Grayton,* of Roxbury, and the Rev. Mr. Jacob Bailey, of Beverly,† two young gentlemen who have received Episcopal Ordination, the former for Christ's Church, in this Town, the other for a Church to be established at Pownalboro', on the Kennebeck River; and several other gentlemen."

* Greeton.

† Bowley.

CHAPTER V.

BEFORE we follow Mr. Bailey to his chosen field of labor, it becomes necessary to sketch the history of that part of the country in which that field was situated.

As the French had led the way in colonizing other parts of America, so were they the first in exploring this region, and in attempting to settle it. The king of France had given to De Monts the whole of the country between the island of Cape Breton and the shores below Hudson River, and had called the territory ACADIA. In the spring of 1604, De Monts, accompanied by the future founder of Quebec, entered Annapolis River, in Nova Scotia, and granting a territory, extending some miles from its mouth, to one of his companions, sailed for the Schoodic, or St. Croix River, which now forms part of the north-eastern boundary of the United States. An island was chosen for the residence of the party, and fortified. The privations of one winter, however, caused them to abandon this locality the following spring, and to join the rest of the immigrants on the pleasant river of Annapolis. The same season an exploring party, led by De Monts, ascended the Kennebec River, erected a cross, and took possession of the territory in the name of the king of France. While these expeditions were in progress, English enterprise was also excited. On the pretence of discovering a north-west passage, a party left Great Britain. After touching at a few places in Maine, the vessels ascended the Penobscot River, probably a considerable distance, and the commander also erected a cross, "a thing," he says, "never omitted by Christian travellers." Thus, in the same year, perhaps in the same month, the symbol of man's salvation was planted on the banks of the two noblest rivers in Maine. The leaders of both these expeditions were Protestants. The English enterprise was disgraced by the seizure of five of the na-

tives, who were carried to Great Britain. This act of unqualified baseness was, however, Providentially made productive of good.* Three of the captives were delivered to Sir FERDINANDO GORGES, governor of Plymouth. A residence with him taught them the English language, and the accounts they gave of their native land first excited in their host that interest in the colonization of New England, which terminated only with his life.

In 1606, an association of English gentlemen was formed, for the purpose of colonizing America, and converting its savage inhabitants to the Christian religion. Although divided into two companies, yet they were under one general council of government. James I. gave them a royal charter. To one of these, called the Second Colony, or the Plymouth Company, was granted a territory, identical, to a great extent,† with that given to De Monts by the king of France. The religion of the Church of England was established in the colonies to be formed. In the following year, the founders of Virginia, under the patronage of the first of these companies, left their native land and commenced a settlement on James River. Late in August of the same year, public thanks to Almighty God were offered up on a peninsula in the Kennebec River, near its mouth, by a party who had landed from ships sent out by the Second, or Plymouth Company, to colonize their patent. A sermon was delivered on this occasion, their charter was read, and rules for the government were promulgated. Buildings for public use, including a Church and a few slender cabins, were erected, with a rude fortification. Early winter witnessed the departure of the ships which had transported the colonists, leaving only forty-five persons to undergo the unknown trials which might await them. Not the least of these trials was the extreme severity of the climate. In mid-winter fire consumed their storehouse, with the provisions it

* "This accident must be acknowledged the means, under God, of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations." — *Sir Ferdinando Gorges' Briefe Narration*. London: 1658.

† To the two companies all North America, from the 34th to the 45th degree of latitude, was granted. De Monts' patent extended one degree further north.

contained. George Popham, their president, died. The ships sent from England the succeeding spring, brought news of the death of the Chief Justice of England, one of the principal men of the Plymouth Council, and also of another member, a brother to the "Admiral" of the colony, who had now become its president. These untoward events determined the emigrants to return to their native country, and when the ships, despatched to their aid, entered the English harbor on their return, instead of bringing news of encouragement to the sagacious and enterprising men, who had attempted to transfer the religion and civilization of England to the hunting-grounds of the savages of North America, they landed disheartened adventurers, whose story and whose return would postpone, to a distant day, the renewal of an enterprise that had thus lamentably and visibly failed.

As, by the royal letter of instructions, given to the early colonists, the religion and polity of the Church of England were distinctly established, and as religious services were held, and a sermon preached on the day of the debarkation of the colonists, at Kennebec, by their chaplain, who also officiated during the time the colony remained, it is certain that, on the shores of Atkins' Bay, the hallowed strains of England's ritual were heard at no infrequent intervals, during the autumn of 1607, and the succeeding winter. And, therefore, these are the first instances of the use of the liturgy, and the performance of the rites of the Episcopal Church in any part of the present United States, north of Virginia. And not only so, this was THE FIRST PROTESTANT WORSHIP AND PREACHING, BY AN ORDAINED MINISTER, IN ANY PORTION OF THIS VAST TERRITORY.*

NEW ENGLAND was the name given to a region, extending from the fortieth parallel, eight degrees northward, in a new charter, granted to the Plymouth Council, in 1620. Several voyages, undertaken by private persons, had been made during the thirteen years which followed the failure of the colony at Kennebec. Although the famous Captain *John Smith* was

* See note B.

engaged in two of these enterprises, yet nothing was effected in the way of colonizing the territory. A few persons, under Richard Vines, passed the winter of 1617, at the mouth of Saco River, but a party of English mutineers, who had been set on shore in the succeeding year, found there no white inhabitants, and were obliged to travel eastward, till they reached the island of Monhegan, a noted fishing station for the Europeans.

Thirteen years after Vines' short stay at Saco, two patents were granted to him and others, of about eight square miles, on the banks of that river. The settlers on these grants preserved friendly relations with their savage neighbors, and raised taxes for the support of religious worship, though no clergyman seems to have been among them at the time. But in 1636, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who had obtained a grant of all the territory in Maine, west of the Kennebec River, sent over his nephew, William Gorges, in the capacity of governor. In the spring of that year, he opened a court in Saco, and thus established the first organized government within the limits of the present State of Maine. In the autumn, "a book of rates for the minister, to be paid quarterly, the first payment to begin at Michaelmas next," was drawn up, and the sum of £31 15s. was subscribed. The patent of this territory established the Church of England, and gave the patentee the patronage of all churches and chapels. Rev. RICHARD GIBSON, an Episcopal minister, was here at least as early as 1637, and remained on this side the Atlantic seven years before his return, part of which time was spent in Saco. It was in this place, then, that Episcopacy was first *permanently* established in the territory of Maine. But Gibson's labors, though given, perhaps, at first, in a great degree, to Saco, became afterwards extended, and the settlers at Richmond's Island, the Isles of Shoals, and at Piscataqua, enjoyed the benefits of his ministrations. In fact, he is known to have been the first minister of Portsmouth, N. H. He was drawn into a controversy with a Puritan minister, of Dover, N. H., who attacked him, and he afterwards offered acknowledgments to Massachusetts, and in 1643 returned to England. The testimony of those who regarded

the church of which he was a minister with no favorable feelings, is, that he was "a good scholar, a popular speaker, and highly esteemed as a Gospel minister," by those among whom he labored.

A small island near the southerly shore of Cape Elizabeth, had been granted by the Plymouth Council to two persons, who appointed John Winter to manage their interest therein. It soon became a noted place for fishing, and the products of the sea and forest were exchanged to so large an extent for foreign commodities, that an European trade of some amount grew up, and continued many years.

Rev. ROBERT JORDAN, a clergyman of the Church of England, married Sarah, the daughter of this John Winter. It is certain that Jordan officiated during the first years of his residence on Richmond's Island, and, as he is termed an "itinerant preacher to the people," his labors, like those of Gibson, may have extended even to New Hampshire. The original grantees of Richmond's Island evidently contemplated the regular performance of divine worship there, according to the ritual of the Church of England, if not the erection of a church, for, in the joint inventory between one of them and their agent, articles used in the Church service are enumerated, such as "Communion vessels, cushions, etc." Jordan also exhibited a charge against the estate of his father-in-law, in 1645, "for my ministry, as by composition, one-half year, £10." But Jordan's life was destined to be a checkered one. The whole of Richmond's Island was awarded to him, as legal representative of Winter, to satisfy a claim of the latter on the proprietors. The territory in which his estate was situated, changed owners more than once, and Jordan became involved in the political disputes arising from such fluctuations. We find him, at various times, acting in a judicial capacity, appointed to his office by the power which, at the time, held possession of the Province of Maine. That he did not entirely lay aside the exercise of his ministerial office, appears from the fact that, in 1660, he baptized some children, "after the exercise was ended on the Lord's day, in the house of Mrs. MacWorth, in Falmouth," for which he was summoned before the General

Court of Massachusetts, who also called him to an account, in the succeeding year, for solemnizing a marriage. Four years after, his house was attacked by Indians. He barely escaped with his life, to Great Island, now New Castle, in Piscataqua River, where he died, in 1679, aged 68, leaving a large landed estate.

The territory of Maine, after many changes of ownership, passed, by purchase, into the hands of the neighboring colony of Massachusetts, in 1677. Thenceforward, the religious teachers encouraged in this Province were Puritans.

CHAPTER VI.

In 1749, the representatives of the original proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase, with others who had joined them, held a meeting, to take measures for the improvement of their property. Four years after, a corporation was formed, by the name of the "Proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase from the late Colony of New Plymouth," though this corporation is generally called "The Plymouth Company."*

† "In the year 1751,‡ a number of Germans having arrived in Boston, the Plymouth Company, as an inducement to them to settle in their patent, offered immediately to give each family one hundred acres of land, in what is now called Dresden, to pay their passages from Boston, to advance them six months' provisions, and to build them a house of defence against the Indians. The only conditions imposed upon the settlers were, that each should clear five acres of land, and build an house, twenty feet by eighteen, within three years. These offers were accepted, and the descendants of those Germans are yet to be distinguished in that neighborhood, by their patronymic names." The plantation begun by these people was called Frankfort.

The wars between France and England involved their respective colonies in America, and the influence which the former had obtained over the Indians, was used in exciting them to attack the white settlers in Maine. As Richmond fort had become almost ruinous, another was built, in 1754,

* See note C.

† History of the Kennebec Purchase, by R. H. Gardiner, Esq.—*Maine Historical Collections*, II., p. 280.

‡ After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, some of the French went to Germany, and with the Germans came thence to Frankfort, on the Kennebec, from the River Rhine.

about one and a half miles above it, on the opposite side of the river, and called Fort Frankfort, or Fort Shirley. To this the inhabitants fled for security, when alarmed by the Indians.

The circumstances of the people at Frankfort were extremely straitened. They had been transported to a region whose winters are long, and generally rigorous, and they were obliged to fell the enormous growth of timber which covered the ground, before anything could be raised for the support of themselves and their families. Unused to this kind of labor in their native country, their attempts to cut down the forest were awkward, and of course very toilsome. As it must be long before they could raise their own food, and as they had no means of renewing, in their new home, their clothing, when worn out, they were, of course, doomed to a protracted and severe struggle for the necessaries of life. It is evident, then, that a provision for religious instruction was entirely beyond their power. In fact, the whole of the present State of Maine, east of Brunswick, was at that time, and for some years after, (with the exception hereafter to be named,) entirely destitute of the services of a minister of any denomination. But Popish emissaries were not idle. In 1605, the expedition of De Monts, (as before stated,) ascended the Kennebec River, erected a cross, and took possession of the country in the name of the king of France. In 1612, De Biencourt and Biart visited the same river, and brought the natives to the profession of the Romish religion, and allegiance to the French king.* Thirty-four† years after, Drenillettes took up his abode in this region, and officiated in a chapel erected by the Indian converts. He was succeeded by the Bigots, father and son. When Ralle was killed by the English forces, at the Indian village of Norridgewock, in 1724, he had been their priest at that place for a quarter of a century. As the Jesuits were well established in Canada, at the time of the death of Ralle, and as the route from the St. Lawrence to the Kennebec was well known to the Indians, and frequently passed over by

* Bancroft's History of the United States, I., 27.

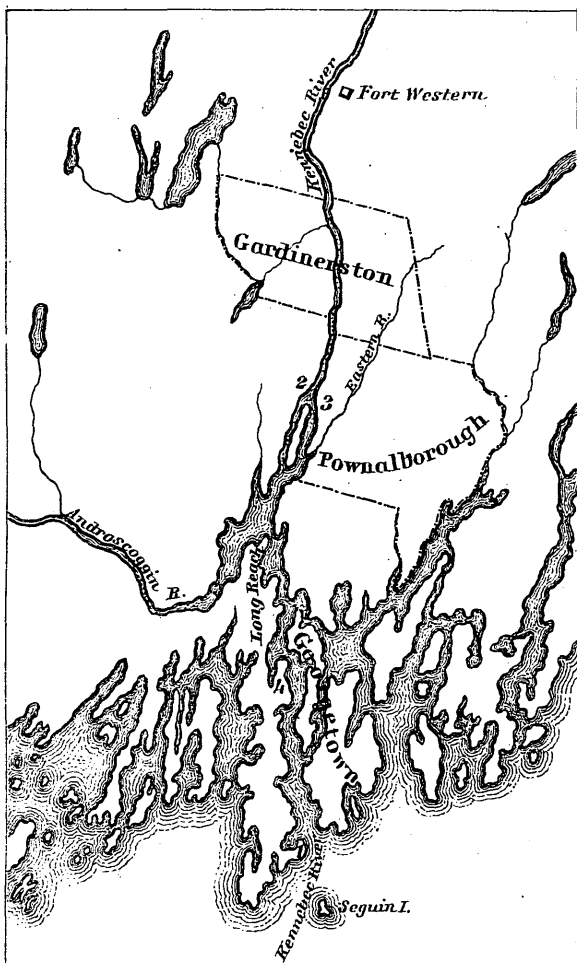
† Bancroft's History of the United States, III., 135.

them, emissaries of the Romish Church could, with little comparative difficulty, find their way into the country where the head-quarters of the Norridgewock tribe had formerly existed. That these opportunities were not neglected, appears from the following narrative: "On the 4th of January, 1754, Mr. Peter Audron, a Jesuit, and missionary to the Norridgewock tribe, arrived at Frankfort. * * Mr. Bunyon, one of the German, or French settlers, accompanied the Jesuit to his habitation, which was about three or four miles above Cushnoc, at the distance of half a mile from the eastern shore, and his house was surrounded by a number of Indian wigwams. The French were carrying on a settlement at Anondowincke, a remarkable situation, between the head of Kennebeck and Ammagantick Lake, and, it is reported, that the above-mentioned Jesuit was busy among the French people, at Frankfort, to engage some of them to remove, and, for their encouragement, he promised each family two hundred acres of land, and some other advantages; but, with all his arguments and insinuations, he was unable to prevail." *

The poor settlers at Frankfort, thus exposed to the arts of Romish missionaries, and unable, themselves, to provide for religious teaching, looked in vain to any in America to assist them. No Protestant minister had ever been in the valley of the Kennebec, of which we have any account, save at Georgetown, a settlement near the mouth of that river, and the last clergyman had left that place two years previously, while there was no prospect that the vacancy there would be supplied. Nothing, then, was left to these neglected pioneers but to apply to the benevolence of pious persons in England. In this emergency, the people of Frankfort joined with those in Georgetown, in petitioning the "Society for Propogating the Gospel in Foreign Parts," to send them a missionary. This petition, dated in 1754, states that they who signed it "are a collection of Protestants, from *Great Britain, Ireland, France*

* Rev. J. Bailey's MSS. Williamson's History of Maine, II., 297. Both of these authorities concur in stating that this visit of the Jesuit, with other facts, drew the attention of the General Court of Massachusetts, and led to the renewal or erection of forts, one of which was placed in the present town of Winslow.





1 Site of Popham's Colony 1607.

2 Site of Fort Richmond, 1719.

3 St. John's Church, Pownalboro.

4 ——— Do. Georgetown.

N.B. The names of places are those
previous to 1779.

PART OF
MAINE.

Bufford's Lith. Boston.

and Germany," compelled, by poverty, "to accept, gladly, a Settlement on the Frontier of New England," who feel sensibly the want of "the Administration of God's Word and Sacraments, and their Children must be in evident Danger of falling into the grossest Ignorance and Irreligion, so as to become an easy Prey to the Popish Missionaries in that Neighbourhood, unless the Society shall send a Missionary to officiate to and instruct them."

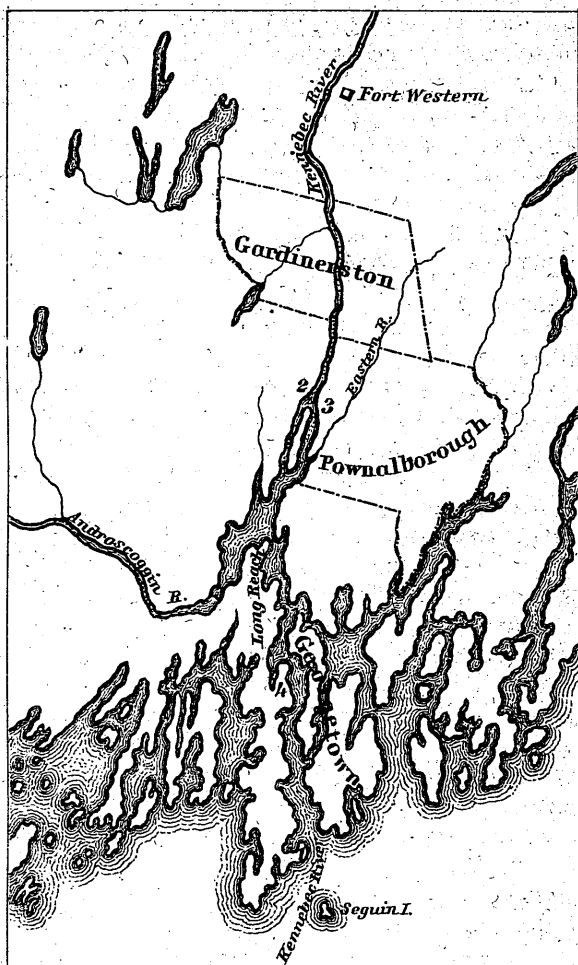
The Abstract of the Society, for 1755, states that "Governor *Shirley*, and other very worthy Persons, recommending Mr. *Macclenaghan*, that he had been for many Years a Dissenting Teacher, but was become a Convert to the Church of *England*, as a proper Person for this Mission, on account of his uncommon Fortitude, and a Mind cheerfully disposed to undergo the Dangers and Difficulties to be expected in that Mission, the Society, Mr. *Macclenaghan* having been received into the Holy Orders of our Church, hath appointed him their Missionary to *George Town* and *Frankfort*, and to the neighboring Places on the Eastern Frontier of the Province of Massachusetts Bay." The annual stipend attached to this mission was fifty pounds sterling.

In May, 1756, Mr. Macclenachan arrived at Kennebec, and took up his residence in Fort Richmond. His family afterwards joined him there.

But one report of Mr. Macclenachan to the Society has been preserved. This is compiled from his letter to them, dated Richmond, August 5th, 1757. In this he speaks of his "diligence in preaching the Gospel on common Days, as well as the Lord's Day," and states that "the number of his Hearers increases." He complains "that there is no Church, either at *George Town* or *Frankfort*, nor Glebe nor House prepared for the Missionary, as was promised to the Society on his appointment; but that he had, to that time, resided in an old dismantled Fort, wonderfully, through God's mercy, preserved from a merciless Enemy, to whom he is often exposed."

Mr. Macclenachan removed from his mission in December, 1758.* A large territory was thus left without the services of

* See note D.



- 1 Site of Popham's Colony 1607.
- 2 Site of Fort Richmond, 1719.
- 3 St John's Church, Pownalboro.
- 4 ——— Do. Georgetown.

N.B. The names of places are those previous to 1779.

PART OF
MAINE.

Butford's Lith. Boston.

and Germany," compelled, by poverty, "to accept, gladly, a Settlement on the Frontier of New England," who feel sensibly the want of "the Administration of God's Word and Sacraments, and their Children must be in evident Danger of falling into the grossest Ignorance and Irreligion, so as to become an easy Prey to the Popish Missionaries in that Neighbourhood, unless the Society shall send a Missionary to officiate to and instruct them."

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any resident minister of any denomination. The title of the incumbent of the Church Mission in this region was, "Itinerant Missionary on the Eastern Frontier of Massachusetts Bay." This frontier was indeterminate, both in length and breadth. It extended from the ocean, indefinitely, towards Canada, and from Brunswick, as far east as any white people could be found. It was shortly after stated, by one who had the means of knowing, to be "one hundred miles in length, by sixty in breadth." Few roads had been made, and the settlements being on the banks of rivers and the sea-coast, the usual mode of travelling was by a canoe. At this time, and in fact for many years after, county roads, connecting one township with another, were entirely unknown. In summer, the canoe held the place of the wheeled carriage, while in winter, the icy surface of the frozen river formed the principal highway for the sleigh, and even for the ox-sled, with its heavy load.* It is evident, that it would be beyond the power of any one missionary to labor successfully in all parts of so large a field. But he was liable to be called on for services, even beyond the limits of the extensive region to which he was appointed. As the Church, in Portsmouth, N. H., was the first to be met with in travelling to Boston from these eastern parts, the mission may be said, in some sense, to have embraced all that was then settled of the present State of Maine.

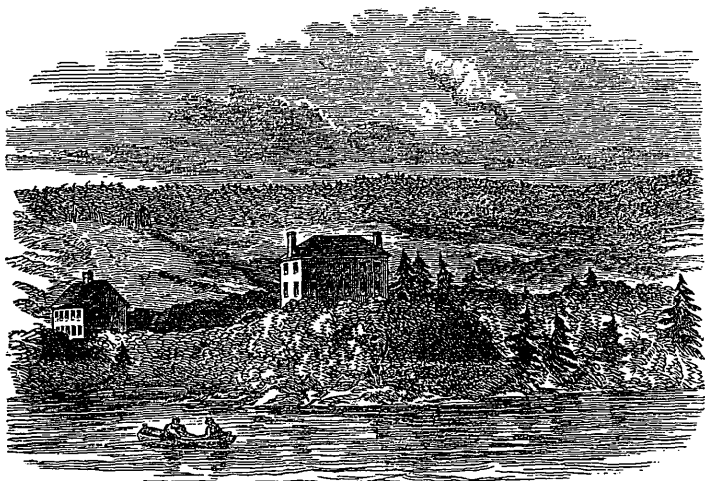
There was, at that time, but one county, that of York, whose limits included all the territory east of Piscataqua River. On the 19th of June, 1760, two new counties were taken from this, the more easterly one, the county of Lincoln, having Pownalborough for its shire town. This town included the ancient plantation of Frankfort, and its area was so large, that it was afterwards divided into three towns.† In the succeeding year, the Plymouth Company erected the necessary county buildings, one of which, the court-house, three stories in height, is still standing, a conspicuous object to all who pass on the Kennebec.

Mr. Bailey arrived in Pownalborough, July 1st, 1760. He

* See note Da.

† Dresden, Alna, and Wiscasset.

represents the majority of the inhabitants as extremely poor, and very ignorant, without the means of either religious or secular instruction. He resided, for the first few months, in the family of Capt., (afterwards Major,) Samuel Goodwin, who had been in the country a number of years, as a surveyor and military officer.



[View of the Court-House, Pownalborough, Maine.]

But little is to be found touching Mr. Bailey's first year's labor as missionary. In a letter, (probably to Florentius Vassall, Esq., in London,) he says: "I have been about two months upon the spot, have travelled through most of the settlements upon your patent, and been sixty miles up the Kennebec. Frankfort is now called Pownalborough, and has in it one hundred and fifteen families."

After the court-house was built, in 1761, it was used, for many years, on Sundays, for the services of the Church. Previous to this, these services must have been held in the chapel of Fort Richmond, and in private houses.

The inhabitants of Frankfort, in their petition* to the Ven-

* See note E, for the petition entire.

erable Society, in 1759, for a missionary, stated that "they have a Glebe of 200 Acres of good Land, which, with their Contributions in Money, will not amount to less than £20. Sterling, *per annum*; and as soon as they enjoy the Blessing of Peace, they will build a Church and Parsonage House, and, in the mean time, they can have *Richmond* Fort for an House for the Minister, and the Chapel belonging to it for Divine Service, and the Farm around it for a Glebe."

The people, from their poverty, were unable to perform the promises which were, no doubt, honestly made; but, in the spring of 1761, Mr. Bailey removed to Richmond, and received a grant of the use of the land around the fort, to draw from it what profit he could. In August of this year, Mr. Bailey was married to Miss Sally, fourth daughter of Dr. John Weeks, of Hampton, N. H. The lady was much younger than himself. She had been one of his scholars, when he was teaching in the place of her residence, and much evidence yet remains that he was very assiduous in his endeavors to implant in her young mind the principles of morality and religion, as well as to improve her intellect and refine her manners.*

In 1762, Rev. Henry Caner, of Boston, wrote† to the Society: "It is a great pleasure to me to hear, as I have repeatedly, that Mr. Bailey, lately sent missionary to Kennebec, is highly useful there, by his diligence, prudence, and exemplary conduct. That country, though a frontier, peoples very fast. Had they the happiness of two more such missionaries, one at the western, the other at the eastern boundary, as Mr. Bailey is in the centre, the whole country would unite in one profession, without any perplexing disputes, or differing sentiments. But this is a matter which must be referred to the wisdom of the Society."

From the report of Mr. Bailey to the Society, in 1762, we learn, that a gentleman had presented to the parish a set of Communion ware, and that the congregations were on the increase, both at Pownalborough and Georgetown. He states,

* See note F.

† Original letter quoted in Hawkins' "Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England," p. 231.

that the number of communicants is already above fifty. "It gives me great satisfaction," he continues, "to find Industry, Morality and Religion, flourishing among a People, till, of late, abandoned to Disorder, Vice and Profaneness, which Alteration is chiefly owing to the Performance of Divine Service, and those Pious Tracts, which the Society's Pious Care has dispersed." He acknowledges "the Receipt of a great Number of Catechisms and Common-Prayer Books, which will be of great Service to the younger Sort, and Promote the Decency of Divine Worship." However, he complains, that "the Mission is attended with great Disadvantages, from the Poverty of the People, and the Difficulties of Travelling in the Winter, when the Snow is sometimes Five or Six Feet deep for several months. If a Missionary could be sent to *George Town*, *Harpswell*, and Places adjacent, it would lessen these Difficulties, and very much establish Religion among a People whom he is obliged, in Winter, to leave almost destitute; besides that, another Minister would give him an Opportunity to do more service in the New Settlements, and upon the neighboring Rivers of *Sheepscott* and *Dumarascotta*."

In connection with this, occurs the following record: "The Society have also received a Petition from the Inhabitants of *George Town* and *Harpswell*, on *Kennebeck* River, dated Dec. 11th, 1761, thankfully acknowledging the Society's charity to them, to which it is owing, under God, that a sense of Religion is preserved among them;" and observing "that the large Increase of a poor, industrious People, consisting of above 7,000 Inhabitants, (situated in a New Frontier Settlement, with not one Ordained Minister of any Denomination except Mr. Bailey,) obliges them humbly to request another Missionary for this large District. This favor they particularly entreat for the Inhabitants of *George Town* and *Harpswell*, which are about twenty miles from *Pownalborough*, where, and in the neighborhood of which, Mr. *Bailey* finds so full Employment, that he can afford the Petitioners but a very small Proportion of his Service, and that to the Detriment of the Places contiguous to his Settled Abode. In Hopes of this further Increase

of the Society's Compassion, they have begun to build a Church, which is now in great Forwardness, and engage, in their present low and laborious State, to give the Missionary the Society shall be pleased to send, £20 Sterling *per Annum*, build him a Parsonage House, and, as their Circumstances enlarge, give him, from Time to Time, such further encouragement as may be Proof how highly they value the Blessing they now petition for."

This petition is accompanied by a letter from the Rev. Mr. *Caner*, minister of the King's Chapel, in Boston, dated June 10th, 1762, certifying that "the above is a faithful and modest account of the Condition of the People on *Kennebeck* River, and especially at *George Town*, where Mr. *Bailey's* greatest Diligence is utterly insufficient to answer the pressing Necessities of that People in regard to the Means of Publick Worship, and begging such Assistance as their Circumstances do truly call for."

In 1764, an Episcopal Church was formed in Falmouth, now Portland, Maine.

But few materials remain for writing a detailed account of Mr. Bailey's life during the next five years.* That he was active and devoted to the duties of his Mission, appears from his reports to the Society, in which he gives the number of baptisms and of additions to the Communion. In consequence of the want of a parsonage, he became a tenant of others, and was obliged to remove his family more than once during this period, and a larger part of the time he resided in Richmond, while the services of the Church were performed, and most of his parishioners resided in Pownalborough, on the opposite side of the river.

From the 2d volume of "The Works of John Adams," it seems that he made a journey to Pownalborough, in the summer of 1765. No mention is made of the object of this journey. As Mr. Adams was then in the practice of the law, it is to be presumed that his visit to these eastern parts might have

* See note G.

been, to attend to some case to be tried at the term of the court held at Pownalborough. Mr. Adams, it will be remembered, was a classmate of Mr. B.

The following extract from a letter addressed to Mr. Bailey, and dated Boston, May 17th, 1766, is of interest, as concerning the history of the Church in New England:* "I must inform you that the Clergy of this and the neighbouring Towns, having been together some time ago, upon a special occasion, agreed upon a voluntary annual Convention of the whole Clergy of this Province, to which the Bishop of London has since given his Sanction. The day appointed for this year is the first Wednesday in June, on which day there will be a Sermon preached before them at King's Chapel in this Town; at which you are desired to be present, and to dine with me after Sermon. As you have few opportunities of meeting and conversing with your Brethren, I doubt not you will cheerfully lay hold of this, and take the benefit of the brotherly correspondence and advice which such an occasion affords.

"I am, Dear Sir,

"Your affec. Bro. and humble Servant,

"H. CANER."

In his letter to the Society, in 1766, he makes the following statement: "A great number of Indians frequent this Neighbourhood. They are the Remains of the ancient *Norridgewalk* Tribe, and lead a rambling Life. They support themselves entirely by hunting, are very savage in their Dress and Manners, have a Language of their own, but universally speak

* "We have now to remark the commencement of efforts for the better organization of the Church. It had been determined by the clergy, who followed the remains of Dr. Cutler to the grave, in 1765, to have an annual convention at Boston, with a view to promote mutual love and harmony among themselves, and to assist each other with advice in difficult cases. The plan was approved by the Bishop of London, and the first meeting took place in June, 1766. The appearance of fourteen clergymen, walking in their gowns and cassocks in procession to Church, was a novelty in America at that time, and was calculated to create an impression of the importance of the body to which they belonged. Dr. Caner, who was appointed moderator, preached the first sermon in King's Chapel." †

† Macgilchrist, June 27, 1766.

Hawkins' Missions of the Church of England, p. 234.

French, and also profess the Romish Religion, and visit *Canada* once or twice a Year for Absolution. They have a great Aversion to the *English* Nation, chiefly owing to the Influence of Roman Catholick Missionaries, who, instead of endeavouring to reform their Morals, comply with them in their most extravagant Vices, and teach them that nothing is necessary to eternal Salvation, but to believe in the Name of *Christ*, to acknowledge the Pope, his holy Vicar, and to extirpate the *English*, because they cruelly murdered the Saviour of Mankind. He concludes one of his Letters with a Detail of the great Things Dr. *Gardiner*, a Physician of Boston, has done, and is doing, for the Church of *England* in these Parts; particularly his generosity in giving the People of *Pownalborough* the use of *Richmond* House and Farm seven Years, for Mr. *Bailey's* Improvement; his subscribing largely, and soliciting a Subscription for building them a Church and Parsonage House; his publishing, at his own Expense, an Edition of Bishop *Beveridge's* Sermon on the Excellency of the Common Prayer, which has been dispersed to good Purpose; his intention to give a Glebe, build a Church and Parsonage House, and endow it for the support of an Episcopal Minister, at *Gardner's Town*."

"From Sept. 26th, 1764, to Sept. 29th, 1765, Mr. Bailey baptized 43 Infants and 3 Adults; and from Sept. 29th, 1765, to Sept. 23d, 1766, baptized 38 Infants and 1 Adult; and in each Year had an Addition of 2 new Communicants."

The clergy of Massachusetts and Rhode Island met in convention in Boston, June 6th, 1767. They drew up a report to the Venerable Society, which contained notices of several missions in those provinces. This report, which was dated June 7th, concluded with an earnest appeal to the Society for American bishops. Mr. Bailey signed this paper, with thirteen others of his clerical brethren.*

Mr. Bailey wrote to his brother-in-law, Rev. J. Wingate Weeks, Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, Mass., under date of November 13th, 1767, as follows: "I find the

* Hawkins' Historical Notices, etc., p. 396.

treasurers at Georgetown are determined to prevent us from drawing the rates belonging to the Church people, unless we can recover them by a law-suit. By what I can find out, there are £400 or £500 already in their hands."

The original Presbyterian, or Congregational Society, in Georgetown, was destitute of a minister for thirteen years, commencing with 1752. During that time, it had been indebted to missionaries of the Church of England for all the regular religious services which it enjoyed. The place was especially included in the mission on the eastern frontiers of Massachusetts Bay, and was visited by Mr. Bailey and his predecessor, as often as was practicable. Indeed, Mr. Bailey states that he had "frequently preached there, and administered the Sacraments, and found the Dissenters so much inclined to the Church, that had they a Missionary resident, they would probably come over to it."

Under such circumstances, the withholding of these rates, contributed by the people, to whom the town was indebted for the ordinances of religion during a considerable part of so long a time, seems to be inexcusable.

Under date of October 30th, 1767, Mr. Bailey, in his report to the Society P. G., etc., "expresses his Satisfaction to find that the poor People, who petitioned the Society for a Minister, continue steady to the Church, as do the poor *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, and most of the young People among the other various Denominations. From Oct., 1766, to Oct., 1767, he baptized 31 Infants and 1 Adult, and had an Addition of 2 new Communicants."

The Secretary of the Venerable Society wrote Mr. Bailey, towards the close of the present year, and stated that he had been informed, by a person who had visited Pownalborough some months before, that the Church people in that town "had not yet procured a house for him to live in, nor had hardly done anything in pursuance of their engagements to the Society." He gives Mr. Bailey credit for "his great tenderness for his people, in not making any mention of this matter." Fearing that this delinquency might have "put Mr. Bailey to some difficulties, and desirous to give him some present relief, the Society ordered him a gratuity of Ten Pounds."

In the course of the next year, Mr. Bailey received an invitation to remove to Amesbury, Mass., and to take charge of the Church there. Many considerations must have conspired to induce him to accept this invitation, yet he decided to remain in that remote region, among the poor people to whom he had ministered nearly eight years.

The Rev. William Willard Wheeler entered upon the Mission in Georgetown, during the summer of this year, and thus relieved Mr. Bailey of some of the labor imposed upon him, in visiting and officiating at a place some miles from his residence.

Some measures appear to have been taken, in 1769, towards the erection of a Church in Pownalborough. Dr. Silvester Gardiner interested himself much in the enterprise. He solicited subscriptions, and himself contributed largely. In a letter to Mr. Bailey, accompanying the plans, Dr. Gardiner says of the proposed building: "It will be one of the prettiest in the Province, and not expensive, and a bigger one you can't build."

The prospect of the erection of a Church in Pownalborough, seems to have excited the opposition of a few of the citizens. The following letter sufficiently explains itself:—

"POWNALBOROUGH, March 21st, 1769.

"*To Rev. Mr. Walter, Boston:*

"DEAR SIR:—The bearer of this letter, Mr. Ridall, was educated a Lutheran, but has, for some years past, been a communicant in the Church of England. He appeared well affected to our worship, till the Dissenters lately insinuated that the constitution, discipline and worship of the Lutheran Church agree almost exactly with the Independants of this country, and are in no respect like the Church of England. He cannot read English, but understands German very well, and by perusing some authors in that language, declares himself satisfied with the Church, but entreats the favor that you would, by a line, signify which is nearer to the Lutherans, the Independants, or the Church of England, that he may show it for the satisfaction of his countrymen here, who are willing to abide by your determination."

The building of the church was delayed from some unexplained cause, and it was not finished till the autumn of the succeeding year. Mr. Bailey writes, under date of November 5th, 1770: "We performed service yesterday in our new Church. The outside is completely finished, the windows glazed and put up, the floor laid, and a temporary pulpit built. I had a full congregation, and gave them a discourse from Ecclesiastes v. 1 and 2 verses." The church was called St. John's Church, Pownalborough. In writing to the Society in England, he says: "The dimensions of the Church are sixty feet in length, including the chancel, and thirty-two feet in breadth. I acknowledge not only the generosity of Dr. Gardiner, but also the charitable assistance of several gentlemen in Marblehead, and other places. * * I have received no support, except the Society's salary, for two years past, and have, besides, been at considerable expense in forwarding the Church." And again, speaking of the Church, he states that "they were much obliged for it to the liberality of Dr. Gardiner, who gave £50 sterling towards it. He has also built a Church at Gardiner's Town, nine miles up the river, upon the banks of which are near 300 families, destitute of the public worship."

The Church at Pownalborough was, at this time, only fitted temporarily for public worship. The pews were afterwards erected. On the 17th March, 1771, Mr. Bailey wrote to Dr. Gardiner: "I would submit to your consideration, whether it may not be proper to have something done to our Altar place, (*sic*,) that the Sacrament may be administered with greater decency. You doubtless recollect, that when I waited upon your Church Committee at Mr. Powell's, Mr. Gilbert Deblois promised that he would give us a Christening Basin and Vessels for the Communion. Would it be amiss to remind him of it?"

Late in the fall of this year, Mr. Bailey writes: "We have been removed into the parsonage-house this fortnight, and have one room already very comfortable. We have been obliged to board the workmen, and must still keep them till they have done another room, and secured us from the wea-

ther." In another letter, he feels called upon to mention the "kindness of the people since my settlement among them," i. e., removal into the parsonage-house, "for you must understand that I lived, heretofore, out of the Parish."

The Memoir of Mr. Bailey has now been brought up to what may, perhaps, be considered as a turning point in that part of his life which was passed on the Kennebec. We have presented but a brief sketch of his history during the first eleven years of his Mission. This brevity has been caused by the absence of any very striking events during this time. But an opportunity is afforded, at this stage of his history, to take a general view of men and things around him, from the time of his coming. The materials for this view are to be found, mainly, in one of his MSS., written, probably, in 1771. It is entitled, "Some Account of the first Mission on Kennebec River, with various transactions relative to the same, since my arrival, in 1760. In a letter to a friend."

Speaking of the condition of the inhabitants in these eastern regions, when he first came among them, Mr. Bailey says: "The people were thinly settled along the banks of rivers, in a country which afforded a rugged and disagreeable prospect; were, in general, so poor, not to say idle, that their families almost suffered for necessary food and clothing, and they lived in miserable huts, which scarce afforded them shelter from the inclemency of the weather in a rigorous climate. And their lodgings were rather worse than food, clothing, or habitations. I might here add many affecting instances of their extreme poverty,—that multitudes of children are obliged to go barefoot through the whole winter, with hardly clothes to cover their nakedness,—that half the houses were without any chimneys,—that many people had no other beds than a heap of straw,—and whole families had scarce anything to subsist upon, for months together, except potatoes, roasted in the ashes.

"Now, is it probable, that the inhabitants of such a wilderness country, in such necessitous circumstances, and so far distant from any large town, or cultivated region, should find means, either to support the Gospel, or to provide proper

instruction for their children? Besides, those who were born and educated in these remote parts, were so little acquainted with any religious worship, and had so long enjoyed their native ignorance, that they discovered hardly any inclination for rational or moral improvement. It is true, that these people had either been brought up, heretofore, where the Christian religion had been enjoyed, or were born of such parents as acknowledged the Gospel; but how many melancholy instances have I observed of this truth,—the impressions of religion and morality will quickly grow faint, or entirely vanish, where neither schools or Divine service are maintained. This I most positively affirm, that when I came to this country, there was no settled minister of any denomination in the whole extensive territory. I found Christians of eight different persuasions; multitudes could neither read nor write; heads of families were unbaptized; some had a very weak and imperfect notion of a future state, and fancied that they should enjoy their wives and children in another world; many, I may add, most houses were destitute of Bibles, or any other books; they had no settled principles; and, in short, their morals were extremely deficient. * * * I would therefore ask all sober, candid, and impartial Christians, whether a people, so much under the dominion of poverty, ignorance and immorality, were not proper objects of charity, and whether the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts has done any injury by supporting a Mission for so many years, and for dispersing, by my hands, Bibles and other pious books, to the amount of above £30 sterling, prime cost, in London? * *

“ And, I would further remark, that, as no other worship has ever been established at Frankfort, but that of the English Church, it cannot be removed without prejudice to the foreigners, as well as the children and younger people, who have been constantly used to our service, and, as many of them cannot read English, they are incapable of understanding, so as to profit by any other. I am conscious that my intentions in coming among this people, were to serve them in the best manner I was able, and I flatter myself that in many instances they have received some advantage. I have ever compassion-

ated their poverty, and have been so far from making any demands upon them, that I have shared with them in many hardships and difficulties. As to the French and Dutch, I have found them, in general, a sober, honest and industrious set of people; and, notwithstanding some have been induced to sign for a Meeting, yet they all, except one or two Calvinists, declare that they had rather adhere to the Church, and besides, they acknowledge that their ministers, when they left Germany, strongly recommended their joining, if possible, with the Church of England. It appears, upon the whole, very hard, and is just matter of complaint, that in a land of religious liberty, and under a government where all religions are tolerated, any should be teased and persecuted on account of their particular modes of worship. Yet this is really the case at Pownalborough; for, can a poor, ignorant man be at liberty to act his sentiments, when he is continually persuaded, entreated, reasoned with, and perhaps threatened, by a gentleman of learning, wealth and influence, to whom he may probably be indebted?

“As I observed before, upon my first arrival in this country, I found no settled minister, and not only a great deal of ignorance, but a considerable degree of backwardness and indisposition to attend Divine service among people of every denomination. This was partly owing to the difficulty of travelling, partly to the want of decent clothing, but chiefly, I conceive, to the want of a due sense of religious worship, for such as had been used to spend the Lord’s day in idleness and loitering at home, could not suddenly prevail upon themselves to reform, especially as there was some difficulty and expense in the affair. Few had, however, much to object against the Church of England, and I was frequently assured, by the oldest and most religious settlers, that if Missions were established at convenient distances, especially upon Kennebec River, in such a manner as people might generally attend service, that it would meet with almost universal acceptance, and conduce greatly to serve the interest of religion and morality. These sentiments, so often proposed, together with the increasing demand for my labors, induced me to write in favor of

new Missions, and at length one was established at Georgetown. While I resided at Frankfort, I observed, with concern and compassion, that the French and Dutch children were likely to be brought up in ignorance, for want of a school. This induced me to offer to instruct them gratis, but travelling was then so very difficult, and many were in such necessitous circumstances, that I had but a very few scholars, and when winter came on, nothing of this kind could be continued, and in the spring, I was obliged to change my lodgings, and reside at Richmond, on the other side of the river. The first summer of my Mission, I officiated at Georgetown every third Sunday, and was constrained to endure a great deal of hardship and fatigue, being obliged to travel by water no less than eighteen miles. Once, I remember, on the last of November, after being eight hours on the water, in my way to Georgetown, without anything either to eat or drink, it was my misfortune to be lost in the woods, where I was exposed all night in the open air to a most severe storm of wind, rain, thunder and lightning. And commonly, in my journeys to and from Georgetown, I suffered a great deal with hunger, cold and wet, and in the summer, was often afflicted with extreme heat, and assaulted with armies of flies and musketoes. Sometimes, for a whole season together, I have been obliged to undertake this little, but difficult voyage, alone,—have had the misfortune to be cast away by the violence of winds and waves, and to travel, for miles together, through the woods, over rocks and precipices, with my books and habit, having nothing to eat from morning to night. I think every one must acknowledge that it required no small degree of resolution, prudence and patience, as well as strength of constitution, to conduct matters properly among such an ignorant and unsteady people, and to go through the fatigues of travelling in such a rough and wilderness country.”

Had Mr. Bailey been obliged to contend only with the ignorance of the poor people among whom he was settled, he might have pursued his arduous labors with some satisfaction. Like others, who have addressed themselves to the work of extending the Gospel to those who were benighted, he would

have been cheered with the evident, though perhaps gradual, improvement of the subjects of his charge, and he could die content, in the consciousness of having labored in the early stages of a work, which others might be privileged to carry on towards perfection. He could look for an increasing attachment on the part of those for whose benefit he had sacrificed so much, and feel that he would be loved while living, and that his memory would be revered when he was dead.

But the establishment of the courts in Pownalborough, in 1761, introduced a new element into the society of the place. The shire town became the temporary or settled residence of the county officers, and gentlemen of the legal profession. This at once created an aristocracy, small indeed in numbers, but of controlling influence. In education, property, and power, these persons had immensely the advantage of the poor settlers. True, the minister was entitled to rank with this class. If he could, consistently with his duty, think and act with them, his situation would be pleasant. But if he felt obliged to differ from them, they could render his situation very uncomfortable.

We should bear in mind, as accounting, in some degree, for what is to follow, that the scene of the transactions was on the *extremity* of the then Province of Massachusetts, and that from the difficulty of travelling in those days, it was further, practically, from Boston, than it now is from the capital of the nation.

This remoteness from communities of greater advancement, which almost amounted to isolation, permitted a great abuse of power. Amid the poverty which so generally prevailed in this region, few would dare to oppose, in any way, the wishes of men of wealth and influence, to whom, perhaps, many were indebted for supplies for their families, and who, having a part in the administration of the law, might harass and even ruin an obnoxious individual. Mr. Bailey found this to be true. It was his misfortune to incur the ill-will of some of these officials. Two, in particular, distinguished themselves by their enmity to him. One of them was excited mainly, no doubt, by the other, who, it would seem, left but little untried to ruin

Mr. Bailey, and to break up the Church in that region. The *names* of these persons will not be given. In withholding their names, the writer is aware that there is no want of provocation to a different course. The conduct of the persons spoken of, while it distressed the missionary in this region, had of necessity no small effect on the interests of the Church. As it will be necessary, frequently, to refer to these persons, we shall designate the principal as M. and his subordinate as N.

Mr. Bailey records some of the doings of M. in his journals. He brings charges against him of ungentlemanly and even indecent conduct, and of oppression, in his letters to his correspondents, some of whom, at least, were acquainted with the subject of these charges. He makes distinct statements respecting this man in his reports to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and complains grievously of him by name in a memorial addressed to the Convention in Boston, in 1772. Not a line is found among Mr. Bailey's papers, which tends to show that his opinion of M. was a mistaken one. Those of his correspondents who possessed the means of correcting these statements if they were erroneous, make no attempt to do so, and the inference is that they were correct. Mr. Bailey says, in "A Letter to a friend," &c., which has been before quoted: "As I presently found that M. still professed himself a Dissenter, I seldom entered into any controversy with him about our different persuasions, and he as cautiously avoided beginning any dispute with me. He used sometimes to attend Divine Service, but more frequently tarried at home, and when he attended, commonly behaved with a great deal of irreverence, especially at prayers." * * * * "I had, presently, sufficient evidence that he used all his endeavours to prejudice the minds of the people against the services of the Church, that he condemned several parts as directly contrary to Scripture, and made an open ridicule of others, which he was not able to confute. And when I received a number of Common Prayer Books from the Society, he took the liberty to scratch out several sentences in all that he could procure to his hands." * * "From the beginning, as I have already observed, he was very negligent in his attendance upon public

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worship, and when present, he generally behaved with great indecency, contriving, by a multitude of boyish tricks, to make the women smile; and sometimes he has taken a primer, instead of a Prayer Book, and read out of it with an audible voice. M. was always extremely industrious in procuring from Boston, and other places, all the little, dirty pieces that have appeared against the Church of England, especially 'The Dissenting Gentleman's Answer to Mr. White's three Letters,'* the very title of which affrighted simple people from the Church, and prevented them from attending the service. These books he used to recommend and put into the hands of all disaffected persons." * * * "Many low, dirty, and scandalous remarks have been written by this gentleman, both in the great Bible and Common Prayer Book, used in Divine service. Instead of money, M. used often to put into the contribution box, soap, scraps of paper, news letters, and once a pack of cards. It is to be observed that all this was done before the least difference subsisted between us. I bore all this, with many personal reflections, without expressing the least resentment, either to him, or to any other person." * * "M. took the liberty of dispersing several Common Prayer Books, without my knowledge, having first corrected them agreeable to his taste, and when I afterwards reprov'd him for the liberty he had taken with me, both in a public and private capacity, he replied that he had treated me just as I deserved, and as for those things he had erased from the Prayer Book, they ought not to be in it. This he attended with a loud and contemptuous laugh; but these were but the beginnings of that temper and disposition of mind he has since discovered. He has laboured all in his power to ruin my interest, to prevent my usefulness among the people; he has unjustly and falsely wounded my reputation; has been contriving to make the most fatal mischief in my family, and labouring to stir up lawsuits against me. And that he might more effectually accomplish his iniquitous de-

* This work must have had a wide-spread circulation, since the Rev. Devereux Jarrat states that at the time his attention was turned towards the ministry of the Church of England, this book was put into his hands, in Virginia, the place of his residence.

signs, did, in my absence at Georgetown, open my desk, and take out divers papers, which he spread abroad with invidious remarks and comments, to my great damage. As to N., he was once a communicant, but it appears at the instigation of M., has left the publick worship for several years, and, though I have frequently written to him with the utmost complaisance, and signified my earnest desire after a reconciliation, yet he still continues inexorable, and treats both me and my letters with the utmost contempt. Upon the whole, I am fully convinced that the above mentioned gentlemen have always, notwithstanding their pretensions, been enemies to the Church ; have, in artful manner, plotted against the Society's Mission, and secretly endeavoured to banish that generous bounty from these parts."

"I have never received any salary from the people. My perquisites, such as marriages, contributions, &c., have not amounted, take one year with another, to £50, old tenor, and the last two years they have not been £20, besides presents from particular persons, which is not so much as I have to pay for house rent. I had, indeed, the improvement of Richmond Farm, through the bounty of Dr. Gardiner, for seven years, but the inhabitants of Pownalborough, especially people of substance, almost destroyed the whole profit by large droves of wild horses and cattle, which no fence could resist which we were able to make. And though Mr. MacClennachan was paid for the pasturing of creatures, I never had but one dollar, which a poor man gave me, while my rich neighbours never afforded me a farthing, even when their cattle had destroyed both my hay and garden. Every winter since my arrival, there has been a proposal on foot for building a meeting-house, though they were never able so much as to begin, before the present year, and all the success of their proceedings is now owing to the false and malicious representations of two or three gentlemen. * * I have long been convinced, by the proceedings of our gentlemen, that it piques their pride to have any other minister than one of their own choosing ; they are really too self-sufficient to receive one, even from the most respectable and judicious body of men, and are above

acknowledging themselves indebted to any Society of Christians for the support of their religious worship. I must add, that both N. and M. have long employed all their influence and authority, to prevent people from attending Divine Service, especially the latter, who prohibits his servants from coming to church. And they not only contrive means to hinder others, but have practiced a multitude of stratagems to keep me at home, since I moved over to the western side of the river, by detaining every boat and canoe they can get into their power. And especially last Easter, that I might not be able to officiate, they came the Wednesday before, with a number of men and cattle, broke two locks, seized a canoe in my care, and carried it off, it being the only one on this side fit to launch into the water when the river opened. But it is observable that our common people were never disposed to follow the example of our gentlemen; they were, on the other hand, abundantly more kind and generous after their enmity began, and more constant in their attendance on publick worship. My congregation, in good weather, has been near a third larger since the above left going to church. In a word, I am persuaded that these gentlemen had, from the beginning, a settled design of driving away the Mission from Pownalborough, and in order to effect this meritorious design, they have stuck at nothing, however unjust, false and injurious; but as this could not easily be accomplished, my character and influence must be sacrificed to their favorite views."

Mr. Bailey had hardly removed into the parsonage-house, (which was only partially finished,) when M. claimed the land on which both the parsonage and the church were built. He "proceeded so far as to threaten the people if they went to church; he declared that he would build a chimney in it, (i. e., the church,) and place a tenant on the land." The origin of this claim is somewhat obscure. As near as can now be ascertained, it seems to have been this: A person who had been an officer in the Church at Pownalborough, and whose general conduct, both before and after this transaction, appears to have been friendly, claimed the land, as administrator of the estates of some persons deceased. This is the more re-

markable, as Mr. Bailey says not only that "Dr. Gardiner put me in possession of the land above two years since," but that the administrator above referred to, "on my first arrival, showed me this tract, as the parsonage-lot, employed people the next year to work on it as such, and gave me leave to have the buildings erected upon it." How the claim was transferred to M. does not appear. But when it passed into his hands, he lost no time in his efforts to obtain the land. A suit at law for its possession, instituted by M., was decided in his favor, and judgment was obtained. Dr. Gardiner was written to on the subject, who replied: "July 22d, 1772. * * If they serve an Execution it is at their peril, and don't resist the officer, but go to lodgings, leaving everything in the house behind you. Remember what I now write; if they serve an Execution on your house, or the Church, you will make the best voyage you ever did in your life, for they and all their coadjutors can never make the land where the Church and your house stands to be, or ever was, any part of ——'s estate, more than they can prove the sun to be green cheese: therefore I beg to hear no more of this affair, until you are carried by the sheriff out of the house, and then I will see justice done both to you and the Church; but this, you may depend, will never be attempted."

Meanwhile, the members of the congregation became alarmed that the church and parsonage, which had been obtained with so much exertion, (and, as Mr. Bailey says, by great sacrifices on their part,) should be placed in a situation apparently so perilous. Influenced, probably, by their apprehensions, Mr. Bailey, being threatened by M., concluded to take a lease of him for six months, which was afterwards renewed for three months longer. Mr. Bailey undoubtedly believed that this course was the most expedient for him to take. But it unfortunately excited the anger of Dr. Gardiner. The matter was brought even before the Convention of Massachusetts, and caused some angry debate, but was finally dropped. Mr. Bailey states, most explicitly, that he acted under the advice of judicious lawyers in this matter, who, as the case then ap-

peared, thought that he could not, on an appeal to a higher court, get the judgment reversed. A more accurate survey, afterwards, showed that "the Church and thirty-five acres of land were without the limits of the administrator's claim; the parsonage-house was found to be on land of which M. gave him no lease," while the grant from the Plymouth Company was not included in the tract claimed by M. The matter was shortly after settled by the instrumentality of Dr. Gardiner, and the title to the glebe was not again disputed.

Whether or not M. was honest in his part of this business, cannot now be decided. The affair, however, gave Mr. Bailey much uneasiness, and seemed, at one time, to be likely to be fatal to his prospects. There were not wanting circumstances, however, to encourage him, for he reports to the Society "that of the forty-nine persons baptized in the year 1772, twenty-one had belonged to the families of rigid Dissenters. On Trinity Sunday I had five new Communicants, all educated Presbyterians."

Rev. William W. Wheeler resigned his Mission in Georgetown in the spring of 1772. This not only deprived Mr. Bailey of the occasional counsel and assistance of the only Church minister in Maine, but threw the whole burden of that Mission again upon him, from which he had been relieved during the four years' incumbency of Mr. Wheeler.

Rev. William Clark, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Dedham, Mass., wrote Mr. Bailey, under date of July 10th, 1772, with a view of obtaining the parish at Georgetown. Mr. C. was induced to think of this on account of the "support of the Mission" at Dedham, being, at that time, "too scanty," and likely thus to remain, till "the estate in reversion" fell in. Dr. Caner, of Boston, was favorable to Mr. Clark's intentions. But nothing appears to have been done in the matter.

The following extract from a letter of Mr. Bailey, is part of the early history of a parish now arrived at a condition of much strength and prosperity:—

"I have lately (August 16th, 1772) dedicated the new Church at Gardinerstown, nine miles up the river, and the people are very urgent for my preaching frequently among

them. I have likewise received several invitations from Georgetown, but I cannot possibly answer all these demands without neglecting my own people."

The matter of M.'s claim to the glebe was arranged as above stated. Mr. Bailey writes to a friend, that "the settlement of our Parsonage has given us high spirits, but a mortal chagrin to our enemies."

This active persecutor, however, was not yet discouraged. The Church was incorporated by the General Court in 1773, and a parish meeting was called in the spring of that year, by M. and N., during the absence of the two wardens and of Major Goodwin. The warrant contained but two articles,—First: to choose a moderator. Second: to choose a parish clerk, assessors, and a committee for managing parish affairs. All freeholders and other inhabitants, legally qualified to vote in town meetings, were required to attend. From the titles given to some of the officers, e. g., "committee for managing parish affairs," and also from the omission of names of wardens and vestry, it is evident, that this could be no meeting of the congregation attending the Church. As all freeholders, etc., were notified, the intention manifestly was, to form a new religious organization,—its character to be determined by the majority of the voters present. Many Churchmen were "legally qualified to vote in town meetings," and therefore attended on this occasion, as they had a perfect right so to do. M. was the active spirit at this meeting. A moderator of his own selection was chosen, who decided that "no Churchman had any right to vote." "Our people," says Mr. Bailey, "though twenty-four to twelve, offered to withdraw from their meeting, and never more to concern themselves with any parish affairs for the future; provided, they would agree not to tax us towards the Congregational worship, but this was utterly denied us." Upon the withdrawal of the Churchmen, and part of the others, the business was left in the hands of eight persons. "These dissenters, though so few in number, quarrelled, the same evening, among themselves, about fixing the place for their meeting-house; and upon hearing that their lumber had been seized, became wholly disheartened. * * *

There is not a single word in the warrant about a minister or a meeting-house."

This, which was one of several abortive attempts to establish the Congregational mode of worship in the western part of Pownalborough, is spoken of here, that it may be seen how violent and unscrupulous was the opposition of a very few individuals in that place to the Church of England.

Mr. Bailey writes to a friend: "Rev. Mr. Badger preached for me, June 20th. I have likewise had a visit from Monsieur Balele, Romish Missionary to the Indians of St. Francis. We have now at our house, Monsieur Naphew, a Franciscan friar, from Brittany, in France. I have made considerable proficiency in the French language. * * I expect to preach, next Sunday, in a new pulpit. Mrs. Bailey has collected, among the women, £15, O. T., towards furnishing the pulpit-cloth, etc."

The report to the Society, in October of this year, contains the following: "I have baptized, since October last, fifty-five persons, four of them adults; and notwithstanding the violent attempts of my inveterate enemies to injure the Church, my parish, at present, is in flourishing circumstances. Our people have built, at their own expense, an elegant pulpit and reading desk, and their wives and daughters have furnished it with a cushion, and hangings of crimson damask. Our parsonage-house and land, which occasioned me so much concern and expense, are now redeemed from the power of our enemies, and I hope to enjoy them in peace. I would likewise beg leave to recommend the people at Gardinerstown, and the settlements above, on Kennebeck river, to the Society, as objects of their charitable assistance. They are a mixture of various denominations, chiefly very poor, among which, numbers are well disposed towards the Church. Many were formerly under my care at Pownalborough, and several, communicants of good character. It appears probable, that if a Missionary was fixed at Gardinerstown, with proper encouragements, the people, in general, would adhere to the Church. I have officiated twice this summer at the last-mentioned place, and, on the 18th of August, baptized twenty-two persons, eight of them adults. These

infant settlements extend from Pownalborough, forty-five miles along the river, and contain four hundred families, among which they have no ordained minister of any denomination, to administer the ordinances, and to preserve a proper sense of religion. But such are the necessitous circumstances of the people, the difficulty of travelling, and the expense of living, that no Missionary can subsist upon Kennebeck river, with credit to his profession, without a liberal support; and every difficulty here is rather greater, I conceive, than in the adjoining Province of Nova Scotia, where many of the English entered upon lands already improved by the former French inhabitants. I would further mention, that Dr. Gardiner, who has erected a decent Church at Gardinerstown, and provided a glebe, engages, besides, to give ten pounds sterling, per annum. I am obliged to remark, that we are indebted to the care and vigilance of this gentleman for the redemption of our parsonage at Pownalborough, and its present establishment upon a sure foundation."

That Mr. Bailey had not lost his early passion for writing, appears from a statement which he makes, wherein he says: "I have almost finished a description of the eastern country, in three chapters. The first contains the Geography and Natural History; the second, an account of the Ancient Indians; and the third, the most remarkable events, from its discovery in 1603, to the present day, with a view of its late prodigious improvements in the character of its inhabitants. My account takes in all the country between Casco Bay and Nova Scotia. I have had unexpected assistance, both from gentlemen and books." He also states that "two gentlemen have offered me seven guineas for the copy of Madockawando, for the press, but I refused." That his temporal prospects were brightening at this time, appears from the following extract from a letter to a relative, in August of this year: "I have a wealthy parishioner, Mr. Ayling, from England, who has purchased Richmond farm, to the amount of sixteen hundred and fifty acres, and is on the spot, making great improvements."

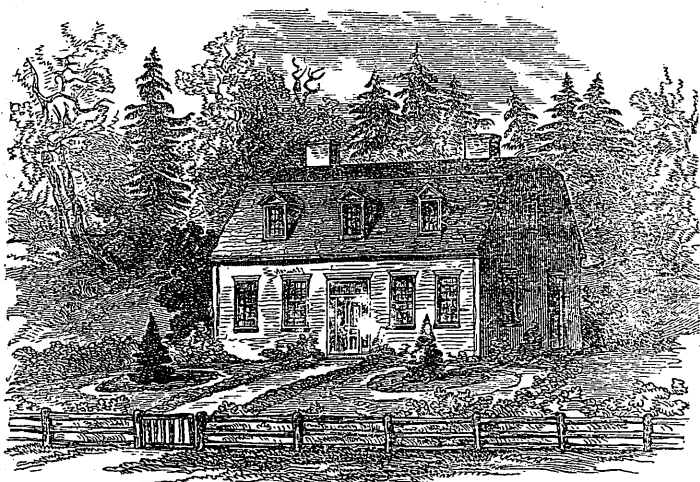
In February of this year, Mr. Bailey visited the upper set-

tlements on the Kennebec, travelling the whole distance in a sleigh on the frozen river. His journey extended above Fort Halifax, in the present town of Winslow. Being, on Sunday, among these pioneers, who, until then, had had no religious services, he preached to a congregation of forty persons, and in that region he baptized seventeen, whose names are recorded in his journals.

Three years had now passed since Mr. Bailey removed with his family into the parsonage-house, thus securing the first permanent habitation which they had enjoyed since he had been in his Mission. While the house was in building, he had enclosed about three acres for a garden, and began immediately to cultivate it with great industry. Nearly a dozen pages in one of his journals, are occupied with his "Observations in gardening in the Autumn of 1774, and spring of 1775." These observations are curious in more than one respect. They note particularly, not only the kind of seeds sown, and shrubs and trees transplanted, but also give each day in which the work was done, state the quantity of what was put into the ground, with the precise locality. It would seem, from this record, that there could have been but few plants, either of the ornamental or useful kind, then known in New England, of which a specimen might not be seen growing near the humble parsonage of this frontier Missionary. The neighboring fields and forests were also laid under contribution, and many wild flowers were mingled with the more cultivated ones. Even the sea beach of his native place had furnished one of the two or three species of vegetation which its arid sands can nourish. Tradition confirms, what would be surmised from his journals, that the minister's garden at Pownalborough had few superiors east of Boston.

The following letter, addressed to a female friend a few years after, describes his residence at Pownalborough: "I have at this moment present to my imagination, those romantic scenes which surrounded my habitation, many of which rose under my eye, or were formed by my conducting hand, while the remainder appear in all their native wildness, and are either beautifully irregular, or excite the ideas of admira-

tion and honor. My dwelling was situated on the summit of a towering eminence, between two navigable rivers, which diffused itself into an extensive plain, agreeably diversified with



[View of the Parsonage at Pownalborough.]

clumps of evergreens, and lofty spreading trees, interspersed with grass plats and cultivated herbage. Around the house lay a garden, containing three acres, mostly on a gentle declivity; several regular squares and elegant parterres had been created out of the rocky and stubborn materials, divided into walks and borders, either crowded with thriving fruit trees of various species, or adorned with a multitude of various shrubs and flowers, which added softness, splendour and beauty to the wilderness, and perfumed the air, already pure as the virgin breezes of Paradise, with their blended fragrance. The other parts of this enclosure continued still in all the misshapen rudeness of nature, where she puts on the roughest appearance, and wore an aspect wrinkled, severe, rugged and deformed beyond expression. Here we beheld the prostrate trunk of some enormous tree which sunk beneath the burden of age and infirmities, or else was borne down headlong by the rapid tempest, mouldering into its original dust, while a

numerous offspring were springing up on every side, and exulting in the pride of youthful verdure; there, on the margin of a rocky eminence, covered with thorns and briars, you might discover the breaking precipice with gaping caverns and ragged fragments, tumbling to the bottom, composed a pile of deformity, the habitation of reptiles and vermin. On the western quarter, beyond the limits of the garden and a winding road, lay a large open grove of maples and beeches, with two or three majestic oaks, which reared their venerable heads above the surrounding trees; at a further distance, on the declivity of the hill, is situated a stately forest, sloping into an impenetrable swamp of spruce and cedar, ending in cultivated fields along the flowery banks of Kennebeck, while from the chamber windows we have a prospect of the White Mountains, above fifty miles remote, concealing their glittering summits among the clouds. From the same apartment, to the south, appeared a number of settlements, stretching, for miles together, on the Eastern River, and the waters of Merrymeeting Bay, with the adjacent hills, closes the delightful view. On the northern quarter, at the distance of fifty rods, almost obscured by a rising grove of birches, appears the Church, an elegant building, standing on a gravelly spot of ground, surrounded with a large piece of beautiful turf. From the eastern door in front, through a spacious avenue, we have a fine prospect of the river Mundooscotook,* which appears, by a deception, almost contiguous to the garden, running at the bottom of a large open pasture; beyond the river the land rises with a majestic grandeur, and, swelling with a stupendous arch, covered, with trees, the horizon."†

It has, we presume, sufficiently appeared, that the "Itinerant Mission on the Eastern Frontiers of Massachusetts Bay" was no sinecure. The territory it embraced was extensive, the inhabitants thinly scattered, and the means of travelling were inconvenient, and oftentimes dangerous. The poverty and ignorance of the people, and the unscrupulous opposition of some

* Or Eastern River.

† See note H.

persons of wealth and influence greatly increased labors which were of themselves sufficiently arduous to have discouraged most men. To all these difficulties were now to be added others. The date of Mr. Bailey's coming into these regions was almost the same as that of the commencement of those measures on the part of the British government, which finally alienated the American colonies. The nature of these measures and their dates, are too well known to the intelligent reader to render it necessary that they should be stated here.

The first instances of political persecution which Mr. Bailey experienced, occurred at a distance from the place of his residence. On the 7th September, 1774, he set off with a friend for Boston. His journal states that he was "insulted the next day.

"Sept. 8th. Lodged at Millican's.* Ill treated.

* * * * *

"11th. Lodged at Newbury: the country all in commotion.

* * * * *

"14th. Convention Sermon preached by Mr. Seargent.

* * * * *

"23d. Mobbed at Brunswick; got home at night.

* * * * *

"26th. Abroad; fled from the mob. Lodged at George Miers'."

He afterwards writes to a friend: "I was obliged to abscond in the night, to avoid the fury of the mob, and to keep myself concealed two days."

Under date of October 17th, 1774, Mr. Bailey wrote as follows, to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts:—

"I take this opportunity of writing by Capt. Callahan, one of my Wardens, bound directly from this place to Glasgow, since the unhappy condition of this country renders it wholly unsafe to trust a letter by the way of Boston to London. I have, since my last, visited the upper settlements upon Kennebeck river, to the distance of fifty miles, where I baptized

* In Scarborough.

twenty infants and two adults. Nothing remarkable has occurred in my parish, but I have the satisfaction to observe, that none of my hearers have entered into any desperate combinations against the authority of Great Britain, nor joined in any of those tumults and insurrections which have lately prevailed in other parts of the Province, and even in the neighbouring towns. On my late journey to Boston, I was frequently insulted and mobbed, and immediately after my return, this place was invaded by one hundred men in arms, while the Court was sitting, vowing revenge upon me and several of my parishioners, for opposing the solemn league and covenant. To avoid their fury, I was obliged to flee from my house in the night, and to conceal myself for two days. The mob was at length obliged to disperse, without success, or doing any considerable mischief. In the neighbouring settlements, however, they assaulted both persons and property, broke into houses and stores, abused the inhabitants, and destroyed their substance, and, after being intoxicated with strong liquor, fought among themselves. We are daily threatened with another hostile invasion; and, it may be remarked, that these insurrections are encouraged by some of our magistrates, and the late mob was headed by a member of the General Assembly. In short, nothing can be more dismal than the situation of the Episcopal ministers, and, indeed, of all who have any dependence upon Great Britain. They are daily persecuted with provoking insults, loaded with shocking execrations, and alarmed with the most bloody menaces, and that, not by the meaner rabble, but by persons of the highest distinction, and even those who heretofore were in the greatest repute for moderation, piety and tenderness, have now lost every sentiment of humanity, behave with the wildest fury and destruction, and breathe forth nothing but slaughter and destruction against all who are unwilling to engage in their extravagant schemes. I have observed, with regard to this Province and New Hampshire, where I have a large acquaintance, that the friends of government are chiefly either Episcopalians, or sober, sensible persons of other denominations, who are equally averse to infidelity and enthusiasm; but if the sons of liberty should

prevail, our destruction will be inevitable, and thousands of His Majesty's loyal subjects, who acknowledge the authority of the parent country from principles of conscience as well as grateful inclination, will instantly be reduced to the extremest misery and ruin. Nothing has inspired these opposers of government with greater resolution and fury, than a speech said to be written by the Bishop of St. Asaphs.* I had an opportunity of remarking the fatal effects of this performance, not only at Boston, but in travelling two hundred miles through a populous part of the country. This has given them occasion to abuse every Episcopalian who cannot acknowledge the sentiments of His Lordship, with the forced construction they are pleased to put upon His words. The shutting up of Boston harbour, and the prevailing violence of this raging faction, have already reduced me to great distress in my private affairs, and it is with the utmost difficulty I am able to procure the necessaries of life."

The winter of 1774-5 passed off without much political disturbance in the "West Precinct of Pownalborough," where the church was situated. From the journals of Mr. Bailey, it seems that the number of attendants on public worship during the three years after the church was built, ranged from fifty to one hundred and thirty.

The news of Lexington battle, (which was some days in reaching Kennebec,) caused considerable excitement among the people. Mr. Bailey states that on the day of the receipt of the intelligence "of Col. Percy's defeat," he was "abroad, and assaulted by a number of ruffians." Two days after this, Rev. J. Wingate Weeks, Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, Mass., arrived with his family. He had been driven by political persecutions from his parish, and sought refuge with the subject of this Memoir, who had married his sister.

"The circumstances of Mr. Weeks' family determined him

* Bishop Shipley. This production was quoted by Hon. Daniel Webster, in his speech, delivered at Washington, July 4th, 1851, on the occasion of laying the corner stone of the enlargement of the Capitol.

to seek a refuge in the regions of Kennebeck, where he had some possessions in land. He arrived at Frankfort, with his family, on Wednesday evening, April 26th. Notice was immediately given to M. and the rabble, and notwithstanding their wide dispersions, the latter were assembled at the Court-house by sunrise the next morning, to prevent him from landing his furniture. The multitude were evidently convened to support the Committee in their malignant designs upon Mr. Weeks, against whom they had nothing to allege but his profession as a clergyman of the Church of England; and his character, which was not only irreproachable, but exemplary. * * * *
In the midst of this bustle and confusion, the Committees of several neighbouring towns happened to arrive, when it was agreed to leave the affair of Mr. Weeks to their united determination. After keeping that worthy gentleman under severe examination, standing before them as a criminal above an hour, they dismissed him awhile, for the purpose of mature consultation among themselves; then, calling him in the second time into their important and mighty presence, compelled him to sign an ignominious paper, and then gave him a permit for landing his goods.”*

In June of this year, Mr. Bailey received an invitation from the wardens of the Church at Falmouth, to officiate there during the absence of Rev. Mr. Wiswell, the Rector of the parish.

The following is found in the MS. “History,” etc., quoted above, and is stated to have occurred in August of this year: “One Harvey, as the rabble were marching along the road by the Church at Pownalborough, loaded his musket, and then presented it at the parsonage-house, where the Rev. Messrs. Weeks and Bailey resided. The latter, with several children, was then looking out of the window, when one of the company demanded of Harvey ‘what inducement he had to behave in this manner?’ He replied: ‘this is a — nest of — tories, and I am going to blow as many of them to the — as possible.’ Having finished this remarkable speech, he snapped his gun several times, but it was Providentially pre-

* MS. History of the Eastern Country, by Rev. J. Bailey.

vented from going off, notwithstanding it was never known, before or after this experiment, to miss fire. And, it is further observable, that the moment this fellow reached the Court-house, he discharged his musket without the least difficulty. The family thus devoted to destruction, were, at the time, wholly ignorant of their danger, and received their information immediately after, from a couple of young fellows, more civil and humane than the rest. It was asserted that Harvey borrowed this gun of M., but what temptation he had to intrust it to a stranger, remains a secret, unless we conclude that he might, with greater safety, engage him in some fatal piece of mischief, than one who had connexions among us.*

“About the beginning of this summer, one Whiting was engaged to officiate at the Court-house. This fellow, now 19 or 20 years of age, had been extremely notorious for his vicious and idle conduct, having first been expelled from the college at Cambridge, and afterwards, (it is reported,) obliged to flee from the seminary at Providence, for stealing the President’s horse. He had been employed for some time as a schoolmaster in Kennebeck, but was represented as a person disposed to ridicule both religion and virtue, yet pretending to a sudden and miraculous conversion, and assuming uncommon zeal in the cause of liberty, he is conceived to be an happy instrument of carrying on the blessed work of ruining the Church; and though it is affirmed that he boldly preached the sermons of President Davies, and other writers of a sprightly and fanatical turn; yet he was highly caressed by our leaders, and extolled as an angel from Heaven to proclaim the everlasting Gospel.

* Rev. J. W. Weeks wrote to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, as follows:—

“PORTSMOUTH, Sept. 7th, 1775.

“The condition of your Missionaries is truly deplorable: they have enemies all around them, and no friends but God and their consciences. I am now stripped of the comforts and conveniences of life; my wife and a family of eight helpless children are obliged to seek shelter in a wilderness, the horrors of which they had never seen or felt before. And even there they have not been suffered to remain in quiet. Their happiness has been often interrupted by insults, and by the snapping of a loaded gun at Mr. Bailey and me, while walking in the garden. We have no hope, but in the experience of your wonted charity.”—*Hawkins’ Hist. of Missions, etc.*, p. 246.

And though service was constantly performed every Sunday at church, either by Mr. Weeks or Mr. Bailey, yet all who were inclined to favor the present commotions attended his vociferations, and besides, some persons, who desired still to adhere to the Church, went occasionally to meeting, hoping by this seasonable compliance either to avoid the imputation of being enemies to the country, or to escape the persecution they conceived was descending on their neighbours. * * * *

“But Whiting was not the only Apostle of Kennebeck. One Alden, a noted Ana-baptist preacher from Great Britain, made his appearance in these parts, and was extremely instrumental in seducing ignorant and credulous people. And, notwithstanding his character, attended his itinerant performances, and it was acknowledged wherever he travelled that he had twice been dismissed from the ministerial office for gross immoralities, and had been tried at the Old Bailey for the crime of perjury, yet he was followed and applauded by the undistinguishing mobility and persons of distinction, as some great prophet, or messenger from heaven. * This fellow preached in almost every settlement along the banks of Kennebeck, and greatly conduced to bring everything sacred and decent into contempt.”*

“The inhabitants of Frankfort, or the West Parish of Pownalborough, continued quiet and composed till about Christmas, 1775, when Mr. Goodwin, a deputy-sheriff and jail keeper, began to spirit up the people. This man was open, generous, positive, and blustering,—served this year as Church Warden, but was intimately connected with M. and N. He suddenly attempted to raise all the young fellows among us in defence of liberty, and engaged them to assemble on New Year’s day, to erect the standard of defiance. Every method of allurements and menace was practised to convene the people upon this important occasion; but about twenty persons had resolution enough to disregard every incitement, and refused to give their attendance. The confusion and uproar which ensued were beyond example; the day was consumed in the exercises of

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drinking, swearing, traitorous imprecations, and the most horrible effusions of profaneness and impiety. Several people, in the fervor and wantonness of their zeal, proposed that the minister should be conducted by a sufficient military force from his habitation to the pole, and there be obliged to consecrate this exalted monument of freedom: others, indeed, were so modest as to oppose the motion, and when it was committed to the common suffrage, it was carried in the negative by a trifling majority only.* * * * * Immediately after this distinguishing event, near one-half of the congregation withdrew from the Church, the minister was stigmatized as a mortal enemy to his country for neglecting to observe a thanksgiving appointed by the Provincial Congress, though the very persons who were loudest in their exclamations certainly knew that he had received no information time enough to give public notice.

“My Presbyterian neighbours were so zealous for the good of their country that they killed seven of my sheep out of twelve, and shot a fine heifer as she was feeding in my pasture, and my necessities were so great in the following winter that I was obliged to dispose of the remainder of my cattle except one cow. The next spring, as I was endeavoring to cultivate a garden spot, which I had prepared from a rocky wilderness, with great labour and expense, the leaders immediately began to interrupt my honest endeavours for the support of my family. They daily threatened that prodigious numbers of people were assembling in the adjacent settlements to put down the Church and to burn my habitation over my head.”

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"*October 28th.* Before the Committee for not reading the Declaration of Independence, for praying for the King, and for preaching a seditious sermon."

In a letter written some time after this to the secretary of the Venerable Society, Mr. Bailey says: "In the universal confusion, tumult, and destruction, which prevailed in the beginning of the war, many persons were driven by the impulses of fear to act against both conscience and inclination. On the one hand, we were assaulted by armed multitudes, pouring out torrents of reproach and execrations, and threatening to make us the victims of their vengeance. On the other, we were besieged by the entreaties and tears of our friends to practice a little compliance, (which, by the way, only made our enemies the fiercer,) while we were confidently told that our brethren in other parts had fully yielded to the requisitions

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Some of the old enemies of the Episcopal Church, and its minister, were not discouraged by their former unsuccessful attempts to establish the Congregational form of worship within the bounds of his parish. Their proceedings caused Mr. Bailey to write to eminent men, lawyers and others, in different parts of the country, on this subject. The persons thus addressed were, Mr. Oliver Whipple, of Portsmouth, N. H., Rev. Jacob Duché, of Philadelphia, and Mr. David Sewall, of York. Mr. Bailey says, that "the mal-contents were only seven in number;" that "they excluded all Churchmen from the privilege of voting, and agreed, in March, 1776, to raise a tax upon the inhabitants,—Quakers as well as Churchmen,—towards the support of the Gospel." "This," he continues, "is the declared purpose, both in the tax bill and in the warrant for distraining. Our people are by no means in affluent circumstances, and, after having generously, according to their ability, contributed to my support, are compelled to pay the above tax with the utmost rigour. The collectors are seizing their cattle by violence, and selling them at publick vendue for a mere trifle." Mr. Bailey states further, that "these men have no meeting-house, no embodied church, no communicants, no minister, and no preaching, except three months in 1775." He writes to one of the above-named gentlemen, that

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the persons spoken of "have proceeded to collect the tax with the utmost rigor, and several circumstances of ungenerous severity, such as breaking into barns when the proprietors were absent, taking away cattle by violence, selling them at auction, and multiplying charges, to the great distress of the unfortunate sufferers. * * * Those who retain any sentiments of tenderness and humanity, when acquainted with the circumstances of this eastern country, must compassionate our situation: a people confined to a cold and rugged soil, encumbered with forests, and divided by rivers, exposed to invasions from Canada, deprived of free navigation, prevented from selling, as usual, their timber for the necessities of life, and denied the advantages of receiving provisions from abroad as formerly. These occurrences have reduced us, (especially myself, who depended chiefly upon the Society for support,) to the lowest condition of poverty, and almost to nakedness and famine."

In a letter to Rev. Dr. Byles, in the autumn of this year, Mr. Bailey writes: "I have hitherto performed Divine service every Sunday, though at the risk of my liberty, and even of my life. I have had a warrant after me ever since the 20th of July, for transportation, but by concealing myself during the week time, I have as yet escaped. Mr. Parker and Mr. Bass are the only clergymen beside myself who officiate, but they wholly omit praying for the King, and my principal offence is neglecting to follow their example."

October 10th, 1777. To Rev. J. W. Weeks, Marblehead:—

"* * I have a warrant issued against me ever since the 20th of July, and several officers have attempted to take me, but hitherto without success. I have officiated every Sunday. Warrants are out for a great number of people, some of whom have absconded, and others go armed. John McNamara has been fined twenty dollars, and imprisoned five days, but is now dismissed upon bail. I am a little surprised to find you coupling me with Mr. Bass upon all occasions. The latter, without encountering any persecution or difficulty, complied with the first motion of his congregation, (mostly high sons of liberty,) wholly to drop all prayers for the King. I, on the con-

trary, continued the service, without the least alteration, sometime after you and many of my brethren had made omissions; and indeed I was chiefly induced to do so by your example. It was a long time after you had ceased officiating before I either heard of it, or the law in support of Independency, so that I had already offended beyond the hopes of pardon. Previous to this my parishioners were severely persecuted, both as Churchmen and Tories, which immediately excited the indignation of the friends of government for twenty miles round. These, of every denomination, encouraged me to proceed, and generously contributed to my support; and though I have left out the most obnoxious sentences, I have never omitted to pray for the King, and I have continued to officiate, not to please our enemies, but the Royalists scattered through the country. My constant hearers, (though all, except one or two, are friends of government,) are but a small number in comparison with the rest, and indeed our continuing to assemble for Divine Service is considered by the Whigs as the principal support of our party. They imagine that it gives life and spirit to our opposition, and besides the chief objection against me is my praying for the King. For this single offence I have been threatened, insulted, condemned, and laid under heavy bonds, and for this I am now doomed for transportation. My friend, Mr. Lee, is Captain of a company at New York; Callahan is Captain of a twelve-gun sloop-of-war in the King's service; George Pochard is at Quebec, so that the situation of my affairs is well known at all these places."

The following from one of his MSS. will give an idea of his sufferings at this time:—

"Mr. Bailey, Missionary at Pownalborough, having been concealed in his own house for the space of five weeks, received information that a design was formed against his life. This intelligence determined him to attempt an escape. In consequence of this determination he left his habitation in the evening of October 15th, and was conducted through intricate paths, about two miles, by his brother and Dr. Mayer. It was conjectured that some desperate ruffians were placed at a little distance from the house, either to intercept his flight, or to

destroy him on the spot. A couple of young lads were fired upon as they were riding along the road, the people doubtless imagining Mr. Bailey to be on horseback, returning home. He was constrained to leave his family in circumstances truly distressing; a wife with a young infant, and two girls about eleven, and no kind of provisions or money for their support, except a few garden roots. After spending part of the night at his brother's, he arose before daylight, and, with a couple of young persons, embarked on board a canoe, and under the concealment of a thick fog, escaped to Brunswick, beyond the limits of the county where he resided. He was here in great anxiety, having money for only one day's subsistence, and not finding Dr. Moor arrived with his horse, as he expected, he was obliged to remain several hours at a publick house in cruel suspense, and exposed to the observation of every traveller. At length the appearance of his horse relieved his perplexity, and enabled him to pursue his journey without molestation. The next day he arrived at Falmouth, and was cordially received and kindly entertained by his friends. Some unexpected benefactions raised his spirits and encouraged him to proceed as far as Portsmouth, the capital of New Hampshire; but before he reached this seat of rebellion he was greatly alarmed with the misfortune of General Burgoyne and the army under his command. At York, he encountered the barbarous exultations of the rebels upon this important occasion; and as he entered Portsmouth, the firing of cannon, the ringing of bells, and the vociferation of the populace were circumstances that increased his chagrin. He was, however, highly caressed by the friends of government, who assisted to sympathize with him, and to console each other on the gloomy appearance of publick affairs.

“After travelling to Boston and visiting a multitude of his acquaintance, of various ranks, and of opposite sentiments, and having received many instances of generosity from the Royalists, he returned home about Christmas, and though he had endured great anxiety on account of his family, he had the pleasure of finding them in comfortable circumstances, the

friends of government having liberally contributed towards their support.”*

In the early part of the following year, Mr. Bailey received a letter from the Rev. Mather Byles, formerly Rector of Christ Church, Boston, but who had left the country. It is dated Halifax, N. S., February 17th, 1778. The following is an extract:—

“I am commissioned to inform you, if you have not already availed yourself of the collection for the suffering clergy in America, that you are entitled to draw upon Messrs. Hoar & Company, Bankers, in Fleet Street, for Fifty Pounds, as your Dividend; and that if you think proper to enclose your draft to Dr. Caner, he will endeavor to procure the money, and transmit, or pay it, as you shall direct. Your letter to Dr. Caner may be directed to the New England Coffee House, or to the care of Watson & Rashley, Merchants, on Garlick Hill, London, or to No. 30 Suffolk St., Westminster.”

Mr. Bailey’s daily Journal for the entire year 1777 is missing. From that for part of 1778, we extract the following:—

“*April 19th.* Easter Sunday. 50 present. 15 Communicants.

“*20th.* Chose the same officers.”

It is mentioned occasionally that there was no service in church, but no reason is assigned. The church, however, appears to have been open the greater part of the first four months of this year, with an attendance varying from twelve to fifty-six. A number of infants were baptized by Mr. Bailey in the same time, in various parts of this region.

Mr. Bailey left home on the 19th July of this year, on a journey to Boston, and was absent some four weeks. A full journal of occurrences at this time is preserved, and some things recorded in it are thought worthy of being extracted:—

“*July 20th.* Left the mouth of the Kennebec River.

“*22d.* Arrived in Boston. I was received by Rev. Mr. Parker and his lady with the highest tokens of tenderness and politeness.

* Note J.

"*July 23d.* After breakfast went to visit the famous Dr. Byles, who was detained a prisoner in his own house. He received me, according to his manner, with great freedom, and entertained me with a variety of puns. He was mightily pleased with the letters I brought him from his son and granddaughter, and instructed his daughters, a couple of fine young ladies, to read them. I observed that he had a large collection of curiosities, and the best library I had seen in this country. He is a gentleman of learning and great imagination, has an uncommon share of pride, and though agreeable when discoursing upon any subject, yet the perpetual reach after puns renders his ordinary conversation rather distasteful to persons of elegance and refinement. He gave me a circumstantial account of his trial when condemned for transportation. He carefully preserved his talent for punning through the whole. I recollect one instance: when he was conducted into the apartment where his judges sat with great solemnity, who desired him to sit by the fire, as the weather was cold, 'Gentlemen,' said he, 'when I came among you I expected persecution, but I could not think you would have offered me the fire so suddenly!' After looking at several fine prospects, and hearing two or three tunes on the organ by one of his daughters, I took my leave, with an invitation and promise to renew my visit. I then repaired to Mr. Domett's, and was kindly received by that worthy and benevolent couple. They no sooner perceived the poverty and uncouthness of my apparel, than they contributed towards a reparation, and furnished me with a handsome coat, jacket and breeches. My dress before this recruit was as follows: an old rusty thread-bare black coat, which had been turned, and the button-holes worked with thread almost white, with a number of breaches about the elbows; a jacket of the same, much fractured about the button-holes, and hanging loose, occasioned by the leanness of my carcass, which was at this time greatly emaciated by the constant exercise of temperance; a pair of breeches, constructed of coarse bed-tick, of a dirty yellow colour, and so uncoat (*sic*) as to suffer several repairs, in particular, a perpendicular patch upon each knee of a different complexion

from the original piece; a pair of blue thick-seamed stockings, well adapted to exclude the extreme heat of the season; a hat with many holes in the brim, adorned with much darning in other places, of a decent medium between black and white. My wig was called white in better days, but now resembled in colour an old greasy bed blanket; the curls, alas! had long since departed, and the locks hung lank, deformed, and clammy about my neck, while the shrinking caul left both my ears exposed to publick view. But the generous Mr. Parker soon made me a present of a very elegant wig, which, though it might not furnish my brain with an addition of wisdom, yet certainly enabled me to shew my head with greater confidence. * * *

"*July 27th.* Called upon Mr. Haskins according to agreement. He gave me fifteen dollars.

"*28th.* This morning called upon Mrs. Domett, who gave me fourteen dollars in paper and three dollars and five crowns in silver, which, she assured me, was a present from — young ladies through James —, about 17, and the other 16 years. The same day received five dollars from — and Green, and thirty dollars from the Church Wardens.

"*29th.* Concluded this morning, notwithstanding the contempt which is poured upon the Britons from every quarter, to petition the Council for liberty to depart for Nova Scotia with my family; and, because I perceived that our magistrates could not admit of pleas of conscience, I confined myself to the simple article of poverty. Mr. Parker had in the morning obtained leave of Mr. Powell, the President, to offer my petition. Accordingly, having it prepared, I went down to the Court-house and presented it to that gentleman, who engaged to give me his interest. Drank tea with Dr. Byles and his daughters.

"*August 2d.* This day being Sunday could not assist Mr. Parker for want of a suitable discourse. As I was walking to church in the morning Mr. Lash put a guinea into my hand.

"*4th.* Received this day eight dollars from Mr. Thomas Amory.

"6th. After dinner waited upon Dr. Lloyd. * * The Dr. at parting gave me nine dollars.

"7th. This morning at Mr. Wallace's, where Mr. William Gardiner introduced me to Mr. Reed, a gentleman who had been carted out of town. He made me a present of twelve dollars. A few minutes before the hour appointed I arrived at Mr. Domett's, and just after I was seated a gentleman rapped at the door and gave Mrs. Domett a paper for me. She informed me that it was Mr. Erskine, an Irish gentleman. Upon opening the paper we found enclosed two hundred and seventeen dollars. This Mr. Erskine gave me at Portsmouth, last November, sixteen dollars. He is nephew to Sir William Erskine, Colonel of the Edinborough regiment, raised for the service against America. He now exerted himself in collecting this money for me among his acquaintance from a principle of pure generosity. * * * When I came home, Mr. Warner sent his compliments, with a very good surtout and twenty dollars.

"8th. This morning took a breakfast at Mr. Domett's, and while I was in that hospitable and lucky mansion had twenty-one dollars sent me by Mrs. Sheaf. * * * I then paid Mrs. Renkin and received my note. * * * Mr. Parker gave me a very sensible letter to Major Goodwin, and his worthy lady furnished me with provisions for my passage. The kindness and generosity of this agreeable pair ought to excite my warmest gratitude, for, not to mention my board and lodging for near three weeks, I received from them in presents to the value of £15, lawful money. About 10 o'clock Dr. Miers and I took our leave, and embarked on board Capt. Smith. * * About 11 got under sail."

The next night found the vessel in which Mr. Bailey had taken passage at anchor in Portsmouth harbor, having taken shelter there from an easterly storm. On the second day after they had put into this port, Mr. Bailey went on shore to visit Rev. Mr. Stevens, of Kittery, who had befriended him when in college. Here he found Rev. Jeremy Belknap, (afterwards D. D.,) "with his wife, arrived from Dover." "I quickly per-

ceived him," says Mr. Bailey, "to be a son of moderation. It was evident from their conversation that most of the Congregational ministers are in very distressed circumstances on account of the fall of paper money; but when Mr. Belknap complained of his situation, Mr. Stevens informed him that mine was still worse, for I could receive no salary."

* * * * *

"22d. Arrived at Pownalborough, where I had the satisfaction of finding my family in good health, though they had greatly suffered in my absence for want of provisions."

Four days after his arrival Mr. Bailey wrote to Mr. Domett, in Boston. In this letter he says: "I am prohibited, in the strongest terms, by Col. Cushing,* from officiating any longer, and though I have promised to acquiesce, yet he still threatens to impose the oath."

In writing to Mr. John Pickering, Speaker of the House of Representatives, he says, "I was taken into a list on the Transportation Act last summer, and after having had the matter debated several hours in a full town meeting, I was voted not inimical, by a large majority. Our magistrates, being enraged at this disappointment, issued out a warrant, notwithstanding, to apprehend me. The judges and jury, being of their appointment, I knew that there was no possibility of my escaping if I came to trial. This determined me to continue prisoner in my own house, till my health was affected, and I perceived it to be no longer a place of security. I then fled about the middle of October last in the night, and continued roving about New Hampshire and elsewhere till the act expired. I left my family in very distressed circumstances, my wife having a sucking child, suffered greatly for want of provisions before she obtained any relief. I have been unable to receive any part of my salary since June, 1775, which has obliged me to work hard for my subsistence, but these restless spirits will neither suffer me to enjoy a moment's repose, nor to reap the fruits of my labours. When the act for swearing took place, I was immediately pursued on a

* High Sheriff of the County.

magistrate's warrant, but before it was properly served I was constrained to petition the Council for leave to depart into Nova Scotia; the matter was suspended till the expedition against Newport should be over.

"I returned from Boston a few days since, but am threatened with immediate imprisonment if ever I attempt to officiate again, either in publick or private, by which means I am deprived of every support, except what arises from charity. In Boston I was treated with great compassion and tenderness, both by Whigs and Tories, and received several generous benefactions, even from the former. But during this absence my family severely felt the distresses of hunger and famine, and sometimes had nothing to eat for several days together but an handful of vegetables and a little milk and water, and at other times they remained twenty-four hours without any sustenance at all, till Mrs. Bailey had almost determined to die rather than make her situation known, for it has long been criminal for any person in this country to afford us support, and many have been prosecuted as Tories for no other reason. Human nature cannot but reflect with reluctance upon such unchristian and cruel proceedings, neither is it possible for sufferers to love and esteem those institutions which put it in the power of bad men to indulge their ill nature, their malice and revenge, on innocent and defenceless objects.

"Being afterwards at a settlement about fifty miles from my own habitation, at the requisition of the people to preach and baptize their children, I was assaulted by a violent mob armed with clubs, axes, and other weapons, who stripped me naked in search of papers, pretending that I had conceived a design of escaping to Quebeck."

The following was addressed to Rev. S. Parker, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, and is dated October 1st, 1778:—

"In order to explain a little the nature of my situation, and to elucidate the character of my persecutors, I beg leave to relate the following incident. The County Court is now sitting, and I am this minute informed that I am presented before the Grand Jury for preaching treason on the Sunday after Easter. When I came to examine the matter I found there was noth-

ing in either of my sermons which tended in the remotest sense to meddle with the present times ; this induced me to search the lessons for the day, and I presently found that the sixteenth chapter of Numbers was the lesson appointed in the Morning Service, and that the twenty-sixth verse contained almost the very words sworn to in the deposition upon which they founded their presentment. In order to save you the trouble of opening your Bible I will quote you the words : ‘ And he spake unto the congregation saying, Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye be consumed in all their sins.’ ”

“ The Grand Jury, however, at the instance of Langdon, the attorney, refused to find a bill.”

In writing to another friend, Mr. Bailey mentions that he “ gave the earliest intelligence of the above-named matter to Rev. Mr. Parker, who presented his letter to the Council, at which they laughed very heartily. M. and N., ignorant of my correspondence, hastened up to Boston with the fellow’s deposition on which the complaint was founded, determined to prevent, if possible, the success of my petition, but though wafted upon the wings of malice and ill-nature, their arrival was too late.”

The following extract from a letter written in November of this year, shows that the troubles of this poor Missionary were far from being ended : “ About the beginning of November I received a permission from the General Court to remove with my family and substance to Halifax, but no opportunity presenting, after a double disappointment in attempting to get away, and the severe season advancing, I ventured again to perform Divine Service, being earnestly intreated by my parishioners, and compelled by the following inducements : I considered that Mr. Cushing had no authority to silence me, as there was no law in this or any of the United States to prohibit persons from preaching, and that no minister of any denomination was required to take the oath of allegiance to qualify him for the discharge of his office ; neither has the oath, as far as I can learn, been tendered to any preacher. I reflected that this attempt to prevent the performance of Di-

vine Service must be regarded as a profane and daring intrusion upon sacred things, and not only a manifest invasion of our religious, as well as civil rights, but an impious design, as much as possible, to affect the spiritual interest, and even to injure, if not to destroy, the souls of my parishioners; and further, that such conduct would be received and commented on in any other Christian country, as a crime of the most dangerous, horrid, and malignant nature. I considered myself as under the most sacred obligations to perform the worship of God, and to preach among my people, until prevented by my absence, or restrained by the laws of my country, especially when there is no Religious Society of our own, or any other denomination, where we could possibly attend. I plainly perceived that the young people were strolling about with little regard for the Lord's Day, that all sense of religion was in danger of being expelled, and that nothing could be expected but the fatal consequences of vice, irreligion, and profaneness. I must confess, however, that I found myself in a very distressing dilemma—the inveterate malice of my enemies on the one hand, and the obligations of conscience and duty on the other; here their illegal and arbitrary mandates to restrain, there the dictates of reason and humanity, and even the authority of Heaven to compel me. Could I hesitate any longer? You may depend upon it, this is all I have done to rekindle the indignation of these restless spirits, and I am persecuted afresh, not for being an enemy to my country, but for preaching the Gospel and performing Divine Service among a set of poor and inoffensive people, who are indeed reproached and persecuted for their attachment to me.”

Mr. Bailey states, in a letter to a friend, that “on the Sunday before Christmas, the weather being pleasant for this turbulent season, we had a full congregation, and this indignant magistrate,* observing a number of people passing by his house in their attendance upon Divine Service, sent directly for one of my Wardens, and with a flaming countenance and haughty tone of voice, and the most insolent airs of authority, ordered

* The High Sheriff.

him to deliver me the following imperious message: 'Tell the Parson that if he presumes to discharge his functions any longer, I will immediately commit him to prison, and that if he do not enter into a written agreement to forbear the exercise of Publick Worship, I will myself appear on Christmas day, attended with a number of resolute fellows, and drag him headlong out of the pulpit.' But he firmly promised, at the same time, that he would never molest me whilst I continued in my own house."

Mr. Bailey sent a letter to this individual, in which he says, "my intentions were immediately to remove upon my receiving permission from the (General) Court. But having met with one or two disappointments; and the winter advancing in all its horrors, I found it impossible to depart till the weather should become more settled; since no one could be prevailed upon to venture either himself, or vessel in such a stormy season; and besides, to undertake a voyage with a woman and young child in any convenience I am able to procure, I must be divested both of humanity and common prudence. Being detained in this manner I was induced to preach at the earnest desire of my parishioners, to whom I am under the highest obligations of gratitude for their kind and generous concern to relieve me in my necessitous circumstances. I considered that it was certainly my duty to comply with their request till my removal; that it could not possibly injure any person alive, nor occasion any damage to my country, for which I shall always retain the warmest affection; and that it was not repugnant to any laws, since preachers of all denominations, as Ana-baptists, Separates, Quakers, prisoners, &c., are allowed to preach without either taking the oath, or suffering any kind of molestation. * * * * * Will it afford you any satisfaction, on the one hand, to enforce the oath at the expense of my conscience, and the destruction of my interest, or on the other to confine me in a wretched prison, to the ruin of my health, and perhaps my life? * * * I must again repeat my desire of entering into some friendly agreement, and that you will not put me to the trouble and expense of making another application to the General Court."

The next day after this letter was delivered was Christmas. On account of the extreme severity of the weather, divine service was omitted. Mr. Bailey's family, with a few friends, had just sat down to dinner, when the High Sheriff entered the house. A female relative who was present went into the kitchen where this officer was, and endeavored to "mitigate the passion which inflamed him." During the conversation, one of his deputies and a relative joined the principal actor in this business. The former uttered language marked by profaneness and obscenity, which so provoked a faithful man servant that he threatened him with personal violence if it should be repeated. This immediately caused the deputy to attack the servant. * * *

The account breaks off abruptly at this point. The above imperfect narrative has been inserted to fill out, in a measure, the picture of the troubles that Mr. Bailey experienced after he had received permission from the highest authority to leave the country, and was hindered from availing himself of that permission only by unavoidable circumstances.

Mr. Bailey was waiting for a proper opportunity of removing to Halifax. This opportunity did not offer till June of the following year, 1779.

The Church at Georgetown had been under the care of the subject of this Memoir from his first arrival in Kennebec, excepting the four years covered by the ministry of the Rev. W. W. Wheeler. The following from a letter of Rev. J. W. Weeks, in 1778, to the Venerable Society, is a part of the history of that parish: * "When I was in that part of the country I baptized many children and married several couples. The Church at Georgetown is made up of several wealthy farmers, who are noted loyalists. I offered to preach to them, but they were afraid to suffer me. They were all obliged to pay taxes to the dissenting ministers, and they dared not dispute it." †

The sufferings of many people in Maine during the latter

* Hawkins' History of Missions, &c., p. 255.

† The Churchmen in Georgetown had been deprived of the benefit of their own rates or taxes in 1767. See under that year.

portion of Mr. Bailey's residence there, and the distresses of himself and family are stated in a letter to a friend: "This reminds me, by way of conclusion, to excite in your mind some faint idea of the scarcity which prevails throughout the country. Multitudes of people, who formerly lived in affluence, are now destitute of a morsel of bread, and the remainder are reduced to a very scanty allowance. Several families in the lower towns, and in the Eastern country, have had no bread in their houses for three months together, and the anxiety and distress which this occasions are truly affecting. Great numbers who inhabit near the sea coast, and even at the distance of twenty miles, after being starved into skeletons for want of provisions, have repaired to the clam banks for a resource; while others, who were prevented by their circumstances, or distant situation, from acquiring this kind of food, were still in a more calamitous condition. I have myself been witness to several exquisite scenes of anguish, besides feeling in my own bosom the bitterness of hunger, and the utmost anxiety for the subsistence of my family. I have seen among my neighbours the most striking horrors of nakedness and famine. Many during the pinching cold and storms of winter, exposed to all the roughness and severity of the season, had the misfortune to buffet the turbulence of the weather without shoes or stockings, or even shirts. And when the spring advanced to afford them a kindly warmth, destitute of anything to answer the importunate demands of nature, except a precarious supply obtained from their charitable friends, who had not sufficient to silence their own necessitous cravings. Several families within the compass of my own knowledge have been for a long season deprived of all sustenance agreeable to their palates, or adapted to the nourishment and support of the human body. It was impossible to procure grain, potatoes, or any other species of vegetable; flesh, butter and milk, were equally scarce; no tea, sugar, or molasses, to be purchased on any terms; nothing, in a word, but a little coffee, with boiled alewives, or a repast of clams, and even of this unwholesome diet not enough to gratify the cravings of nature. I have walked abroad after a breakfast of these ingredients, weak and feeble

myself, in hopes to obtain a dinner among my more wealthy acquaintance, and have returned home disappointed of my expectations, and when in other places I have received an invitation to eat, have refused, because I could not find an heart to deprive a number of starving children of their pitiful allowance, who were staring upon me with hollow, piercing eyes, and pale and languid faces."

Two or three letters from his correspondents, and a very meagre Journal for the four first months of 1779, are all the papers referring to the early part of that year that have come into the hands of the writer. That the organization of the parish was preserved amid the gloom which was gathering additional blackness, appears from the following entry:—

"April 5th, 1779. Chose our Church Officers."*

Some of the occurrences of the last few days he spent in his parish, are thus related in a letter afterwards written to the Secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, &c.: "I however continued to baptize their children, to visit the sick, and to bury the dead, till about a fortnight before I left the country, when the above-mentioned sheriff, with some of his mischievous gang, appeared at a funeral, to apprehend me; but through the vigilance of friends I had timely notice, and escaped the danger."†

* It may be of interest to record the names of the officers of St. John's Church, Pownalborough, in the troublous times spoken of in the text. They are taken from a petition sent to the High Sheriff of Lincoln county, dated December 24th, 1778. The petitioners desire that Mr. Bailey may be allowed to officiate the few Sundays which remained before he should embark for Halifax. This petition is signed by Samuel Goodwin, Herriek Pillul, *Church Wardens*; Peter Pochard, David Bailey, George Goud, Philip Mayer, George Mayer, Louis Houdlette, *Vestry*.

† See Note K.

CHAPTER VII.

THE materials for continuing this Biography after the last date mentioned in the preceding chapter, are to be found in a "Journal of a voyage from Pownalboro' to Halifax, with notices of some events in the latter place." A portion of this MS. has unfortunately been lost, and it terminates abruptly, but it is thought that the greater part of what remains is worthy of publication.

"June 7th, 1779. We arose this morning before the sun and began to prepare for our expulsion, our hearts replete with apprehension, anxiety and distress.

As the rising sun tinged the various objects around us, I beheld the once delightful scenes with bitter emotions of grief. This, in a word, was the silent language of our faces as we looked upon each other, and it was agreeable to the inward impulse. Must we, after all the trouble, harrassment and crue persecution we have endured for the cause of truth and virtue, must we leave these pleasing scenes of nature, these friendly shades, these rising plants, these opening flowers, these trees swelling with fruit, and yonder winding river, which appears through the umbrageous avenue, to revive and elevate the mind? We must no longer behold the splendid orb of day peeping over the eastern hills to dissipate the fog, and to brighten the field and the forest. We must hear no more the sweet music of the tuneful tribe, amidst the trembling grove, to gladden, charm and animate the desponding heart.

But we quickly perceived other objects approaching to take a mournful farewell, which made a still deeper and more lasting impression on the wounded spirits, I mean a number of our honest, kind and generous parishioners, who came to offer us their last assistance, and to let fall a parting tear! Mr. Jakin, George Mayer, Mrs. Philip Mayer, and other females, were present on this affecting occasion. After taking a very

slender breakfast, we began our departure, and when we left the house and garden, and turned our backs upon these weeping friends, I was obliged to summon the utmost fortitude to contend with the tender emotions of nature. We walked slowly along the shady road, and shut out one enchanting prospect after another, till we met Mrs. Pochard and Mrs. Jakin, who, upon seeing us, were unable to speak; the effusions of sorrow stifled their voices, and all, for some minutes, was a scene of silent woe! We proceeded in this manner through Mr. Jakin's field, and when we were about to take a final adieu, this kind neighbor threw herself upon the ground, and lay sobbing in that humble posture, till we could see her no more. We next called upon Mr. Malbone and his wife, and saw the tears roll down their aged cheeks.

Mr. Pochard and his wife, after we had taken leave of the children, attended us as far as Mr. Ridley's. When we approached his habitation, he came out to meet us, and snatching me by the hand, burst into silent tears.

When the first emotions were a little abated, he began to execrate the villains who had driven me from my friends, my habitation and parish. Upon entering the house, they prevailed with us to take a dish of tea, and to accept of some provisions for our voyage. Col. Taylor presently appeared to bid us adieu, and informed me that our magistrates were ready to abate somewhat of their former rigor. Several of the families, with Mrs. Pochard, followed us to my brother's, where another scene of grief and lamentation appeared. Mr. Burke and his wife brought their child here to be baptized, after which exercise I took my leave of all present, with an aching heart, and embarked in Mr. Ridley's boat, Mr. Jakin and George Mayer attending us down the river."

[A few pages of the MS. are wanting here. In that portion of the Journal which has been preserved, it would seem that the exiles had reached the town of Georgetown, a few miles below their habitation, where they probably expected to pass some days, before taking a final leave of their native country. Here, they found the small schooner which they had engaged for their voyage.] The account continues: "As his

arrival was two days sooner than we expected, it threw us into great perplexity, as our dependence for provision was chiefly on the generosity of our Georgetown friends, and besides, Capt. Smith was still at home, and was not expected till Wednesday morning. To remedy this last inconvenience, John was immediately despatched with a message to Smith, which laid him under the necessity of travelling all night, while we proceeded to Mr. Butler's. When we arrived at this hospitable mansion, we had the disagreeable situation to find all the family in bed. They arose, however, and procured us a supper, and about midnight we went to repose.

June 8th. This morning we arose, cheerless, before the sun, and had this benevolent family to attend us. They prepared us an early breakfast, after which they gave Mrs. Bailey a pot of butter and a salmon, and then attended us in solemn procession to the shore. We looked upon each other with disconsolate faces and tearful eyes, till the rapid current carried us round the point, and excluded us from seeing our friends any longer. It afforded us a great deal of concern that we were unable to see Mr. Percey's family before we left the country. We proceeded up the river and paid a short parting visit at Mr. Preble's. This friendly and loyal family gave us their hearty good wishes, and furnished us with some articles of provision for our voyage. Our next remove was to Mr. Carleton's. Upon our arrival, we found that generous and friendly hero gone to the eastern side of Pownalboro', to procure us some provisions.

In the forenoon we carried our beds, and the shattered remains of our fortune, the whole not worth forty dollars, on board our schooner, a little vessel, not more than fifteen tons, with such slender conveniences that we were obliged to make provision for lodging in the hold.

Mr. Palmer brought us several letters from my friends at Broad Bay, containing the tenderest expressions of good will, and the most hearty and anxious wishes for our welfare, and these were attended with some presents to make us comfortable in our troublesome voyage.

Mr. Palmer attended us in our return to Mr. Carleton's,

where we dined, and then went to visit Mr. William and David Gilmore. We passed away a few hours and then took an affectionate farewell, and at parting received some addition to our stores. About six we returned to Mr. Carleton's, and drank coffee in company with twenty-two persons.

The wind blowing fresh from the westward, we were somewhat alarmed by the appearance of a sail standing across the bay for Mr. Carleton's landing. Some of our company concluded that it was either Cushing, or some of his infernal attendants, approaching with a mischievous design to interrupt our voyage. I was extremely anxious for the event, as I had a number of papers on board which would have been reckoned highly treasonable against the States; but when the people landed we perceived it was Mr. Carleton's brother, from Piscataqua, who had excited our groundless fears. He brought no intelligence of a public nature, but gave us an account of a terrible tempest of thunder and lightning, which consumed in the space of thirty minutes a stately synagogue at Somersworth, destroyed eight sheep at a little distance, and twenty five in another flock, brake to pieces an huge rock, and demolished above forty large oak trees within the compass of three miles.

We had long been waiting, with eager expectation, for the arrival of Capt. Smith, and the rest of our company, from Pownalboro'; at length Capt. Smith, Mr. Hitchins and John made their appearance to our great satisfaction. Mr. Palmer persuaded them to attend him directly on board our vessel, which lay near Mr. Justice Stinson's, at the distance of two miles.

Mr. Jakins and the two Mayers, went by water, about an hour after sunset, when the former and Mr. George Mayer, intending to set out for home very early in the morning, took their leave, which added another tender scene to the many we had already passed through, and the honest tears of affection and friendship were shed, on both sides, in plentiful effusions.

About ten Mr. Carleton returned home from Witchcasset, and brought me several articles from Mr. Wood, together with some confused account of the expedition against Virginia.

We spent the rest of this evening in an agreeable manner. The thoughts, however, of leaving such benevolent friends behind, exposed to the rage of persecution and the vengeance of rebels, afforded us at times some uneasy sensations.

June 9th. When the morning opened, we perceived that the Westerly winds were died away, and that a dry fog hovered over the land, which afforded us no very pleasing prospect.

Our friends were disheartened at the threatening symptoms of drought, and both corn and grass were beginning to languish in the fields.

Just before sunrise we bid this hospitable family adieu with tender regret, and proceeded along the woods to the ferry below Hell's Gate. During this long and tedious walk we were greatly incommoded with the heat of the season and the innumerable swarms of voracious insects. Upon our arrival at the water, we made a signal for the boat, and were carried on board the schooner, but, to our extreme regret, perceived that Mr. Hitchins had returned back with Mr. Jakins and Mayer.

This man had endured a variety of persecutions for his integrity, and was now reduced to extreme poverty; he had a wife and several small children, but he concluded that it was more prudent to leave them to the mercy of the country, than to run the risk of imprisonment and death, without affording them any assistance. But Mr. Palmer, not knowing his real character, and thinking that he would incommode us in our passage, had compelled him, in a manner, to leave the vessel.

About nine we got under way with a gentle breeze from the south-west, and fell down between Parker's Island and Jeremisquam into Sheepscot River. The country hereabouts made a romantic appearance, fine groves of tall trees, shrubby evergreens, craggy rocks, cultivated fields and human habitations, alternately presented themselves to view, and yielded a profusion of pleasure to the imagination.

When we entered Sheepscot River the rolling ocean presented itself in open prospect, and we perceived a number of vessels sailing at a distance. About two o'clock we got into the sea,

and began to steer towards the east, but the wind failing we made but a slow progress.

We attempted to avoid a fishing vessel in our neighborhood, lest some accident should interrupt our voyage, but we were unable to carry our intention, for she came alongside, and we found the schooner belonged to Dennis Gatchell, of Bodingham, a late convert from rebellion and independence. He gave us a little salt, and pronounced his benediction.

As night approached it grew perfectly calm, and we were obliged to anchor in Cape Newaggen harbour, a little to the west of Booth Bay. This is an excellent station for small shipping. The land rises with an easy slope from the water's edge on the north and partly on the east, while the remainder is surrounded with islands on which were erected fishermen's huts. Between these islands you pass into the harbour through very small inlets.

Soon after our arrival, Mr. Gatchell came in and dropped an anchor near us. As I am always impatient to go on shore whenever it is possible, I persuaded our men to get the boat in readiness, and Mr. Palmer and Mrs. Bailey, her niece and little son, accompanied me; we landed upon the northern shore.

The land, from the water to some considerable distance, was destitute of trees and covered with grass exceedingly green and flourishing, notwithstanding the dryness of the season; the soil, though rocky, is rich, and we observed that the plants and flowers, which grew in abundance, were large and thriving. We followed some of the winding paths towards the east, till the prospect opened into Townsend harbour, which stretches a long way from the sea up to the northward. After we had diverted ourselves awhile with walking among these romantic scenes, we returned near the landing, and reposed upon the grass till evening advanced to spread abroad her cooling and refreshing shades. While we continued here, I observed at some distance, the ruins of an human habitation, with the vestiges of a garden, constructed among the rocks. This, Mr. Palmer informed me, was formerly the abode of an hermit, who, meeting with a cruel disappointment in a love matter,

retired from all society, and spent the remainder of his days, to extreme old age, in this forsaken retreat. Mr. Gatchell came on shore, and entered into a long conversation with us, concerning his former conduct and present sentiments with regard to the American rebellion. He had been both a committee man and a captain of the Militia, till falling in company with the famous Mr. Sands,* he changed his licentious principles, and from a furious and revengeful rebel, became a sincere and peaceable subject. He declared, that however improbable it might appear, he had heretofore acted from honest, though mistaken principles. He acknowledged, that he, in strict justice, deserved no mercy from a sovereign he had so greatly abused, but still flattered himself with the hopes of forgiveness, from the known lenity of the British Government, and the great humanity of his Royal Master. He gave me several anecdotes concerning the malice and violence of Cushing, which to a stranger would appear to exceed the limits of probability. After supper, the persons belonging to my family took possession of the hold, and spread our beds upon the hard stones which were collected for ballast, a most humble and gloomy situation. We had not long been composed to sleep, before we were aroused by thunder, and saw the lightning flashing through the crevices with tremendous glare, while the rain, pouring through the leaky deck, fell upon us in streams.

June 10th. This morning, after a succession of fine showers, which greatly refreshed the face of nature, the wind began to breeze from the north-west. This favourable incident determined us to weigh anchor and to display our sails. We soon ran down to Pemaquid, and saw at a distance, up a large opening to the northward, a number of fine settlements around the ancient port, while to the S. W., we had a pleasing prospect of Damariscove Island, mostly cleared land, with one or two habitations; to the S. E., the Isle of Monhegan rose like a

* QUERE—Robert Sandeman? This person founded a religious sect which took his name. Many of his followers were Loyalists. See *Sabine's American Loyalists*, p. 591.

mountain out of the ocean. We discovered a topsail schooner standing to the south, which was afterwards taken, as we understood, by the Blonde frigate. We now approached Pemaquid point, an extensive, narrow headland, running out into the sea for many miles. The shores, I observed, were very high, rocky and rude, covered with a fine appearance of trees, but destitute of any improvements or human habitations. We were obliged to beat all the way, for eighteen miles, up to Broad Cove, in order to discharge Mr. Palmer. In our passage, we passed by a beautiful island in possession of the famous Will Loud, containing several hundred acres of rich land. Opposite to this estate, on the western shore, was situated Round Pond, encircled with a number of elegant settlements.

We came to an anchor a little above Loud's Island, and took our leave, with regret, of our zealous friend, Mr. Palmer. After he was gone, in order to divert our melancholy, while the people were filling their casks with water, we went on shore to a neighboring house, where we met with a friendly reception. About four in the afternoon we set sail, and proceeded almost to St. George's Island, under the assistance of a propitious breeze, but, on a sudden, the wind shifted to the south-east, and blew with some degree of violence, which compelled us to alter our course, and to stand up the river towards the settlements in Broad Cove. Nothing could be more romantic and pleasing than the prospects around us.

As we sailed up the harbour a number of islands of various shapes and sizes, partly cultivated, and partly in their primeval wildness, presented themselves to view in alternate succession; till we had a distant appearance of the Dutch plantations at Broad Bay, lying contiguous on both sides of the river. At length the fine settlements on the Bristol shore suddenly opened upon us, the fields arrayed in virgin green, gently sloping down to the water, exhibited an idea of cheerfulness and joy. The reflection, however, that we were doomed to abandon these pleasant scenes, checked the rising emotions of the heart, and filled our minds with the glooms of melancholy and sorrow.

When we came to anchor, the two brothers conducted us on

shore, and we walked through a range of fields and pastures to the habitation of Mr. Rhodes, who received us with sincere expressions of hospitality. The sun was now descending towards the margin of the western horizon, and every object was brightened with his beams and softened with the cooling breezes of evening. We were soon provided with a dish of tea, which, after our fatigue and sickness upon the water, afforded us a seasonable refreshment. After this grateful repast, we walked among the rural scenes, and surveyed them with a pleasing regret, and having spent the remainder of the evening in conversation, supper and devotion, we went to repose, and slept quietly till the morning.

MR. RHODES.

This generous farmer was born in Germany, and emigrated from those dominions in the early part of his life. By his sobriety, uprightness and industry, he has acquired an handsome fortune, and had the curse of rebellion never fallen upon America, he would live in elegance and plenty without the labour of his hands; but his family, in common with others, has been reduced to a morsel of bread, through the iniquity and distress of the times. This man, by a spirit of industry, has acquired a considerable degree of knowledge, and, though in a remote corner of the world, understands both men and things, to a degree beyond persons in his station of life. He is rather silent, than talkative, yet curious and inquisitive, and listens with attention to whatever is advanced in conversation, which sometimes inclines him to be wavering in religion and politicks, but when he has leisure to indulge his own reflections, he always fixes in favor of the Church and British Government. He is humane, generous and hospitable, but is wholly destitute of noise in his benevolent communications; no man has a greater portion of integrity, or is more disposed to make his neighbors happy. But with all these virtues, and a disposition never to contradict or irritate, he could not escape the malice and vengeance of liberty; but notwithstanding his mildness and moderation, neither threatenings nor persuasion could—[A part of the MS. is wanting.]

June 12th. This morning when daylight appeared we got under weigh, with a light breeze from the north-west, which soon carried us out of the harbour. We steered an E. S. E. course, intending to cross the Bay of Fundy, but before we had gained two leagues from St. George's Island, it became entirely calm, during which we caught a considerable quantity of cod-fish. After rolling in the sea for two or three hours, the wind began to breeze from the S. S. E., which obliged us to keep close hauled; but before we could reach the Island of Metinic, a thick fog set in, which excluded us from the sight of any land. This induced us to bear away for the Muscle Ridges, a number of islands lying off St. George's, to the west of Penobscot Bay. In our progress towards a convenient harbour, we were alarmed by the firing of cannon at some distance on the eastern points of the compass. A thick fog, attended by a stormy wind, prevented us from making land till we came almost upon it. We at length discovered an opening, through which we explored a passage without any disaster, and came to anchor a little to the leeward of several small islands. Mrs. Bailey and I immediately went on shore, at a little beach, which opened between the rocks. The land was covered with trees, and the skirts of the upland covered with gooseberry bushes, alexander, and a multitude of curious plants and flowers of luxurious growth and various colors, which formed an elegant border to these wild and romantic scenes. Nothing could be more unequal and deformed than the appearances around us, as we walked along the margin of this island; here we encountered a vast pile of ragged stones, thrown upon each other in the utmost disorder, resembling the ruins of nature; there a rocky promontory, breaking suddenly into horrid precipices, with tremendous chasms and caverns gaping beneath us; on this hand a smooth and even beach, covered with small pebbles, and gently sloping to the edge of the water; on that a level spot adorned with green and enameled with flowers.

After we had diverted ourselves with these various appearances, we returned on board and drank coffee. But curiosity impelled us to visit another island which lay at a farther

distance towards the south-east. The tide was so rapid and replete with eddies and whirlpools, that it was with some difficulty and hazard we reached the destined shore. We found here, a fine, sandy beach with an elegant slope, but the island was so overgrown with immense trees, chiefly yellow birch, and underbrush, that it was almost impossible to penetrate the thickets. We discovered, in our excursions, a number of flowers and plants of the same species which flourish upon the other neighbouring islands. We reached our vessel about sunset, when an heavy mist set in, and the wind began to breeze from the eastern points of the compass.

We passed away the evening in as agreeable a manner as our present situation would permit, being no less than ten persons crowded in the small cabin, amid heat and smoke, till we were almost suffocated, and then were obliged to repair upon deck to breathe a purer air, but here we were incommoded with the chilly fog and a numerous army of mosquitos. After supper we confined ourselves to our imprisonment in the hold, a dark and gloomy situation, where we were tormented with the stench of bilge water, and other disagreeable odors.

June 13th. (Sunday.) This morning opened with the same kind of weather as the preceding day, and this season, devoted to Christian joy and festivity, passed away without affording us any agreeable or cheerful incident.

We however endeavored to preserve each other from sinking into melancholy. To persons in our situation, scarce anything could be more disagreeable than to be detained by contrary winds, in the neighborhood of those hostile shores from which we were fleeing. After dinner Captain Smith thought it prudent to remove to a more convenient station, as the air and heavens proclaimed an approaching tempest, and we lay somewhat exposed to the ravages of a north-east wind. In consequence of this determination, we sailed about a mile to the eastern-most of this range of islands, and came to anchor at the entrance of a convenient little harbour, which formed a narrow opening into a large island. On the north shore we perceived a little habitation with a considerable quantity of improved land around it. This was a pleasing sight, as we

had lately seen nothing except water and uncultivated wilds. On the opposite shore, we presently discovered another building contiguous to a large growth of trees, with some little green patches between it and the margin of the water. We had no sooner secured our vessel, than John Hoffman, and the other two Dutchmen, took the boat and went on shore to procure a little milk. They quickly returned on board in high spirits, and with joy sparkling from their eyes, assuring us that a British fleet, with a detachment of land forces from Halifax, had just arrived in the country, and were resolved to take possession of the country and erect a fort in Penobscot Bay. We imagined this report to be too fortunate to be true, especially as the people had it only from uncertain rumour. One circumstance, however, seemed to confirm it; we had, the preceding forenoon, taken notice of a large square-rigged vessel standing along without the island, which we now had reason to apprehend was one of the royal fleet. These appearances served to amuse us during supper, and furnished abundant matter of conversation and gave rise to a variety of conjectures. They however deprived me, in a great measure, of sleep, and I lay with eager impatience for the morning light.

June 14th. After we arose, we began instantly to prepare for going on shore before breakfast, intending to take materials with us for that purpose, but we were detained a little by a miserable object from the house which stood on the southern side of the harbour. The man had famine strongly pictured in his face, and informed us that his wife had been delivered of a child about ten days before, and that she had ever since been destitute of any kind of sustenance, except one gill of Indian meal and a fish. Mrs. Bailey was so moved with her situation that she sent her some relief, notwithstanding we had the greatest prospect of suffering ourselves before we could reach the limits of Nova Scotia. We landed about seven in the morning, and were rejoiced to find ourselves once more delivered from a wretched confinement. We approached the house with some degree of timidity, being ignorant of the people and uncertain what kind of reception they might

give us. Mrs. Bailey was dressed with a small roll upon her head, which induced Mrs. Welch, mistress of the house, and her father to exclaim with the utmost vehemence against the wickedness of the times, and when they perceived that she was a minister's wife, they conceived the wearing of the roll to be an unpardonable crime. It is really surprising that when so many flagrant vices prevail in the country, such as the most daring profaneness, perjury, and a visible contempt for all religious institutions, not to mention the oppression, injustice and inhumanity that is everywhere practiced with impunity, I repeat that it is surprising, that in such circumstances, people should imagine that any particular fashion should occasion the indignation of Heaven against our country, or to imagine that dress or external habit engages the attention of the Deity, more than the conduct of our lives, the words of our mouths, or the sentiments of our hearts. To rail against fashions has always been the employment of little and narrow minds, and is a convincing evidence of a mean and sordid pride, which envies every person who is able to appear in any distinction above ourselves. Mr. Welch, however, discovered a greater knowledge of the world, and reproved his wife for her censorious disposition; this had an happy effect, and we were afterwards treated with as much respect and consideration as we could expect. The weather being very stormy, we were chiefly confined to the house, I, however, frequently ventured abroad in the rain to examine the various scenes around us, especially the vegetable productions, which flourished here in great perfection. The soil of this island is composed of dark, rich earth, intermixed with a vast profusion of clam shells, to the extent of several feet deep, which kind of composition is extremely favourable to vegetation. These appearances are a strong indication that this island was formerly a noted place of rendezvous for the Indians, who resided here in great numbers in their fishing season. Mr. Welch had a pretty garden spot, contiguous to his house, which afforded me some amusement, though, I must confess, I could not survey the various objects and rising plants without many sorrowful emotions; everything about me recalled the pleasing scenes I

had forsaken, the delightful fruits of my labour, and excited a number of uneasy and painful sensations. After I had fatigued myself with walking in the wet and viewing every object worthy of observation, I reëntered the house and diverted myself with the conversation and long stories of father Renkin. He was between seventy and eighty years of age, had read a few authors, just sufficient to excite his vanity, and had some considerable acquaintance with all the ancient settlers in the eastern country, and was able to furnish several curious anecdotes of them and their ancestors. His notions, however, were very contracted, and, like a true Irish Presbyterian, he was better pleased to censure than applaud. We here received a confirmation of the British invasion, and though the people here had always favored the rebellion, they were now extremely forward to make a seasonable submission, since any kind of resistance would only contribute to increase their misfortunes, and, 'besides,' continued they, 'it must be for our interest to receive protection and support from the Britons, as our adherence to Congress can assure us nothing but misery, nakedness and famine.' After dining on shore, and making several excursions abroad, we returned to our vessel about sunset, when the storm began to rage with increasing violence. The noise of the winds, the dashing of the waves against the adjacent rocks, and the falling of the rain upon the deck, were sufficient to prevent us from taking any comfortable repose.

June 15th. When we arose in the morning we perceived the weather to be still wet and storming, with the wind about east; and, as there was no prospect of sailing, we determined to spend the day on shore. The people received us with civility, especially as we were able to give them a taste of bread, which was here an extreme rarity. I observed that vegetables upon these islands were at least ten days later in their advance towards perfection than at Pownalboro'; this must certainly be owing to the sea air and the frequency of fogs. I found Mr. Welch very obliging, and disposed to give me all the assistance and entertainment in his power. After dinner, as the girls were walking out, they returned in surprise, and declared they had discovered a barge full of men making towards the

shore on the north-eastern side of the island. At the same time Capt. Smith and Dr. Myers arrived from our vessel, bringing information that a large brig passed by an opening to the northward, between two islands. This intelligence determined Mr. Welch, Capt. Smith, and I, to walk round the island, but to our mortification we were unable to make any discovery, the brig, we imagined, having slipped into Owl's Head, at the distance of a league, — the wind favoring such a movement. As we were returning, on the eastern side of the island, an heavy shower overtook us, and we were alarmed by several loud and rattling peals of thunder, upon which the clouds began to disperse and the Heavens to brighten. But this flattering prospect did not long continue, for as the evening advanced an heavy dark mist overspread both the land and water.

We spent this day more agreeably than the former, and had a variety of incidents to drive away melancholy reflections; for notwithstanding we assumed an air of cheerfulness and resolution, it occasioned us abundance of regret and chagrin, when we found ourselves departing from our native country, to seek a refuge in a foreign region, among strangers, who would probably eye us with suspicion and jealousy; and, besides, compulsion is always attended with uneasy sensations. Men can readily quit the land which gave them birth and education when interest, pleasure, or curiosity entice them; but when they are expelled by faction, or legal authority, the case is extremely different; our pride, in these circumstances, is alarmed, and that natural abhorrence that every mortal has to restraint, embitters our minds, and we repair to the place of our banishment, however delightful and advantageous, with reluctance and aversion. But what rendered our situation still more distressing, was the uncertainty of our return to our country, our friends, and habitation.

About dark we returned again to our prison, and having prepared supper, continued to divert ourselves in the best manner we were able. We however proposed the next morning, should wind and weather permit, to go in search of the British fleet, and then went to repose.

June 16th. This morning, when we awoke, a little before sunrise, we had the agreeable information that the weather was fine and clear, and the wind beginning to breeze from the west. This intelligence revived our spirits, but we were obliged to wait for the tide till after breakfast, for it being spring tides, the water had ebbed out so low that we were aground. It was with great impatience that we waited till the element returned to assist our escape; at length, about nine, we came to sail, and passed through a narrow channel, and stood away towards Owl's Head, under favour of a propitious gale, with a view to discover, if possible, some of the British fleet. We stood away to the northward till we had a fair prospect into Owl's Head Harbour, but no vessels appearing, we had some dispute whether we should proceed up Penobscot Bay, or direct our course for Nova Scotia. I was inclined to favour the former proposal, but the rest of our company being anxious to visit Halifax, and Mrs. Bailey expressing her fears that instead of finding British ships, we should fall among rebel cruisers, I gave directions to cross the Bay of Fundy. Nothing could be more flattering than the prospect before us; the sky was serene, with a gentle gale from the west north-west, and a number of small clouds over the land, promised a propitious season. We were, besides, charmed with the various appearances around us,—the ocean, interspersed with a multitude of fine islands, of different shapes and dimensions; to the north, Penobscot Bay opened into the land, with its numerous islands, covered with lofty trees, except here and there an infant plantation, while beyond, the Camden Mountains arose in majestic grandeur, throwing their rugged summits above the clouds; these, as we approached the Fox Islands without, began gradually to diminish till their dusky azure resembled the seat of a thunder-tempest, advancing to discharge its vengeance on some distant shore. But while we were viewing these romantic scenes with a mixture of delight and veneration, and taking leave of our native regions with melancholy regret, the wind suddenly shifted into the S. S. W., and a thick fog covered the surface of the ocean in such a manner as to exclude every object. This incident afforded us abun-

dance of perplexity, as we had to pass through a multitude of islands and rocks, none of which could be discovered at the distance of ten rods. We however ventured to continue our voyage in this uncertain situation. The wind continued to blow a moderate gale, though it remained so scanty that we were obliged to go close-hauled. In the afternoon the weather for several hours was obscure and gloomy, and gave us uneasy apprehensions of an approaching storm, a circumstance no ways agreeable to persons confined to such a little shallop, in so threatening a tract of the ocean as the Bay of Fundy. These apprehensions continued to disturb our repose till about an hour before night, when the sun brake forth in all the brightness of his departing glory, and tinged the summits of the rolling waves with his level beams. At the same time we had a distant view of Mount Desert, at an immense distance, setting like a hillock on the water. All our company by this time were extremely sick, except the Captain, who was obliged to continue at the helm till the returning light began to disperse the shades of darkness. The wind continued somewhat favourable till after midnight, when it died away for more than two hours, then sprang up S. E., almost ahead; about sunrise came to the east, then N. N. E., where it freshened up into a severe gale. It was now tide of flood, and the current proceeding in direct opposition to the wind, a sharp and dangerous sea commenced. After reefing we attempted to scud, but the seas rolling over the vessel obliged us to bring to. The tempest still increased; the wind roared like thunder in the shrouds; the ocean around us was all ragged and deformed, and we were filled with great agitation and dread, expecting every moment to be swallowed up in the immense abyss. We were unable to take any refreshment, and continued till the storm abated confined to our miserable apartments.

June 17th. The storm continuing to rage with unceasing violence, we found ourselves in a very uneasy and dangerous situation, for, as I have already observed, the tides at this season were exceeding full, which occasioned them to set into the Bay of Fundy with rapid violence, and the wind blowing hard against the current drove the water into irregular heaps, which

appeared on every hand like enormous rocks or pillars,—here rising in a conic form to an amazing height, and there breaking into tremendous precipices or falling ruins, while immense caverns, gaping from beneath, threatened us with immediate destruction. I was, during these commotions, confined with my family in the hold, but the weather being warm and the vessel extremely tight, we contrived to keep the hatchway partly open to let in fresh air and to prevent suffocation. The consequence of this precaution was a deluge of water; for the waves, breaking over the deck, came pouring upon us, and almost drowned us in our wretched confinement. In attempting to scud before the wind and billows we were in imminent danger—a mighty wave brake over the stern and instantly plunged our trembling vessel under water; this obliged the captain to bring to, upon which alteration we became more secure till the tempest abated. During the continuance of this conflict our situation was extremely uneasy, every soul on board except Captain Smith being dying sick, and unable to afford him the least assistance, which rendered his care and labour abundantly more distressing. We that were imprisoned in the hold were in a most woful pickle, almost stifled with the fumes of bilge water, our beds swimming, our clothes dripping wet, and our minds, under the greatest anxiety for ourselves and each other. The thoughts of being driven from our country, our much loved home, and all those endearing connections we had been forming for so many years, and, if we escaped the angry vengeance of the ocean, the expectation of landing on a strange and unknown shore, depressed our spirits beyond measure, and filled us with the sad glooms of despondency and woe. But, as appearances often change in this various world, about two of the o'clock, when the tide began to set out of the Bay again, we were presently indulged with an happy alteration. The wind shifted further to the northward, the seas abated, and we quickly found ourselves able to proceed on our voyage; and still to cheer and animate our spirits, the clouds began to break away, the fog to disperse, and the sun to adorn the waves with his western beams. Wafted by a gentle gale we advanced towards the Acadian shores, and

about three hours before sunset, to our great joy, discovered land; but this pleasing prospect did not long continue, the wind fainted into a calm, and, as the darkness approached, an heavy fog covered the mighty deep in such a manner that we could not discover any object at the distance of a rod. Under these disagreeable circumstances we were obliged to stand off to sea in order to avoid the danger of running upon an unknown shore before morning. This unfortunate and unexpected turn in the weather occasioned us great uneasiness, and threw us into our former dejection. To such a number of sea-sick and tempest-beaten mortals, who had been flattered with the prospect of entering into an harbour, this returning to sea was a most grievous mortification; but we had no other remedy except patience, and a very slender dose of that excellent drug. As to myself, it gave me an addition of pain to find that Captain Smith had no assistance in these difficult circumstances, but was obliged to continue at the helm till daylight appeared. The fore part of the night we had the wind at S. S. W., with thick weather.

June 18th. Towards morning the wind shifted into the N. E., then east, and afterwards into the S. E., when it began to blow and rain, with most threatening appearances of a storm. This unexpected continuance of bad weather had a very malignant influence upon our whole company. The hands, with Dr. Mayer, the old bachelor, swore bitterly; the captain, notwithstanding his moderation, lost all patience, and loudly complained of the unpropitious season, while we began to imagine that we should never be able to reach our intended port, so many impediments arising to retard our progress. We, however, found some consolation when we perceived that the wind rather abated, and in the afternoon it blew in our favor, so that we rediscovered the land towards evening. But the fog continued to hover over the surface of the water in such a manner that it became wholly unsafe to aim at any harbour. In bearing away from the shore we discovered, through the surrounding fog, several little islands, interspersed with rugged rocks, against which the waves, dashing with violence, occasioned a

frightful roaring. We had the good fortune, however, to escape without damage.

After keeping almost two days between decks, as it was now more calm and moderate, I ventured out of my confinement to contemplate the striking prospect around us. Nothing appeared but a waste of waters in perpetual motion, with a surface rugged and unshapen beyond imagination, for the seas in this Bay of Fundy do not roll with regular succession as in other oceans, with gradual swellings, which rise in extensive order, one behind another, as far as the eye can reach, but here we perceive waves of a thousand various figures and dimensions, resembling a multitude of rocks and broken fragments of nature, torn by some violent explosion, and rudely scattered over an immense desert or barren plain. While we were sitting upon deck and diverting ourselves as well as our situation would admit, one of our hens escaped from her confinement in the salt room and flew about the vessel from one quarter to another, seemingly exulting in her liberty. But alas! this freedom proved the destruction of the volatile and noisy animal, for one of our company attempted to secure her, upon which she immediately flew overboard into the sea, and sat struggling and cackling upon the waves till we could see her no longer. I must confess that in my present circumstances this accident affected me, and I was moved with compassion for the foolish flutterer, when I observed her exposed to inevitable destruction, striving to regain the vessel, and, as it were, calling aloud for assistance, when we were unable to afford the wretched being any relief. How often do we behold animals who fondly boast of reason, hurrying themselves with almost the same giddy precipitation into ruin. How common is it for men, when impatient of legal restraint, and ardent to acquire unbounded freedom,—how frequent is it for people in these circumstances, when they have escaped from every confinement and gained their wished for liberty, to plunge headlong into destruction, and when they become sensible too late of their unbounded rashness and folly, they are desirous from their hearts to reënter that condition they once called

slavery and bondage. In short, I am convinced that no animal in nature makes so pernicious an improvement of liberty as man; for notwithstanding all his boasted pretences to wisdom, if you place him in a situation of unrestrained license, it is a thousand to one if he do not ruin both himself and all his intimate connexions. But enough of liberty for the present, since I had a sufficient surfeit from it in New England, and have seen from that abused principle all the miseries of licentiousness, anarchy, and tyranny, flowing like so many torrents to deluge that unhappy and devoted land. Just about sunset we were favored with another flattering prospect of fine weather; a glim from the western hemisphere inspired us with pleasure, but upon the rising of the fog we were alarmed to find ourselves almost contiguous to a dangerous rock, called the Gurnet, which rose with perpendicular sides, like a large building, above the water. The wind was now beginning to blow gently from the S. W., which, when we had cleared the land as we imagined, was extremely favourable to our purpose. But alas! when we had been running, as we fondly conceived, along the coast to the eastward of Cape Sable, to our great surprise we heard a terrible roaring on every hand. In this scene of apprehension and danger Captain Smith brought to, and upon sounding, perceived ourselves amidst shoals and breakers, in about two fathoms of water, and, as he concluded, just upon that terrible ledge or range of rocks, called the Devil's Limb. To extricate ourselves from this alarming situation, the captain put instantly about, and we stood till daylight across this vexatious Bay of Fundy.

June 19th. When the daylight began to disperse the shades of darkness we found ourselves encumbered with a dismal fog, which hovered with almost impenetrable thickness over the face of the ocean, whilst the sky above was perfectly clear, with a fine beautiful azure. At length, after rolling several hours in a dead calm, the wind began to fill the sails, when we discovered a large vessel loaded with lumber standing towards the south. This appearance induced us to make after her, and, if possible, to speak with her, that we might acquire some intelligence, but when she perceived our intention she

crowded all her sails, and ran from us with the swiftest expedition, suspecting us, as we apprehended, for an enemy. About nine in the morning the fog wholly dispersed, and we were favored with a serene sky and a fine breeze from the W. N. W., which happened to be the most propitious quarter of Heaven. Having sailed an hour before this delightful gale we discovered the Seal Island, lying about seven leagues, as we imagined, to the N. E. About eleven we greatly rejoiced at the long wished for prospect of Cape Sable, and it gave us immense pleasure to behold a country under the dominion of our lawful Prince, and where the tyranny of republican villains had not yet extended. I was, however, surprised to find the coast low, with sandy hillocks along the shores, instead of those lofty, rugged promontories my imagination had created. We passed by this Cape a little after the middle of the day, and finding the wind and season favourable, we agreed to proceed for Liverpool, which we hoped to reach by the next morning. The sea was so smooth, and the weather so agreeable, that we continued upon deck, viewing with the highest satisfaction the various objects on the land, which rose in succession to divert our attention from the fatigues of the voyage, while on the other hand we had nothing to employ the sight but a boundless world of waters, inhabited by millions of living creatures, prodigiously unlike in their shapes and dimensions. We now descried several fishing vessels at some distance from the shore. They no sooner discovered us than they bore in with the land, and doubtless conceived themselves very fortunate in making their escape before we were able to overtake them. We perceived by this incident that they mistook us for one of those petty pirates which had lately infested these coasts, and plundered, without distinction, every vessel in their power. Before evening we passed by several fine harbours; the land all along the coast appeared very level, and nothing like mountains arose to diversify the scene. Some lesser eminences, indeed, and a few gentle swellings were discovered, just sufficient to destroy a disgustful uniformity. In many places the land was destitute of trees, and exhibited a pleasing surface of verdure, which softened the dusky horrors

of the woods. The latter chiefly consists of spruce, firs, and hemlock, fit retreats for melancholy and discontent. The season was now so mild, and the motion so easy, that we had a cheerful supper together, and we were happy in the pleasing expectation of entering Liverpool the next morning.

June 20th, (Sunday.) I arose this morning before the sun, and found that we were still favoured with a prosperous gale. The land appeared extremely pleasant, and the odor of plants impregnated with the morning dew was agreeable and refreshing beyond measure. The sun began to arise from the bosom of the ocean, and in a few minutes tinged the eastern summit of the swelling waves with the beams of his glory. All nature put on a pleasing appearance, and inspired us with cheerfulness and grateful joy to reflect that we had arrived so near our desired port. But as nothing can be more uncertain and delusive than appearances at sea, we were quickly mortified with a failure of wind. A perfect calm ensued, and we lay tumbling and rolling at about three miles distance from the shores of Malagash. While we were detained in this manner John Hoffman put over a line and caught two fine cod fish, one upon each hook, and continued the sport with the same success till he had procured a dozen. Upon this, the two brothers coming upon deck, reproved him sharply for his wickedness in profaning the Sabbath, and when they could not restrain him they swore a multitude of oaths! Strange, that persons who indulged themselves in the rudest conversation, and who scrupled not to take the Sacred Name in vain, should nevertheless have such a reverence for a day consecrated to His service, as to neglect all kinds of business, however advantageous and necessary. But this is just in the character of New England saints, who worship the Sabbath, while at the same time they treat the Lord of the Sabbath with the most indecent familiarity and disrespect. Thus man, the most inconsistent animal in nature, often strains at a gnat and swallows a camel without any manner of inconvenience.

The wind about eight of the clock begins to breeze from the S. W., and through our impatience we imagine the vessel makes a most rapid progress, while she went scarcely three

miles an hour, and so eager were we to go on shore that we began to dress at the distance of above forty miles from Halifax. The passage over Margaret's Bay to Cape Sambro appeared extremely tedious, and we were constantly employed for eight hours in looking out for the light-house. I had abundance of leisure to make observations on the country during this interval, and the land, which had hitherto put on a most uniform appearance, now began to exhibit a very different face. It seemed to rise gradually from the shore to some distance from the sea, and then to shoot into lofty hills of various forms, covered, according to the best of our observation, with beech, birches, and other species of white wood. As we advanced forward our impatience increased in proportion as the distance lessened, and the captain went several times to the foremast head to make discoveries, but without success. In the afternoon we discovered a sail standing away to the southward, which we afterwards understood to be part of a fleet bound from Halifax to Quebeck, having on board several officers and a number of troops for that department. The wind continuing to blow fresh at S. W., we at length, about an hour before sunset, were favoured with the sight of Sambro Island, and the light-house, to our inexpressible satisfaction. A gleam of joy brightened all our faces, and we manifested every external expression of gladness at the reviving prospect. Before dark this desirable object was full in view, and the ledges upon which it was erected were plainly seen from the deck, and when the daylight disappeared the light in the lanthorn was visible to conduct us into a safe and commodious harbour. However, before we were able to fetch within the light-house, a black cloud arose, and the wind shifted into the N. W., which reduced us to the disagreeable necessity of beating into the harbour. Under this disadvantage we laboured hard till after midnight, and then came to anchor a little within Jebucto Head. Here we imagined ourselves entirely secure from the danger of American rovers, presuming they would not have the impudence to venture so near the Metropolis of an hostile Province; but in these conjectures we were certainly mistaken, for, as we were afterwards informed, the preceding

week, a rebel privateer sailed a considerable way into the harbour, almost within reach of the cannon, and captivated a brig laden with provisions and sugar. The Howard and Buckram, a couple of cruisers, observing this daring manœuvre, pushed immediately out in pursuit of these adventurers, but being furnished with a number of oars, as well as sails, the privateer escaped, while they ran the prize on shore, which by this accident bilged, and most of her cargo was either lost or damaged.

I am persuaded that my countrymen exceed all mankind in a daring and enterprising disposition. Their bold and adventurous spirit, more especially, appears with distinguishing éclat when they are engaged in any unjust and vicious undertaking, and their courage commonly increases in proportion to the badness and villany of the cause they endeavour to support. Let a New England man once throw off the restraints of education, he becomes a hero in wickedness, and the more strict and religious he has been in his former behaviour, the greater will be his impiety in his present situation. It has often been remarked by foreigners, who have been engaged in commerce with our Puritans, that when they first come abroad no people alive have such a sacred regard for religious worship, or the day appointed for that purpose, and none have such a prevailing aversion to profane swearing, and yet they quickly become the most docile scholars in the school of vice, and make the greatest proficiency in every species of profanity. They openly ridicule their former attachment to devotion, and are very ingenious in framing new and spirited oaths, and when they have any extraordinary mischief to perform they always choose to perpetrate it on Sunday.

June 21st. No sooner did the morning light begin to soften the horrors of darkness, than I arose and took possession of the deck to observe the weather and to survey the adjacent country. I found that we were overtaken by a dead calm, and the heavens were covered with rolling volumes of black and dismal clouds which shed a dark and dejecting gloom over all the surrounding scenes of nature. But if I was inspired with melancholy sentiments at this dusky prospect, I was perfectly

shocked when I turned my eyes towards the land which stretched along the western quarter. The shore which now engages my attention is the famous Jebucto Head, a most enormous congress of rocky ledges running with a lofty and impregnable front into the sea, while the surface is inexpressibly rugged and broken, covered with shrubby spruce, fir and hemlock, which by their starving and misshapen appearance sufficiently indicate the severity of the climate and the barrenness of the soil. But notwithstanding the unpleasing aspect of this strange region, I could not forbear the returns of gratitude to Providence for safely conducting me and my family to this retreat of freedom and security from the rage of tyranny and the cruelty of oppression. The wind beginning to blow softly as the light increased, we weighed anchor, displayed the canvas and got under way. The sun being risen we perceived that the land on the eastern side of the harbour was in comparison extremely agreeable; the beach was covered with small pebbles, the banks, which were moderately high, resembled the colour of deep burnt bricks, and the trees of various species, tall and well shaped. And what added to the beauty and cheerfulness of the prospect, the forest was in many cases discontinued and finely interspersed with patches of cleared ground, adorned with a lively verdure.

But we were again sadly disappointed in our expectations, for we fondly imagined that upon our entrance into the harbour we should have the whole metropolis in open view, and a number of lofty buildings rising in conspicuous glory, with a respectable part of the Royal Navy lying at anchor before the town. Instead of which flattering instances of power, grandeur and magnificence, we could observe no edifices except the citadel and two or three scattered habitations; and as to shipping we saw only two sail of armed vessels and three or four sail at Major's Beach, for we were ignorant that both the town and the proper harbour were concealed by the interposition of St. George's Island and certain aspiring eminences to the northward. As we sailed slowly up the harbour, the next object which invited our attention, was a large fleet of Indian canoes, coasting along the Jebucto shore and filled with

multitudes of the native Micmacs, and at the same time we espied several of these copper-faced sons of liberty either landing on the margin of a little bay, or climbing up the stupendous precipices. We took notice upon this occasion, that artificial ways were formed up these steepy cliffs for the conveniency of ascending or conveying down timber, which is frequently cut on the summit of these ridges for the public works at Halifax. As we advanced still further from the ocean, the town began gradually to open, and we had in prospect several strong fortifications, as the Eastern Battery, George's Fort, and strong ramparts upon the neighbouring heights, with all their terrible apparatus of cannon and mortars. When we arrived near the above-mentioned Island of St. George's, we had a most advantageous, striking view of this northern capital, stretching a mile and an half upon the eastern ascent of an extensive hill, while a large collection of shipping lay either contiguous to the wharves, or else were riding, with the Britanic colours flying, in the channel, a sight which instantly inspired us with the most pleasing sensations. We expected to be hailed as we passed St. George's Fort, but the people, conceiving our vessel to be some coaster from Malagash, we were suffered to proceed without any inquiry.

We were now all upon deck, contemplating with infinite wonder and satisfaction the various objects about us, but we must however except John Hoffman from this agreeable employ, who was so affected with alternate joy and concern at the sight of his native place, that he retired into the cabin, there to indulge in solitude these conflicting passions. I perceived, that though he was highly rejoiced to behold the country where he was born and educated, yet he was seized with a prevailing anxiety of heart, lest he should find his tender mother, who had long mourned his absence, departed to the shades of death.

These uneasy apprehensions rendered him unfit for company, and threw him at length into visible confusion and distress. We were now indulging in a thousand pleasing reflections as we approached near the centre of the town, and this situation reminded us that it was proper to explore some convenient

place to secure a landing, but previous to this agreeable event it was concluded to investigate the Commodore's ship, and to solicit the naval commander for liberty to go on shore. A boat passing by this instant hailed us and demanded, as they were going swiftly under sail, from whence we came? We replied, from Kennebeck. This answer occasioned a visible surprise in the company, who continued repeating: 'Kennebeck! Kennebeck!' Seeing a number of men on board a sloop, we desired them to point out the Commodore, and received immediate information that there was no such officer in the harbour. This intelligence determined us directly to make towards a wharf, which happened to be near the Pontac.* We were now plainly sensible that our uncouth habits and uncommon appearance had, by this time, attracted the notice of multitudes, who flocked towards the water to indulge their curiosity. These inquisitive strangers threw us into some confusion, and to prevent a multitude of impertinent interrogations, which might naturally be expected by persons in our circumstances, I made the following public declaration, standing on the quarter deck: "Gentlemen, we are a company of fugitives from Kennebeck, in New England, driven by famine and persecution to take refuge among you, and therefore I must entreat your candour and compassion to excuse the meanness and singularity of our dress."

I that moment discovered among the gathering crowd Mr. Kitson, one of our Kennebeck neighbours, running down the street to our assistance. He came instantly on board, and after mutual salutations, helped us on shore. Thus, just a fortnight after we left our own beloved habitation, we found ourselves landed in a strange country, destitute of money, clothing, dwelling or furniture, and wholly uncertain what countenance or protection we might obtain from the governing powers. Mr. Kitson kindly offered to conduct us either to Mr. Brown's or Capt. Callahan's; and just as we had quitted our vessel, Mr. Moody, formerly clerk to the King's Chapel, appeared to welcome our arrival. But as it may afford some diversion to

**Sic* in MS.

the courteous reader, I will suspend my narration a few moments to describe the singularity of our apparel, and the order of our procession through the streets, which were surprisingly contrasted by the elegant dresses of the gentlemen and ladies we happened to meet in our lengthy ambulation. And here I am confoundedly at a loss where to begin, whether with Capt. Smith or myself, but as he was a faithful pilot to this haven of repose, I conclude it is no more than gratitude and complaisance to give him the preference. He was clothed in a long swinging thread-bare coat, and the rest of his habit displayed the venerable signatures of antiquity, both in the form and materials. His hat carried a long peak before, exactly perpendicular to the longitude of his aquiline nose. On the right hand of this sleek commander shuffled along your very humble servant, having his feet adorned with a pair of shoes, which sustained the marks of rebellion and independence. My legs were covered with a thick pair of blue woolen stockings, which had been so often mended and darned by the fingers of frugality, that scarce an atom of the original remained. My breeches, which just concealed the shame of my nakedness, had formerly been black, but the color being worn out by age, nothing remained but a rusty grey, bespattered with lint and bedaubed with pitch. Over a coarse tow and linen shirt, manufactured in the looms of sedition, I sustained a coat and waistcoat of the same dandy grey russet; and, to secrete from public inspection the innumerable rents, holes, and deformities, which time and misfortunes had wrought in these ragged and weather-beaten garments, I was furnished with a blue surtout, fretted at the elbows, worn at the button-holes, and stained with a variety of tints, so that it might truly be styled a coat of many colours, and to render this external department of my habit still more conspicuous and worthy of observation, the waist descended below my knees, and the skirts hung dangling about my heels; and to complete the whole a jaundice-coloured wig, devoid of curls, was shaded by the remnants of a rusty beaver, its monstrous brim replete with notches and furrows, and grown limpsy by the alternate inflictions of storm and sunshine, lopped over my shoulders, and obscured a face

meagre with famine and wrinkled with solicitude. My consort and neice came lagging behind at a little distance, the former arrayed in a ragged baize night-gown, tied 'round her middle with a woollen string instead of a sash; the latter carried upon her back the tattered remains of an hemlock-coloured linsey-woolsey, and both their heads were adorned with bonnets composed of black moth-eaten stuff, almost devoured with the teeth of time. I forgot to mention the admirable figure of their petticoats, jagged at the bottom, distinguished by a multitude of fissures, and curiously drabbled in the mud, for an heavy rain was now beginning to set in. And to close this solemn procession, Dr. Mayer and our faithful John marched along in all the pride of poverty and majesty of rags and patches, which exhibited the various dyes of the rainbow. The Doctor proceeded with a yellow bushy beard, grinning all the way, while his broad Dutch face opened at his mouth from ear to ear. The other continued his progression with a doleful solemnity of countenance, as if he designed to give a kind of dignity to the wretched fragments of his apparel which floated in the wind. In this manner our procession began, and was supported till we arrived at Capt. Callahan's, near half a mile from the place of our landing. This worthy gentleman, who was formerly my friend and neighbour, was at this time absent on the expedition to Penobscot. Having obtained entrance, we saw no person in the room but Polly Clensy, a young girl whom this family had transported from Kennebeck. After her surprise at our unexpected appearance was a little abated, she ran up stairs to inform Mrs. Callahan of our arrival, but in her precipitation forgot to mention her God-son, Charley, which made her immediately conclude that we had by some fatal accident lost him. This filled the good woman with alarming emotions, and she hastened down with evident expressions of anxiety and tremor in her face, for it was some moments before she observed the little charmer prattling about the room. Indeed, we were all so deeply affected with this happy meeting that we could hardly speak to each other, and a scene of silent confusion ensued till our various agitations began to subside. Mrs. Callahan quickly informed us that she had a dream the preceding night,

which occasioned her no small uneasiness. She imagined in her sleep, that as she was dressing before breakfast, Polly came running up to her chamber in the utmost hurry, and assured her that Mr. Bailey and family were all safely arrived from New England except little Charley, who was missing, upon which information she descended with an heavy heart, and found all as Polly had represented—all the family present except the lovely child. She further fancied in her dream; that in the midst of our mutual inquiries and congratulations, Master Harry Brown came in, and after paying his compliments informed us that his papa was coming immediately to give us joy.

No sooner had Mrs. Callahan finished her dream, than Master Harry came smiling and blushing into the room, and after bidding us welcome to Halifax, acquainted me that his papa was approaching to pay me his compliments. The women, upon this occasion, declared with united voices, that the dream was fulfilled in a very remarkable manner. By this time my old, generous friend, Mr. Brown, was arrived, in company with Captain Martin Gay, a refugee from Boston. These two worthy gentlemen, by their obliging conduct and sensible conversation, greatly relieved our spirits. In a few minutes after, we were favoured with a visit from the polite and generous Doctor Breynton, Rector of St. Paul's Church in Halifax. He addressed us with that ease, freedom, and gentleness peculiar to himself. His countenance exhibited a most finished picture of compassionate good nature, and the effusions of tenderness and humanity glistened in his venerable eyes when he had learned part of our history. He kindly assured us that he most heartily congratulated us upon our fortunate deliverance from tyranny, oppression, and poverty, and he declared that we might depend on his attention and assistance to make us comfortable and happy. The turn of his features, and the manner of his expression, afforded a convincing evidence of his sincerity, and the event afterwards gave me undeniable demonstration that I was not mistaken in my favourable conjectures. Before we parted he informed me that it was expected I should wait upon the Governor at eleven to acquaint

him with my arrival, and to solicit his countenance and protection.

Breakfast being prepared and the table adorned with proper furniture for tea and a loaf of flour bread, our young shaver, who had never seen anything of the like nature and construction before, was so moved with its appearance, that he ran smiling to the table, and, assuming every childish expression of admiration and joy, exclaimed in the fulness of his heart: "Pray, mamma, what is that on Mrs. Callahan's table?" He was told that it was bread. "What bread, mamma; is it baked bread?" for the poor little fellow had never seen or tasted any bread made of flour. This incident greatly affected the whole company, and the good Doctor in particular, could scarcely refrain from tearful emotions. He now begged to be excused for the present, and repaired directly to Mr. Justice Wenman's, keeper of the Orphan House, to procure us, with the assistance of this gentleman, a comfortable habitation. This honest magistrate was so touched with our deplorable circumstances and situation, especially with the anecdote of the child, that he took a guinea out of his pocket, and, addressing himself to the Doctor, "Here," says he, "is something to buy the young chatterbox a little bread for the present."

We had at breakfast an old lady and a very pretty, genteel young Miss, about twelve, natural daughter to the famous Captain Mowatt. Dr. Breynton quickly returned with the most soothing expressions of kindness and friendship. He politely entreated Mrs. Bailey to expel from her mind all uneasy and distressing apprehensions, and repeatedly assured us both, that many persons among them would cheerfully exert themselves to the utmost of their power to make our situation easy and desirable, and cautioned us against indulging gloomy and anxious ideas any longer. He then presented the little Tory, as he called him, with the guinea from Mr. Wenman, and looking upon his watch, declared it was time to wait upon the Governor. At his direction, and in his company, I walked out in my ridiculous habit, attended by that queerest of mortals, Dr. Mayer, who, to render his poverty still more conspicuous, had put on, over his rags and dirty linen, a thread-bare scarlet

coat, brought out of Germany near thirty years ago. In our progress, our kind conductor introduced me to several gentlemen who happened to be in our way, among which number it would be ungrateful not to mention Col. Butler, the agent victualler, and one of His Majesty's Council for this Province, who observing the meanness of my dress, took the Doctor aside and ordered me a suit of superfine broadcloth. The next person of consequence who engaged our attention was Mr. Franklin, formerly Lieut. Governor of Nova Scotia; he had several Indians in his train, arrayed in all their tinsel finery; among the rest a Sachem belonging to the tribe of St. Johns. This fellow, by the oddity of his appearance and the singularity of his visage, immediately struck my imagination, and I was unable to look upon him without a mixture of hilarity and wonder. He was arrayed in a long blue coat, adorned with a scarlet cape, and bound close about his loins with a girdle. He wore upon his head a narrow-brimmed flopped hat, and his face was an entire composition of wrinkles. I was admitted to the honor of shaking hands with this American Monarch, who, eyeing me from head to foot, and perceiving that I had more rags than finery about me, I plainly discerned that his complaisance was mingled with a degree of contempt, for, instead of pulling off his hat, he only touched it with his fingers and nodded his head; though I remarked a few days after, when I was dressed in a new suit of clothes, he approached me with higher marks of veneration, and did not fail to take his hat wholly from his head. Thus people of all nations, both barbarous and polished, reverence and respect their fellow creatures, not for qualities, which belong to human nature, but on account of those ornaments for which they are indebted to other parts of the creation. In our way to the supreme ruler of the Province, the Doctor conducted me into his lodgings at Mr. Fletcher's, where he presented me with a beaver, almost new, and then, crossing the street, introduced me to the Governor. We entered through a gate into a large back yard, where we found two or three servants attending. Acquainting them with our business, they conducted us into an elegant apartment, and after waiting a few minutes his

Honor appeared, and kindly welcomed me to his government, and then, desiring us to be seated, began to ask me a variety of questions concerning New England, and about the eastern country and my own private affairs. I endeavored to satisfy his curiosity in the best manner I was able. I assured him that the inhabitants of New England were in a deplorable situation, torn to pieces by discontent and factions among themselves, heartily tired of the war, sick of their French alliance, reduced to poverty, and sorely distressed for want of provisions. As to the eastern country from which I was happy enough to escape, I informed him that the people were almost universally dissatisfied with the dominion of the Congress; that they were laboring under the horrors of nakedness and famine, and at the same time cruelly harrassed and persecuted by a number of inexorable tyrants, who had got all the power into their hands; and lastly, I gave him a short history of my own adventures among the rebels, and of the injurious treatment I received at their hands. During our conversation, Mr. Buckley, the Secretary, came in and gave me his most hearty congratulations. After the Secretary had retired we continued our conversation about the American rebellion, when I signified to the Governor that I was perfectly acquainted with the capital leaders in the present revolt, and from a thorough knowledge of their tempers, principles and circumstances, I was far from wondering at their proceedings, since I always considered them as proper implements of faction, sedition and turbulence; ambition, avarice and revenge, being their predominant and governing passions. I found the Governor very sociable and strictly inquisitive. At parting he assured me that he would employ his interest to procure me relief and to make my abode in the Province agreeable, and in the conclusion advised me to prepare a memorial of my adventures and sufferings, with a view to its speedy publication. This he suggested as the most eligible method of obtaining some present emolument.

Having taken my leave of the Governor, Dr. Breynton presented me with a couple of Jo's, and, who could believe it, my simple heart danced within me at the appearance of gold,

wicked gold! that has been, and still continues to be, the parent of ten thousand evils. Thou pernicious metal! Who shall presume to declare in thy favour, after all the mischief thou hast occasioned in the world? Thou hast often, by thy all-commanding power, compelled mankind to despise the demands of justice, to spread the flames of devastation, to wield the sword of destruction, to dissolve the tenderest ties of nature, and to commit the most shocking enormities with impunity. I have seen multitudes so bewitched by thy glittering charms as to renounce the most sacred obligations and the softest feelings. Inspired by thee, they have closed up the bowels of compassion, have turned away their eyes from the sight of distress, and have been deaf when the voice of misery pierced the very heavens. For thee, men have renounced the principles of truth and veracity, have proved false to their engagements, have appealed to the Almighty for the confirmation of a lie, have betrayed their country, have conspired against their King, denied their Saviour, and blasphemed their God, and yet, notwithstanding all these and a million other flagrant crimes thou art daily teaching men to commit, yet still thou art respected, courted, followed, and adored with the profoundest veneration.

Parting from this benevolent gentleman while my heart was bursting with gratitude, I took this opportunity of visiting Mrs. Brown and her lovely daughter, neither of whom I had seen since my arrival. Our meeting was affectionate and our declarations of friendship and tenderness perfectly sincere. As soon as the rapturous effusions of benignity and the irregular expressions of mutual ardor began to subside, Mrs. Brown presented me with a bottle of Keppen's snuff, a comfortable repast for my nose, and then ordered me a pair of English shoes, and a couple of black worsted stockings. The sight and possession of the British manufactures gave pleasure to my inward man, and compelled me to smile at both corners of my mouth, while the considerate and bountiful indulgence of my former friends began to smooth the furrows of my face, and I returned back to Mrs. Callahan's, I verily believe, with the loss of several wrinkles. Soon after my return, Mr.

Bennet, another clergyman and Missionary from the Society came to visit us, and made a polite tender of his service. His design was, if I had no family, to offer me a part of his lodgings in the Assembly House. We had what I esteemed an elegant dinner, for it was so long since I beheld a well furnished table, that what others esteemed only tolerable, appeared to me splendid and sumptuous beyond compare. I found myself extremely contented and happy in the society, the pleasing smiles and obliging conversation of my friends, without the dread of any fatal interruption from the unwelcome intrusion of some surly committee man, or unfeeling officer of the Congress, with malice in his heart, vengeance in his face, and destruction in his hands. But I shall take occasion in my next day's journal to draw a more critical contrast between my present and former situation. But I cannot forbear reciting an incident in my own feelings and conduct, which plainly evinced that I had not yet banished New England from my remembrance. This afternoon, as I was sitting at Mr. Brown's, a number of people being present, some person knocked at the door, upon which I started by an involuntary impulse, and, suddenly springing out of my seat, hastened to the other side of the room. This was attended with visible terror in my countenance, which excited the laughter of the company, for they had sagacity enough to discern the cause of my agitation and affright. Mrs. Brown exclaimed, 'Pray, sir, compose yourself, and recollect that here is no committee man approaching to disturb your tranquillity.' After dinner, Mr. George Light and his brother came to Mrs. Callahan's, highly elevated with the novelty of the scenes and with the freedom and plenty which appeared in this town. They informed us that young Hoffman had the pleasure of finding his mother alive, who received her son with the warmest transport of joy. She had near a twelvemonth before received intelligence of his death, and that he was killed fighting with the rebels at the famous battle of Bunker Hill. Upon which distressing intelligence she arrayed herself in the habit of mourning, and sadly bewailed the untimely fate of her beloved child, and a circumstance which added to

her extreme affliction remains to be recited. This John was the last survivor out of ten children, who had been born by a former husband. Such unexpected revolution of Providence in her favour must have filled her with the tenderest effusions of rapture and exultation. In the afternoon, towards evening, I revisited Mr. Brown, but he being absent, I tarried and drank tea with his agreeable family. I perceived in the course of conversation at this hospitable mansion, that Mr. Nathaniel Gardiner, notwithstanding his impudent and foppish behaviour at Halifax, had not been guilty of so much fraud and breach of trust as we imagined. My friends, in particular, were cautious of trusting him with any great matters, especially as he was in danger of being plundered by the American pirates, however honest and faithful he might be in the main. Mrs. Brown however sent us a pound of the best Hyson tea and some trifles, which were never delivered, except one pound of Bohea. I was now assured that the paper which Captain Callahan had brought to Halifax, giving the history of my famous trials before the committee, and the letters I had intrusted to the care of Gardiner had prepared me a way for a generous reception. Several circumstances, it must be confessed, were a little unfavourable in the present prospect. Governor Arbuthnot, who greatly interested himself in my favour, was removed from the Province, and destined to command the Royal navy in America, and General Massy, who had imbibed the same favourable sentiments, was recalled, and General McLean appointed to succeed him. Never were two gentlemen of more different dispositions. The former was sociable, humane, generous and friendly, and exerted himself beyond measure to oblige and assist the refugees. But the other was opinionated and headstrong, insensible to every softer feeling, and under the pretence that Government was imposed upon, had ordered the rations to be taken away from two or three hundred persons, continuing them to only about twenty refugees.

A gentleman who waited upon Mr. Arbuthnot when he had the perusal of my papers, stated that he could scarcely refrain from shedding tears, and he afterwards declared that he had it in view to procure my enlargement from bondage and persecu-

tion, and just before his departure from Britain he expressed his concern that I was not yet arrived from New England. 'If,' said he, 'the cruel treatment and severe persecution of the rebels should affect his life, there is nothing to be done, but should he survive their malice and make his escape, I will certainly do something for his advantage.'

The Secretary, Mr. Buckley, was extremely moved with the narrative, and offered to send me ten guineas, provided my friends could find any method of conveying them with safety, and this day, meeting Mr. Brown in the street, he caught hold of his hand, and repeated, with the highest emotions of pleasure, 'I heartily congratulate you on the fortunate escape of your friend from his wretched confinement, and you may depend upon my assistance to procure him any benefit in my power.' These incidents were very soothing, and tended to exhilarate my spirits after such a profusion of fatigue, depression, and anxiety. It was, however, some abatement to my felicity when I found no British forces were yet arrived from England, either here or at New York. I had, notwithstanding, some pleasing expectations from the expedition to the eastern country, under the conduct of General McLean. I now understood that he had sailed with about eight hundred land forces, accompanied with six or seven armed vessels. His design was, if he met with a reinforcement from New York, to make a descent upon Falmouth, or otherwise to take possession at Penobscot. In the afternoon I was again in company with the worthy Capt. Gay, who had something very singular and affecting in his story. This gentleman was son to Parson Gay, of Hingham, was captain of the militia in the rebellious town of Boston, and a deacon of Howard's meeting, but being a man of steady principles and unshaken virtue, was early disgusted with the proceedings of his countrymen. He took every convenient opportunity of discovering his sentiments of loyalty, which rendered himself highly obnoxious to the malignant and furious faction in Boston. This obliged him to apply to the King's troops for protection, and having conveyed away his family, excepting his eldest son, to Hingham, he fled with General Howe and his forces to this Pro-

vince, upon the evacuation of the above-mentioned town. Soon after his arrival he placed his son, a very promising youth, about seventeen, under the care of Mr. Allen, an eminent merchant in Halifax. Mr. Gay afterwards repaired to Cumberland, where he had some interest, upon business. During the absence of the affectionate father the son was persuaded one day to go a gunning in company with a son of Mr. Allen, with whom he had contracted a most intimate acquaintance. After they had diverted themselves several hours they returned towards town, when, by some unfortunate accident, Mr. Allen's gun went off and killed his friend Gay dead upon the spot. This melancholy and tragical affair threw the whole family into the deepest grief and consternation. Before these sorrowful emotions had subsided they despatched a messenger with the shocking intelligence to the unhappy father, who met the messenger on the road between Windsor and Halifax as he was returning from Cumberland. This alarming and affecting information must have occasioned the most painful sensations in the bosom of the bereaved parent, but he sustained all the afflictions which Providence was pleased to pour upon him with surprising firmness, resignation, and silent composure. We had in company this afternoon another refugee, one Mr. Atkins, formerly a merchant in Boston, and afterwards a Custom House officer at Newbury. He had suffered almost every species of indignity, was frequently seized by the hand of lawless power, kept under confinement, and threatened with destruction, till he was fortunate enough, about eleven months ago, to enlarge himself from their clutches. He fled along the eastern shore, and arrived at this asylum by the way of Machias. Towards night, having my head confused with a variety of objects and entertainments of various kinds, I repaired to Mrs. Callahan's, where we passed away the evening in conversation, and related to each other our several adventures since our parting last year at Kennebeck. Mrs. Callahan informed us, that having embarked from Kennebeck with one Cermine, a Scotchman, in a little schooner of about ten or twelve tons, they put out to sea, and after coasting along the eastern shore for several days, at length crossed the

Bay of Fundy in a thick fog. It was with extreme difficulty they made Annapolis Gut, where she was fortunate enough to meet her husband, then commander of the Gage, and after tarrying at Annapolis some time she went 'round to Halifax by water, where she arrived about six weeks after she left Kennebeck, and has since been settled in tranquillity, and able to live in a comfortable manner without any molestation from rebel committees. She then gave me a short history of her husband's fortune from the time he left his own habitation at Pownalborough.

June 22d. This morning, after breakfast, received another visit from the good Doctor, who informed me that he had provided us with an habitation, and desired me to attend him in order to view it. Pleased with this agreeable intelligence I immediately complied with his requisition. In our way we happened to meet with Dr. Prince, a refugee from Salem, a gentleman who had acquired in the space of five years a large fortune by merchandise. To this countryman of mine the Doctor introduced me, and, having acquainted him with my necessitous circumstances, the other generously gave me eight dollars.

The house which the Doctor had procured belonged to Mr. Justice Wenman, keeper of the Orphan House, and stood on the east side of Pleasant Street, which runs straight from the Grand Parade, near the Church, to the water, and is almost a mile in length. This is the most elegant street in the town, and is much frequented by gentlemen and ladies for an evening walk in fine weather. After tea we perceive one gay company after another, in perpetual succession, dressed in their finest apparel, which affords a fine and cheerful appearance. At the gate we have an extensive prospect of the harbour and the adjacent ocean, which is closed by the southern horizon, and can discover every sail coming from the westward the moment it proceeds 'round Jebucto Head. To the northward the street extends adorned with the grand Provo, Assembly House, Church, and private buildings to a vast distance, and is limited by a cross street, three-quarters of a mile from hence. To the west arise beautiful ranges of green fields, in-

terspersed with several remarkable structures, as Fort Massy, the Governor's summer house, the Work House; and beyond these the Citadel Hill, with all its fortifications and warlike apparatus, towers aloft in majestic grandeur, and overlooks both the town and the adjacent country. We enter through a spacious gate into a decent yard, with an avenue to the house, bounded on each side by a little grove of English hawthorns, in this season in all their blooming glory. The house consisted of a convenient kitchen, a tight cellar, a chamber, and an elegant parlour, papered and containing two closets. Before the door was a little porch with a seat. From the two eastern windows we had a most charming prospect of Mr. Wenman's garden, in which were planted such a profusion of willows, hawthorns, and fruit trees of various kinds, that they formed a perfect wilderness, extremely pleasant to the sight and grateful to the smell. And, indeed, when we looked out of these windows we rather fancied ourselves in the midst of a woody country, than in the heart of a populous town. Dr. Breynton introduced me to Mr. Wenman, who, like a true Englishman, gave me a hearty welcome. I found him a large, robust man, near seventy years of age, with scarce a wrinkle in his face; but he assured me that notwithstanding he appeared with such a florid, strong, and healthy constitution, he had been above twenty years afflicted with a complication of disorders, such as the gout, gravel, and stone, besides a troublesome cough, which seized him on a sudden, and continued with such violence that it frequently deprived him of strength. The people being gone to fetch our trifles from on board the schooner, I tarried with Mr. Wenman till their arrival. I quickly discovered him to be an enemy to the American rebellion, and after cursing most heartily the leaders, he proceeded to inform me that this Metropolis contained a multitude of persons disaffected to government, for which reason he seldom went abroad, and that upon such occasions he never visited but two families. He appeared to be a rough, open, and honest Englishman, generous; friendly, and humane, where he imagines an object deserving, but those who are artful, designing, or conceited, can look for no more than bare justice from him, and that they

may expect to receive with the most exact punctuality. When he conveys a favour the matter is done without any ceremony, and, if you attempt to return any compliments or acknowledgements, he would rather appear to be offended, and declare, with a bluntness peculiar to himself, 'I have not done this trifle out of any particular regard to yourself, for I should have shown the same, or perhaps a greater favour, to any other person in the same circumstances.' He assured me that when any person had offended him he never forgave him, for, though he scorned to take any revenge, or to offer him the least injury, yet he immediately broke off all connection with him, and never trusted him afterwards. But notwithstanding this declaration, I am certain that he might easily be reconciled when the offending person had not been guilty of baseness and treachery in his conduct. Whilst we continued engaged in this conversation he made several shrewd remarks upon the behaviour of my countrymen, who formerly used the Halifax trade. Some he acknowledged to be remarkably honest and fair traders as ever he met with in the compass of his acquaintance, but in general he found them to be the profoundest hypocrites in nature, and the cunningest knaves upon earth; for though men advanced in life were averse to swearing, and would pucker up their mouths, and roll their eyes towards Heaven at the mention of an oath, yet they would not scruple to lie, and deliberately appeal to the Almighty in confirmation of a falsehood. He likewise added that he had been acquainted with several young fellows from Boston government, who upon their first arrival at Halifax would not utter a profane oath, or execration, upon the most powerful excitement or provocation, but only when highly exasperated exclaim, 'I vow you are a serpently devil, a'most!' And yet in a few weeks these very conscientious travellers would disengage themselves from all the restraints of education, and exceed the most abandoned sailors in bold and daring impiety. They would both take the Sacred Name in vain, and practice the most horrid curses, and even make a public scoff and ridicule of all religion. When the old gentleman had entertained me with two or three of his long-winded stories, I was diverted from any longer

attendance by the arrival of our people, and having conveyed our treasure, consisting of two ancient feather beds,—through the weather-beaten crevices of which the down issued in great abundance,—one patched quilt, containing a greater variety of colours than the rainbow; half of a very elderly rug, worn to the quick, and half a pair of sheets, and a small chest containing the remnants of poverty, viz.: one silk gown, five battered knives and forks, the same —— ”

The remainder of the Journal is missing.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE paper of the earliest date after the termination of the Journal, which has come into the hands of the writer of this Memoir, is the following:—

TO MR. JOHN CARLETON, AT WOOLWICH, N. E.

Halifax, June 25, 1779. * * * "The General Assembly of the Province have given me two hundred dollars, (not square ones,)* and I have received in private presents nearly three hundred more. The lady of Col. Phips,† upon my recommendation, desires that if the King's forces should arrive in your neighbourhood, you would be kind enough to point out her farm, and to suggest some method to preserve the cattle and buildings from destruction."

Gen. McLean commanded an expedition which had sailed from Halifax that summer and landed at Major-biguyduce, now Castine, which place was fortified by the English forces. To this officer Mr. Bailey addressed a letter from Halifax, July 10th, 1779. The object was to furnish a list of loyalists in and near Kennebeck, known or believed to be such by the writer. If Mr. Bailey was correct, the friends of the British government, in that region, were more numerous than has generally been supposed. He gives the names of twenty-seven residing in Bristol and Broad Bay,‡ and classes with them "all the Dutch families in Broad Bay, except ten or twelve families," eighteen in Woolwich, thirty-two in Georgetown, fifty-three

* "Resolved, That His Honor, the Lieutenant Governor, be requested to grant a Warrant to Rev. Mr. Bailey of £50, to be paid out of the moneys arising from the duties on Import and Excise, for his present Relief.

Ordered, That this Resolution be sent to His Majesty's Council for concurrence." —*Journal of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, June 23d, 1779; p. 18.*

† See *Sabine's American Loyalists*—PHIPS, DAVID. p. 539.

‡ Now Waldoborough.

in Pownalboro', and twenty-two in the towns of St. Georges, Bowdoinham, Hallowell, Topsham and Winthrop. In writing to the Venerable Society under date of July 4th, 1779, Mr. Bailey says: "Sixteen of my hearers are now in the King's service, and the remainder, except one or two families, are distinguished for their loyalty."

Attached to the British forces which held Major-biguyduce was Dr. John Calf, who had married the daughter of Rev. Jedediah Jewett, of Rowley, Mr. Bailey's early and kind patron. Mr. Bailey wrote to him from Halifax. He says: "Being informed that you possess a department in the garrison which gives you considerable influence, I have made this attempt to solicit your interest in case a chaplain should be appointed. I am the rather induced to make this application because your station is within the limits of my Mission, and from a tender regard to multitudes of loyal subjects within the county of Lincoln, who are both my friends and parishioners."

During this summer Mr. Bailey received invitations from two different parishes to become their minister. He thus writes to his brother at Pownalboro':—

"*Halifax, Sept. 6th, 1779.* I have made an excursion into the country, and travelled through all the fine settlements on the Basin of Minas, and never beheld finer farms than at Windsor, Falmouth, Horton and Cornwallis. The latter is the place where the Neutral French had formerly their principal habitation. I have dined upon the very spot where Charles* Le Blanc formerly lived. Two hundred families are settled in this place, and I am invited to officiate among them this winter, and believe I shall accept their offer till I can return to Kennebeck in safety. They have agreed to furnish me with an house and firing, to give me an horse worth ten guineas, to be at the expense of my removal, and to allow me a weekly contribution, besides presents, which will amount to more than seventy pounds sterling per year, if I reckon the prices at

* This should be René Le Blanc, who was Public Notary for the Acadians. Vide *Halliburton's Nova Scotia*, I. p. 194.

Halifax. But notwithstanding I have been treated with uncommon kindness and respect, no consideration shall ever detain me from visiting my former friends and neighbours when the tyranny of Congress is overpast. I have likewise had an invitation to St. Johns and Cumberland. In the latter department I might be admitted Chaplain of the garrison, worth £180 per annum, but I cannot endure the thoughts of that remote situation, especially among a set of people disposed to revolt."

This new field of Mr. Bailey's labours possessed a varied interest. Its natural scenery is described as extremely beautiful, while the fertility of its soil has given it the title of "the garden of Nova Scotia." Much of its history, too, can hardly fail to excite emotion. Here dwelt, only some few years before, a people who, in many respects, seem almost to have realized the Golden Age of the poets. Simple in their manners, and abundantly supplied, from their own labor, with everything which their few wants required, they sought little or no intercourse with the rest of the world, from which they were, in a great measure, isolated.

But they inhabited a country that had frequently changed masters, and they were not gifted with that policy which would enable them to transfer their allegiance with the results of war, or the treaties of European Powers. Their attachment to their fatherland was strengthened by a community of religion. Their manners and customs, the style of their dwellings and the fashion of their dress and ornaments, reminded the traveller of France, which had its representatives in many respects amid the evergreens, and on the dyked meadows of this part of Acadia. The English supposed, and perhaps justly, that the professed neutrality of these simple inhabitants had been violated by indirect assistance to the French, who attacked Chebucto and other places, and that at times they had joined with them and the Indians in their marauding expeditions. Hence it was determined to transport them to other places. And though perhaps this was managed with as much judgment and feeling as the case admitted, yet hundreds were taken from the old, familiar scenes of their nativity, and

scattered through the other American colonies. Here they could not fail to experience the hatred which would be shown to persons suspected of any previous connection with the Indians, whose barbarous warfare had caused so much waste of blood and treasure in many places, and this antipathy would be sharpened by dislike to the religion of these poor exiles. Upon the departure of these unfortunate people, their houses and church were burned by the English, their domestic animals perished with hunger, and the dykes, which protected their fertile meadows from the sea, fell into decay. Five years after this event a fleet of twenty-two transports, convoyed by an armed vessel of sixteen guns, landed emigrants from New England on the territory that had been occupied by the Neutral French. Two hundred persons from Connecticut settled at Cornwallis. Although, as before stated, the natural features of the country were beautiful, yet the ruin which had befallen the former inhabitants was distinctly visible, and could hardly fail to inspire melancholy emotions.

Stockaded houses were erected, and a small detachment of soldiers were stationed at Cornwallis for the protection of the inhabitants against the Indians. The detachment was afterwards increased, and a regular military post was established with the properly fortified buildings.

The greater part, if not all, who settled at Cornwallis were dissenters from the Church of England. But in three years after their arrival, a Missionary of the Venerable Society was appointed to the region in which that town was situated.

In 1770, a small church was erected at Cornwallis by Col. Burbidge and Mr. Best, at their own expense.*

Mr. Bailey arrived at his field of labour about Oct. 20th, 1779. The winter that succeeded was one of anxiety and gloom. The community was very much divided in religious matters, the Church people were few, about twenty families, who of course were strangers to their new minister, and there were few to sympathize with him in his loyalty to the King.

* Aiken's Sketch of the Church in the Provinces, p. 25.

His expectations in the way of salary seem not to have been realized, for he writes to a friend: "My emoluments are small. I am allowed a little, inconvenient house and fire-wood, and get beside five or six shillings per week contribution for preaching. I have about ten or twelve scholars, which afford me about eight dollars per month. Every necessary of life is extremely dear in this place."

Affliction also visited him. He was informed of the death of his brother at Kennebec, who had been his Parish Clerk there, and also of that of Capt. Callahan, who, while acting as one of the King's Pilots, lost his life by shipwreck in Halifax harbor. This person had been one of his Church Wardens at Pownalboro'. Added to this was pecuniary disappointment. A mercantile friend in Halifax, to whom he had intrusted bills of exchange on London for £100 sterling, became bankrupt. Mr. Bailey, in writing to Rev. Samuel Peters, formerly of Hebron, Ct., but then in London, mentions the fact of this failure and says: "As I have been obliged to run in debt at Cornwallis for the necessaries of life, this affair throws me into an uncomfortable situation."

Mr. Bailey had sacrificed much more advantageous prospects to come to Cornwallis because he considered himself bound in honor to fulfil the engagements he had made with the parish in that town. He writes to Mr. Pochard at Kennebec: "About ten days after my arrival in Halifax, I received an invitation from some principal gentlemen to visit Cornwallis. I accordingly preached among them two Sundays in August, and, finding nothing more advantageous offer, I agreed to remove my family and continue through the winter, but immediately after this engagement I was urged to tarry at Halifax, as an assistant to the worthy Dr. Breynton, for which I was offered £70 sterling per year, besides a school worth an hundred more; and what conduced to render this employment still more agreeable, I was assured, both by Dr. Breynton and the Church officers, that my performances were acceptable to that numerous congregation; and though my being preferred to several other clergymen was a little flattering to my vanity, yet I concluded to adhere to my engagements, and removed

with my family about the middle of October to this distant retreat."

During the summer of 1780 Mr. Bailey writes to his sister-in-law at Kennebec: "I have lately, without any solicitation on my part, been appointed deputy chaplain to the 84th Regiment, part of which keep a garrison at Annapolis." In a subsequent letter to a friend, he says: "Dr. Breynton is included in the appointment and performs the duty" (in Halifax.) The following is an extract of a letter to the Society, P. G., dated Nov. 4th in this year. "I beg leave to inform the Venerable Society that I still continue at Cornwallis, and have officiated without being absent one Sunday since my arrival. I have had a decent and respectable, though not a large congregation. Their contributions towards my support are precarious, and all the articles of subsistence are so excessively extravagant that my emoluments will hardly support my family. The want of books is a misfortune I sensibly feel in my present situation, for I was constrained to leave my library behind when I escaped from New England, and being so remote from the metropolis I can receive no assistance from others."

In December of the same year, Rev. Aaron Bancroft arrived. Mr. Bancroft was afterwards a Doctor of Divinity and Congregational minister at Worcester, Mass. At first Mr. Bailey was suspicious of him, as the Dissenters in Cornwallis are said by him to have sympathized in the American Revolution.

Dr. Hicks, then residing in the West Indies, had formerly been in Mr. Bailey's neighborhood at Kennebec and become acquainted with the prominent persons there. The following extract of a letter to him dated Dec. 22d, 1780, refers to an individual well known in that part of the country. "I fancy you must have been acquainted with John Jones the surveyor of Kennebeck. After having almost exceeded the famous Roderick Random in adventures and escapes, he obtained a Captain's commission in Rogers' corps, and in several excursions from Penobscot he has performed wonders. Among other exploits he seized the tyrant Cushing at his own house, and conveyed him in a ridiculous dishabille to the British fort."

The straitness of Mr. Bailey's circumstances at the com-

mencement of 1781 may be inferred from a statement to his brother-in-law, Rev. Mr. Weeks: "The contest with regard to a school has terminated in my favour, and I have at present ten scholars, the number I was desirous of instructing, but nothing except necessity would have prevailed upon me to continue this laborious and perplexing employment."

In March, 1781, a daughter was born to Mr. and Mrs. Bailey, who was christened Rebecca Lavina.

The Rev. Dr. Caner, formerly Rector of King's Chapel, Boston, Mass., left that place with the British troops who evacuated Boston in March, 1776. In writing to a correspondent in April, 1781, Mr. Bailey states, "by letters from London I am informed that Dr. Caner had retired with his young wife to Cardiff, in Wales."

Several letters are preserved from Rev. Samuel Peters, D. D., then residing in London, to the subject of this Memoir. They are all of a singular character, like the writer. The following is an extract from one, dated London, February 8th, 1781. * * "What I am next to consider is how I can come at one or two of your sermons, that the public may share with the ingrates of Cornwallis what Sterne would read and devour with pleasure. * * I have heard much of your sermons as to style, sentiment, and composition, that they are exotics and originals. * * You will see the Farewell to Kennebeck,* but little differenced from the original, which was chiefly done to avoid some words less fashionable now than formerly, and to make even measure, as is the fashion now in ten feet verses. Many verses would have done honour to Young, or Pope, or Milton. The last verse was read aloud in a Coffee House, and drew sighs and tears from many sympathizing persons." Another correspondent in London writes, "I have not yet seen the lines you sent to Mr. Peters, who has made you figure in the Magazines by publishing them."

In reply to the request of Dr. Peters, contained in the foregoing letter, Mr. Bailey writes: "In a former letter you mentioned somewhat about sending you sermons, which, in con-

* See Note K.

junction with the desire of several friends in these parts has induced me to transcribe a number and leave them with Mr. Thomas Brown, of Halifax, which he may transmit, if he pleases. I am sensible that they have nothing to recommend them except their novelty. If they should be thought worthy of publication they will make a volume of the same size with Sterne's. You may affix what title you think proper. They were all, except the first two, delivered since the commencement of the rebellion. I had little choice in this collection, for I brought away only about a dozen in my precipitate flight." To Rev. William Clarke, formerly Rector of the Church in Dedham, Mass., but who was then residing in London, Mr. Bailey writes: "It would never have entered into my head to offer any of my sermons for publication had it not been for Mr. Peters. * * You will find them upon singular subjects, chiefly levelled against the principles of rebellion. These were chosen from about a dozen which I accidentally brought away from New England. All the rest of my sermons, books, &c., were left behind. I cannot forbear remarking that the 5th and 7th discourses were highly applauded by the Whigs, and that party, in consequence of what they termed my bold integrity, made me a present of two hundred and fifty dollars, but these were chiefly Southern Whigs. The 6th, however, gave great offence at Falmouth to the rebellious party, who could endure no strictures upon revenge, perfidy, and baseness." To the letter to Dr. Peters, the Doctor thus replied: "London, Feb. 15, 1782. I received your eight sermons with pleasure and read them. The cost of printing two hundred and fifty is £12, in the size of Sterne. I intend to send you one of them printed the next opportunity." Whether these were ever published the writer of this Memoir has no means of knowing.

A History of Connecticut, which has attracted much attention, has generally been ascribed to Dr. Peters, entirely on internal evidence, as the Doctor never acknowledged it. The letter just quoted contains the following: "Some assassin, last summer, published the History of Connecticut in a lively and sarcastic style. It is said to be the only true and impartial history ever published about New England. We cannot find

out the author, but Harrison Gray, and the Saints of Salem and Boston, like it not. They call it 'a cursed book.' Price 6s., bound."

The occupation by the British, in 1779, of the peninsula of Major-biguyduce, now called Castine, has been before spoken of. Here they erected a fortification to which they gave the name of Fort George. Many loyalists found their way thither, among them some of Mr. Bailey's friends in the eastern country. A desire to be with them, and discontent with the place of his residence, induced him to think favorably of a removal thither. In several of his letters he mentions this wish of his, to which some of the residents at Fort George responded, as appears by a subscription paper drawn up this year for his support, and signed by fifteen persons. Among these names are Jere. Pote, Robert Pagan, Robert Pagan, Jr., and Thomas Wyer, formerly of Falmouth, now Portland. In a letter to the Society, P. G., Nov. 8, 1781, Mr. Bailey says: "I have had several applications from my friends at Penobscot for my removal thither, but, though that settlement has greatly increased, other gentlemen, upon whose friendship and judgment I can rely, advise me not to venture while matters remain in their present precarious situation." In two years after the place was given up by the British.

Events were in progress that led to his appointment as Missionary at Annapolis. This place has been before spoken of, under its French name of Port Royal, as the residence of the adventurers from France in the years 1604 and 1605. During the century that followed, the basin that lies in its front bore on its bosom at various times hostile fleets, and the neighboring hills echoed back the rattling of musketry and the report of cannon, used by those who attacked and those who defended the important fortress which was there established. Martial law alone prevailed for many long years. No Protestant minister had settled himself at this distant post, but Romish priests ministered to the garrison and the neighboring savages in those years, when the French had possession of Port Royal. It was not till 1713 that Nova Scotia finally passed by treaty into the hands of the English, who, in honor to the reigning

sovereign, changed the name of Port Royal to Annapolis. The importance of its position, and its being the residence of the Governor of Nova Scotia, and of military officers of high rank, made it the most noted place east of Boston, excepting Louisburgh. It thus remained until 1750, when the seat of government was removed to the rapidly rising town of Halifax.

The first English Missionary* at Annapolis was the Rev. Thomas Wood, formerly of New Jersey, but who was transferred from that Province to Halifax in 1756. In addition to the performance of the labors of his Mission he was enabled to visit Annapolis twice in 1762, and in the next year removed to that place. He became so familiar with the Micmac language as to form a grammar of it, and to officiate to the Indians in their native tongue. In 1775 his people subscribed for the erection of a church sixty by forty feet. Three years after, Mr. Wood closed a laborious life among his attached people. The Rev. J. Wingate Weeks, formerly Missionary at Marblehead, Mass., being in England in 1779, obtained the appointment of Missionary at Annapolis. Returning to Halifax in July of that year his anxiety for his family, then at Marblehead, induced him soon after to embark for New York, to arrange for their removal to Nova Scotia. Mr. Weeks did not reach Halifax till May in the following year, where he found his wife and children, who had, in fact, arrived there a few days after his departure from that place the previous autumn. He appears to have visited Annapolis for the first time in June, 1780, and was there perhaps once more a few months after. In June of the following year he probably passed three or four weeks there, returning to Halifax, where his family resided. This neglect to reside at his Mission displeased the Venerable Society. In the latter part of the same summer Mr. Bailey received a letter from Rev. Mather Byles, D. D., dated Halifax, August 11th, 1781, of which the following is an extract: "I think it my duty, without any further delay, to send you the

* But there was probably a chaplain to the garrison at this place, for in one of the returns of the expense of the establishment for one year previous to 1750, is found—"Chaplain 6s. *per diem*, or £121 13s. 4d. *per annum*."—Halliburton, II., p. 198. See also Mr. Bailey's letter to Rev. Dr. Peters, October 31st, 1784.

following extracts from a letter which I have received from Dr. Morice, dated Feb. 6, 1781.

“‘I am to communicate to you the Resolution of the Society, that Mr. Weeks go immediately to Annapolis, and if he should not, then either Dr. Byles or Mr. Bailey must take that Mission. The offer is first made to you.’

“I have informed Mr. Weeks of the above Resolution. His reply was, that ‘he should not remove to Annapolis at present; that the Mission was a matter of indifference to him; and that I might go there if I pleased.’ Accordingly the care of that Mission, if I chose to accept it, would now devolve upon me; but as I determine, for reasons which I shall communicate to the Society, to decline the charge, the design of this letter is formally to resign it in your favour. As the Society seem to have intrusted the conduct of this affair to me, and, I am very sensible will expect a speedy and decisive answer, I should be glad to know by the first opportunity whether the offer, which I look upon myself as now authorized to make you, be agreeable, that I may transmit your reply to that venerable body.”

The answer to this, on the part of Mr. Bailey, was: “If Mr. Weeks declines going to Annapolis, and you are willing to resign your prior appointment in my favor, I shall cheerfully accept of the Mission.” In October, Rev. J. W. Weeks visited Annapolis, it being his second visit this year, and in November he wrote a letter to Mr. Bailey, disapproving of his views with reference to that place. In the spring of the next year the following letter reached Mr. Bailey:—

“HATTON GARDEN, Jan’y 29, 1782.

“REV. SIR:—Your two letters of the 9th November last have been duly received, and were laid before the Society at their meeting on the 25th instant, when the affair of Mr. Weeks being taken into full consideration the Society came to the following determination: Resolved, that as Mr. Weeks refuses to reside upon the Mission of Annapolis, the Rev. Mr. Bailey be appointed in his room. You will therefore consider yourself henceforward as Missionary to that place, whither you

will, with all due speed, repair: and after what has passed respecting Mr. Weeks there is little occasion for me to observe that the Society expect that you will constantly reside there. The people of Granville are to be considered as part of the Mission. * * * Your salary from the Society is the same as it now stands, £50 stlg., but you will receive £70 stlg. from the Government, which, I believe, is paid in Nova Scotia. I should hope that the Chaplainship of the Garrison will be given to you also, as Mr. Weeks can now have no claims to it. All I have further to add on this subject is my hearty prayer for all success in your Ministry, and every degree of prosperity to you and your large family, who, I hope, will receive comfort in that situation, which Mr. Weeks, by multiplying his lucrative employments, seems to have despised.

* * * * *

“I am, Rev'd Sir,

Your affectionate brother,

and very humble servant,

WM. MORICE, *Secretary.*”

In writing to a friend shortly after the receipt of the foregoing letter, Mr. Bailey says: “I am sorry to find Mr. Weeks wholly excluded from the Society's service. I am informed that he is offended with me, though, I can truly affirm, the appointment was not of my seeking, and even when Dr. Morice informed me last fall that I was to succeed in case Mr. Weeks and Dr. Byles should refuse, I signified, in my reply, that I should prefer Penobscot, could I remove thither with safety, and the Secretary, in his last letter, assures me that Mr. Weeks was dismissed for non-residence, and for despising the Society's favour.”

Mr. Bailey makes the following statement of the amount of his income when at Cornwallis: “During which time I had no emoluments except fifty pounds from the Society, a deputy Chaplainship for half a year, and the contributions of a few people at Cornwallis.”

The following letter, dated August 5th, 1782, though of some length, seems to be worthy of insertion, here:—

“ To ———.

“ DEAR SIR:—In pursuance of my engagements I now apply myself to furnish you with some account of my late movements and adventures. I believe you have already received information that before my departure from Cornwallis I was invited to officiate in the Meeting House. In consequence of this invitation I read prayers and delivered two sermons to a more numerous assembly than I had ever seen in this Province. Most of the inhabitants of every denomination attended, gave serious attention, behaved with decency, favoured me with a very handsome collection, and seemed to relish my farewell discourse. But modesty must prevent my enlarging here, even to a friend.

We proposed to advance towards Annapolis on Tuesday, the 24th of July, but an excessive rain on Monday hindered our preparations, so that our departure was delayed till Wednesday morning, when we observed the following order: a cart, with two yoke of oxen, containing all our worldly possessions, began the procession, guarded by a couple of sprightly young fellows, who offered their services; a vehicle for the reception of Mrs. Bailey and her children drawn by two horses next appeared under the conduct of honest John.* Mrs. Burbidge, in her chaise, with the above-mentioned persons, set off about seven, accompanied with near thirty people, of both sexes, on horseback, who attended us with cheerful solemnity to the distance of fourteen miles on our journey. About eleven we arrived at Marshall's, and with much difficulty provided an early dinner for our large company. At one we parted with our friends. Upon this occasion the scenes were affecting; mutual effusions of sorrow were displayed, and our hearts were agitated with tender emotions. Once I imagined it impossible to abandon Cornwallis with such painful regret, and conceived that we could bid the inhabitants adieu without a single tear of sensibility on either side, but I found myself mistaken. Justice and gratitude compel

* John McNamarra.

me to entertain a more favourable opinion of these people than formerly, and their conduct has appeared in a much more amiable light at the conclusion than at the beginning of our connection. Most of my hearers, and several of other denominations, made us presents before our migration, and we were at no expense for horses and carriages. The distressing ceremony of parting being over, Mrs. Bailey was seated with her little ones in the above-mentioned machine, over which was stretched a covering of canvas, as a defence both from the vivid rays of the sun and the rain of heaven. We now entered a wilderness of vast extent, without a single human habitation for the space of eleven miles, the roads extremely rough, sheltered with tall forests, encumbered with rocks and deformed with deep sloughs; and, to render the scene still more disconsolate and dismal, the winds howled among the trees, thick volumes of clouds rolled from the western hemisphere, and the rumble of thunder announced the horrors of an approaching tempest. We had still in company six persons besides our own family, two of whom pushed forward with Betsy Nye and reached a publick house before the rain. Mr. Starr and your humble servant left the carriages at the distance of four miles from the dwelling of one Potter, lately removed from Cornwallis, at which we arrived a little after sunset, just as the heavy shower was beginning to descend. The sudden darkness of the evening, with the danger of oversetting, gave us very uneasy apprehensions; at length Mrs. Bailey and the children appeared, as did some time after the conductors of the team thoroughly wet to the skin. We were crowded, eight in number besides the family, into a room about sixteen feet square, which proved a miserable shelter against the most impetuous rain I ever knew in this Province. The house leaked so intolerably that I was wet to the skin at the tea-table; we however placed bear skins in such a manner as to preserve a good feather bed from the water, into which we tumbled about midnight, but the incredible swarms of musquitos and sand flies, and the intolerable heat, both of the weather and a large fire, prevented us from sleeping. The next morning we arose before the sun, and during breakfast were tormented

by our unwelcome companions of the preceding night. The weather was remarkably close and muggy, the heavens overspread with heavy clouds, the mountains and rivers covered with stagnant fogs, and all the surrounding scenes of nature presaged tempest and thunder. Having prepared our cattle and horses, about five we began to move forward. At the distance of a mile from our lodgings I was invited to a christening, while the carriages proceeded. After the performance of this exercise I took my leave of Mr. Starr, and rode over the sandy, barren plains about two miles, till I overtook our company. By this time the western hemisphere presented an awful front of blackness, and solemn peals of thunder rolled along the gloomy arch. In a few moments, the north-west wind began to muster his forces and impelled the enormous shower to approach with frightful rapidity. Both earth and heaven were instantly involved in clouds and darkness, interrupted with flashes of lightning.

We were fortunate enough to reach a couple of cottages, the only habitations within the extent of four or five miles, just as the torrents were beginning to descend. Mrs. Bailey with her children and part of the company took shelter in one, while myself and the remainder gained possession of the other. It will be needless to describe the progress of the tempest, to picture the furious driving of the rain, or to present to your imagination the accumulated streams, pouring down the hills and smoking along the valleys with impetuous roar. I found no person in the house except the basket maker's daughter, lately arrived from Black Hall. A prettier face I had never beheld in the Province, and her behaviour, notwithstanding the homeliness of her apparel, was sufficient to prejudice a connoisseur in her favour. Having purchased of the rural beauty baskets to the amount of a dollar, and the storm beginning to abate, we quickly remounted and pushed forward with as much alacrity as possible, the roads swimming in water, the fragments of clouds dropping upon us. The sun at length breaking out with increasing splendour, the company upon single horses agreed to push for the next stage at the distance of eight miles. On this occasion Betsy Nye,

who had the preceding day lost her cloak, returned a borrowed surtout. But we had no sooner entered the vast plains to the westward of Black Hall, the only human residence between the place of our departure and Crocker's, when the face of heaven began again to scowl and wear a threatening aspect, and now the waters burst in continued and impetuous showers from the clouds. For five miles together we were attended by these descending floods, till we were completely soaked through our garments to the skin. Poor Betsy on this occasion was an object both of laughter and compassion, her hat hanging over each ear, the water streaming from her disheveled hair, and her clothes clinging to her lean, lanky carcass, exhibited a picture dismally romantic, and, if I may be allowed to assume the vulgar dialect, she resembled a drowned rat. About ten we arrived in this woful pickle at Crocker's, where we dried our clothes with the assistance of a large fire. I suffered great anxiety on account of Mrs. Bailey and the children, who did not appear till after twelve, but they had found means to defend themselves with blankets from the violence of the weather. We presently discovered that Mrs. Crocker was a right notable woman, and, as she claimed some distant cousinship with me, she was very attentive and bustling to accommodate us. After a sociable dinner we parted with two more of our Cornwallikin attendants, and the weather being fine and pleasant, proceeded on our journey.

At the distance of a mile we passed by a very elegant plantation, which suddenly rose upon us amidst the barren wilds. A commodious dwelling stood on the northern side of the road furnished with extensive fields, on the south was a large orchard upon a gentle declivity, sloping towards Annapolis river, which winded in a slow current through beautiful meadows, forming a pretty, romantic island on the western limits of the prospect. Beyond the river through avenues which opened among groves of tall trees we discovered several habitations with adjacent farms. The excessive rains had swollen every inconsiderable stream almost to the magnitude of a river, but such was the nature of the soil that the roads became dry the moment the sun recovered its wonted splendour.

We jogged on this afternoon about ten miles without any accident worth recording, when we met a couple of gentlemen on horseback. The eldest appeared between forty-five and fifty, and immediately accosted us with the most solemn formality in the following words: 'Pray inform me whether the Reverend Mr. Bailey, the Society's Missionary for Annapolis and Granville, is in this company?' This address was delivered in a slow, moderate and calm tone of voice, and when he received a reply in the affirmative, he lifted his hat with great deliberation from his head, and bowed with the most inflexible gravity. I take notice of our first introduction to the presence of this gentleman, who is in many respects a singular and romantic character; because I shall have frequent occasion to mention him in my future communications. I have particular reasons for concealing his name at present, and shall only remark that he is a New England man, a sturdy loyalist, and a recent convert to the Church. We were soon overtaken by Mr. Peter Pineo, who invited us to his habitation, eighteen miles distant from Annapolis, where we all arrived in good spirits, though not a little fatigued with our journey, for we had travelled, with all our baggage, fifty-four miles in two days. We found Mr. Pineo very friendly and obliging, and however he may be esteemed vain, conceited and self-important, yet these shades in his character are without any mixtures of ill nature, insolence, or severity, but rather tinged with benevolence; and his disposition to exalt himself is distinguished by acts of generosity and the most hospitable exertions. The next morning we dismissed our carriages and parted with the remainder of our Cornwallis friends, determining to repose a little till some means of further conveyance should offer. Mr. Pineo sent an invitation to Mr. Morse, the dissenting teacher of Granville, who attended with his lady at dinner, and at the same time Mr. Formality made his appearance with a request to accompany him about five miles to his dwelling. After a serious consultation it was agreed that I should officiate the next Sunday at the meeting-house, and upon other occasions when I found myself disposed to perform service at Granville.

An epicure might amuse you with an account of the splendid entertainment provided upon this occasion, but it is sufficient to observe that our repast was highly elegant and luxurious. As the new convert to Episcopacy and Mr. Morse were of course at bitter enmity, and as the latter is not very remarkable for wisdom or prudence, we had some difficulty to divert them from disagreeable altercations. But whatever deficiencies a connoisseur might discover in the disposition and conduct of the Parson, I am certain that every one must admire the good sense, modesty and discretion of his wife, especially as she has encountered misfortunes sufficient to embitter her temper and to render her gloomy and unsociable. The next morning, it being the fourth day of our journey, my new friend attended us with a team and several horses to convey both our persons and baggage to his habitation. The moment we had prepared for our departure it began to rain impetuously, and continued without intermission till six in the afternoon, when a favourable appearance of fair weather enticed us abroad, but we had not proceeded a mile before the clouds began to discharge their liquid treasures. However, after wading through water and mire we arrived at Mr. —'s habitation about dark, wet, fatigued and chilly. His wife, sister to an intimate acquaintance of mine in New England, received us like a silent, kind-hearted country-woman, and with her daughters, gave us all the friendly assistance in her power, while the husband, standing upright in the middle of the room, straight as the pine tree of Kennebeck, welcomed us to his apartments in a set and ceremonious speech, delivered with his usual gravity and deliberation.

It was Saturday evening, about nine, when we disposed of ourselves in the habitation of Mr. Formality. After tea and prayers we were conducted into the best apartment for repose, and when the fifth morning of our migration began to stain the summits of the mountains we arose, and conducted as most other people usually do on such occasions. When the time of Divine Service arrived we attended. The meeting-house was commodious, and the congregation as large as could be expected upon so little notice. The Parson and his Dea-

cons were among my hearers, and we had several New Lights to grace the audience. The remainder of the day was spent in agreeable conversation and in laying the plans of our future operations. On the sixth day we took a breakfast with Mr. William Clark, one of my Methodistical parishioners, and having procured horses began to prepare for the remainder of our journey, being now about fourteen miles from the town of Annapolis. With considerable fatigue, some danger, and a profusion of mud we crossed the river and landed in a beautiful meadow covered with tall grass and bounded with a rich woodland pasture.

We passed through an agreeable variety of rural scenes above half a mile, till we occupied the county road. About eleven o'clock we arrived at the dwelling of my old friend, Mr. Bass, brother to Parson Bass, of Newbury. Here we met with a cordial reception, and had a very good dinner in the primitive style.

Figure to yourself a New England farmer twenty years ago, about ten miles distant from Boston, able with his own industry to make a comfortable living, besides discharging his tax-bill, paying the midwife, and providing a plentiful and greasy dinner on Thanksgiving sufficient to feast an hundred ploughmen. Produce such a person to your imagination, and you will obtain an idea of Mr. Bass, with this exception, that he exceeds any one you ever saw of the above description, in loyalty and inflexible honesty, mingled with a portion of seemingly accidental wit, which he scatters abroad in his conversation. I had forgot to inform the gentle reader that the ceremonious gentleman waited upon us with great formality to the royal city. When we departed from the hospitable mansion of Mr. Bass this was the form of our procession: our attendant moved forward, pointing out the way, then your humble servant and his little son, while Madam, John and Becky mounted upon the back of another horse, conducted the rear. We halted in our march at the house of one Mr. Sanders, about five miles from town; the man, a strict Churchman, and a great friend to Government. His farm lies upon the declivity of the Southern Mountains, and from his door

you command a very grand and extensive prospect. One hour and a quarter more concluded our tedious journey. It was not till after four of the clock, in a cool and most delightful day, when, having passed through a gloomy wood, we suddenly opened upon an extensive plain overspread with the richest verdure, ornamented with little groves, and beautified with bunches of wild roses, which scattered their delicious fragrance through the air. After crossing this plain the remainder of our progress for the space of a mile was an easy descent towards the north-west, both sides of the road being adorned with little fields, gardens and orchards. Upon an obtuse point of land formed by the bending of the river, the town appeared, rising amidst a forest of fruit trees, while the lofty mountains of Granville terminated the direct view."

In a few weeks after this removal, a son of Capt. Mowatt,* who had commanded one of the vessels of the British navy, arrived at Annapolis, being sent to Mr. Bailey to be educated.

By a comparison of dates it would appear that Mr. Bailey arrived at Annapolis August 1st, 1782.

The following is a copy of the first letter which he wrote to the Society after his arrival in this place:—

"ANNAPOLIS, OCT. 14, 1782.

"*To the Secretary of the*

"Society for Propagating the Gospel, &c.

"REV. SIR:—Permit me, by your assistance, to present the following representations to the Venerable Society. About three months ago I removed with my family from Cornwallis, and after a tedious journey of five days arrived at Annapolis. Gratitude obliges me to announce the kind and friendly treatment I received from the inhabitants of Cornwallis during the latter part of my residence there. They not only expressed the highest regret at parting, but gave convincing evidence of their affection and esteem. My reception both here and at Granville fully answered my expectations, but the principal persons among my hearers conceive it not to be prudent to

* See Note L.

urge a subscription at present, and it is universally agreed that the Mission has abundantly suffered for want of a resident minister. It is undoubtedly owing to this that enthusiasm, and if possible principles of a more pernicious nature have made such a progress in these parts. I have the satisfaction however to observe that the New England Independents are much better disposed towards the Church here than at Cornwallis. In confirmation of this I would beg leave to mention that yesterday I officiated in a meeting-house at thirteen miles distance from the town, at the united request of the proprietors, who are all Dissenters, and both these and the Presbyterians of Granville occasionally attend our services, though they have preachers of their own. The little town of Annapolis contains one hundred and twenty persons, all except four or five of the Church of England. Several other families of the same persuasion reside in the neighbourhood, besides a considerable number of French Roman Catholics. Granville, it is computed, has above forty families of our communion. To prevent any disagreeable altercation with my brethren at Halifax, who had unjustly taken offence at my appointment, Col. Burbidge, a man of an exemplary character and of prime influence in this Province, waited upon the Governor, with the assistance of my worthy friend Dr. Byles, and demanded for me the Chaplainship of this garrison, but Sir Andrew refused, alleging that Mr. Weeks, the instant he knew of my appointment, applied to him and obtained it. I was however encouraged by the above gentlemen to make a direct application by letter to the Secretary, who seems disposed to befriend me. But the arrival of Governor Parr, before my letters could reach Halifax, must again defeat my endeavors, as Mr. Weeks is upon the spot to renew his solicitations, an advantage which clergymen who reside in the Metropolis must always have over their brethren who live at the distance of one hundred and fifty miles. Annapolis is an agreeable situation, but I am certain that I cannot procure the necessaries of life for my family, especially while the war continues, unless I can be indulged with the Chaplainship of the garrison. The articles of house rent, firing and bread, amount to above £70, and though I had

during part of my continuance at Cornwallis the Deputy Chaplainship of a regiment, and three rations of provisions, of which I was deprived last May, yet the expenses of my removal have encroached upon my salary. In a word, the importance of the Mission and the temper of the people are such that it is requisite that the minister should be able to support himself with decency and to practice hospitality. Suffer me to solicit the influence of the Society in this matter, and it may be urged in my favour that a number of soldiers are sent to reside in the garrison, which must of necessity afford some additional duty. I would likewise acquaint the Society that the school at Annapolis has been supplied for a year past by Mr. Benjamin Snow, who received his education at Dartmouth College, and who was expelled from New England for his loyalty. This gentleman may be recommended for his learning, sobriety and good morals, to the Society's favour. He gives universal satisfaction to the people and is greatly beloved by the children, whom, with my assistance, he catechises three times a week. We humbly request that the Society would admit him for their schoolmaster and allow him to draw for the usual salary. I would beg leave further to state that either there never was any library given to this Mission, or the heirs of Dr. Wood have disposed of the books. If the Society can favour me with some, and send a number of Prayer Books, and pious tracts to distribute among the young people, it will much oblige me."

A few days after the above letter was written, there arrived at Annapolis, from New York, nine transports, convoyed by two men-of-war. These transports contained five hundred refugees, persons of both sexes and all ages, sent by the British Government into Nova Scotia. Mr. Bailey says, in a letter in which he speaks of these individuals: "Every habitation is crowded, and many are unable to procure any lodgings. Many of these distressed people left large possessions in the rebellious colonies, and their suffering on account of their loyalty, and their present uncertain and destitute condition, render them very affecting objects of compassion." He says, in another letter: "Many of them are people of fashion from

every Province on the continent, except Georgia." Mr. Bailey says, under date of Oct. 27th: "I have been busy in making a refugee sermon. I delivered this discourse from Psalm cvii. 2d and 3d verses, to a very respectable audience. Even the Whigs were not unmoved at the representations of our distresses."

The following is Mr. Bailey's first report to the Venerable Society of the condition of his parish in the spring of 1783:—

"ANNAPOLIS, April 30th, 1783.

"To Rev. Wm. Morice, &c. &c.

"REV'D SIR:—After presenting my hearty thanks in the most respectful manner to the Venerable Society, I would beg leave to inform them that since my last I have baptized twenty-five persons, buried ten, and married five couples. I administered the Sacrament on Christmas and Easter, but as the weather on both days was extremely unpropitious for travelling, I had only twelve communicants. We have a Church at Annapolis sixty feet long and forty broad, with a steeple and bell, but as the outside only is finished we cannot yet meet in it. However, it is no longer exposed to be destroyed by the enemy. I presume the people will do something this summer towards completing it. About fourteen miles from Annapolis town, on the same side of the river, is a glebe lot of five hundred acres, which rents for £6 *per annum*; another at Granville, of the same dimensions, three miles from Annapolis, is worth forty shillings a year. In this town are five or six little tenements, occupied by poor people, of whom I can at present expect to receive little or no rent. The remainder of the parsonage lot here, which was given by Queen Anne, contains about an acre, which I have enclosed for a garden at a considerable expense. We are greatly obliged to the Society for their assistance with regard to the school, but as Mr. Snow has procured a grant of land he has resigned the school to Mr. John McNamarra, a young man who has been educated by me, and during the course of nine years he has lived in my family, and shown himself to be a person of remarkable

sobriety and unshaken integrity, for which he has been imprisoned and cruelly treated while we continued under the dominion of Congress.

"I have not yet had opportunity to make any motion towards obtaining subscriptions. Fifty-two families, exclusive of refugees, by a written paper in my possession, announce themselves of the Church of England, none of whom have subscribed towards my support. Some of them are sober, well affected people, many of them Methodists, but I am sorry to observe that others are very different in their sentiments from the little loyal town of Annapolis. The number of my parishioners will probably increase, as one thousand more refugees are daily expected; but as the circumstances of those unfortunate people are truly wretched and deplorable beyond all modern example, no advantage can be expected from them; their necessities, on the contrary, must demand frequent effusions of pity and beneficence. These destitute and despised wanderers, instead of increasing my emoluments, must daily make demands upon my compassion and charity."

The influx of loyalists from the now independent Colonies continued to be great. Mr. Bailey writes in October: "Since the commencement of this week there have arrived at Annapolis five ships, eight brigs, and four sloops, besides schooners, with near a thousand people from" [New] "York. They must be turned on shore without any shelter in this rugged season." A letter written a month later than the foregoing says: "Fifteen hundred fugitive loyalists are just landed here from" [New] "York in affecting circumstances, fatigued with a long and stormy passage, sickly, and destitute of shelter from the advances of winter, which are now commencing in all their horrors. For six months past these wretched outcasts of America and Britain have been landing at Annapolis, and various other parts of this Province."

To another friend Mr. Bailey writes, with reference to this unhappy class: "Several hundreds are stowed in our Church, and larger numbers are still unprovided for."

“ANNAPOLIS, NOV. 6th, 1783.

“*To the Rev. Wm. Morice, D. D., Secretary, &c. &c.*

“REV'D SIR:—Permit me to lay before the Venerable Society the present State of this Mission. I have baptized since May last twenty-four infants and one adult, and buried ten persons. I officiate at Granville once a month, in a decent place of worship, about fourteen miles from Annapolis. The Dissenters are much upon the decline, and the only minister they had in this country, not being able to find a support among his adherents, has disposed of his interest, and is about to remove to New England. Since my last, of August 15th, above seventeen hundred persons have arrived at Annapolis, besides the fifty-seventh regiment, in consequence of which my habitation is crowded. The Church has been fitted for the reception of several hundreds, and multitudes are still without shelter in this rigorous and stormy season. Near four hundred of these miserable exiles have perished in a violent storm, and I am persuaded that disease, disappointment, poverty, and chagrin, will finish the course of many more before the return of another spring. So much attention is required in settling these strangers, that nothing of a publick nature can be pursued to effect.

“This country, when I removed to Annapolis, contained about fifteen hundred souls, including French Roman Catholics. Between three and four thousand have since been added, and several new settlements formed, so that it will be impossible for one minister to give proper attendance. House rent is extravagantly dear. A small unfinished apartment costs three dollars per week, and the necessities of life increase in proportion to our numbers. I am settling seventeen families upon the glebe land in this town, which, after another year, may yield from twelve to fourteen Pounds.

“The Governor has not yet admitted me to the Deputy Chaplainship, notwithstanding there is no other clergyman to discharge the duties of that place.” * * *

The following was addressed to Rev. Samuel Parker, D. D., Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, and is dated in November

of this year: "I will give you a sketch of my progress in farming. The best house in Annapolis, with two acres of garden and orchard, cost me £20. I expended £10 more in labour, exclusive of my own. Beside supplying three families in six months with vegetables, and distributing to distressed friends occasionally, produce for winter use amounted to £60, one half of which was stole, so that the remainder is just equal to rent and expenses."

From Mr. Bailey's reports to the Venerable Society in the year 1784, it seems that "the Court House, every store and private building, being crowded with people, he had been obliged to perform Divine Service at several miles distance, or in his own habitation."

The Church at Annapolis was opened for Divine Service for the first time on Easter day of this year. Mr. Bailey says: "Though the weather was wet and stormy, we had a large and decent congregation, which encouraged me to hope that people will be more attentive to Public Worship, now they have a room to assemble in, for it ought to be remembered that at Annapolis we never had a place to meet in sufficient to contain an hundred people, for which reasons multitudes were under the necessity of absenting themselves." "The Church, when finished, will contain five or six hundred persons, and the new settlers, which by far exceed the old, are heartily disposed to contribute towards its completion." In his letter sent to the Society, and dated October 28th, 1784, Mr. Bailey says: "I have the satisfaction to inform them that at Michaelmas a Vestry of the most respectable characters were chosen according to the institutions of this Province, that I was this day inducted by the Wardens, in consequence of a mandate of the Governor, and that we have a prospect of establishing an happy agreement between the old inhabitants and the new, and of pursuing measures for the finishing of the Church." He speaks of his labours in catechising the children, and the very favourable results he had witnessed. Every Wednesday was devoted to this exercise, preceded by Divine Service, at Annapolis. On other days he visited the more distant settlement for the same purpose. And "one hundred children,

exclusive of those in Digby, had learnt the Church Catechism, many of whom were the posterity of rigid Dissenters, or of parents destitute of any religious principles." Mr. Forman, a refugee and an half-pay officer, was at that time the principal schoolmaster at Digby. Lamenting the immorality and profligacy that prevailed, arising from a total disuse of public worship, "he assembled his pupils on Sundays, performed Divine Service, and read a sermon. The schoolmistresses quickly joined him with their scholars, and in a few weeks he was attended by a crowded audience, and a visible alteration in the conduct of the inhabitants ensued."

Mr. Bailey says: "I reckon between thirty and forty communicants at Annapolis, and about twenty at Granville, but I cannot ascertain the number at other settlements." "The Notitia of the Parish for the last twelve months were:—

Baptisms, 26	Marriages, 25	Burials, 28
57	20	do 2
<hr/> 83	<hr/> 45	<hr/> 30

The following are extracts from a letter from Rev. Samuel Parker, D. D., Boston, December 1st, 1784:—

"Your letter of September 21st, arrived here when I was absent at Philadelphia, and it was not till the last of October it came to my hands. Two chests belonging to you had previously been brought up from Pownalborough, with verbal orders to deliver them to me, but no letter to acquaint me what their contents were, or what I was to do with them. *

* * As you express a desire to have your sermons immediately, I opened the chest containing the papers, and find therein a parcel of papers jumbled together in as great confusion as Chaos itself could have made, and the chest no way secured. Among the jumbled heap some that look like sermons, but much defaced, torn, and abused, were discerned, and I have picked out some that look the most entire, and packed in a small box, which I commit to Mr. Worcester's care. * * The contents of the box will supply your present need till the others arrive. I had a good mind to steal some of your sermons, but found upon examination that I could

not take more than fifteen minutes to deliver them, and my people always expect thirty minutes, and, as I must have added one half to them, I thought upon the whole I would not be guilty of a theft, which would turn out to so little advantage. If you were not my Senior, I should take it upon myself to advise you to expend a little more pains in writing your discourses, because, when you are old you may be obliged to transcribe for the purpose of reading them. And, if they were preserved with a little more care, it would be no disadvantage. I congratulate you on your Induction as Rector of St. Luke's, and hope that your latter days will be more easy than the former."

The correspondence which Mr. Bailey commenced on his first removal into the Province with Rev. Samuel Peters, D. D., in London, was still maintained, and in the autumn of this year the former wrote to the latter the following:—

“ANNAPOLIS ROYAL, Oct. 31st, 1784.

“REV. AND DEAR SIR:—The long expected arrivals from Britain were this day announced at Annapolis, and a friendly letter from Mr. Domette came into my hand by some unknown conveyance. But I am not indebted to your munificence for any favours of that nature. Am I destined to wander unnoticed on the muddy banks of Toowaubscot, and to furnish you with future anecdotes of Nova Scotia, unblessed by your ghostly benediction? In a word, I have received no epistles from you since the beginning of last March. I have written in the interval three letters, and transmitted a large packet, containing a description of this Province by a Dr. Turnbull.

“Ministers of the Church of England have resided at Annapolis, with a few interruptions, for near seventy years past without any Wardens or Vestry. But on Michaelmas, the day appointed by the laws of this Province, I was fortunate enough to convene a respectable number of parishioners, when twelve of the principal inhabitants were chosen. A letter of induction was immediately procured from the Governor, and I was last Wednesday inducted into the Church.

“I am confident that no Missionary in America has so diffi-

cult and laborious a situation as mine. Once a month I officiate at Granville, about fourteen miles from my habitation. To effect this I ride about twelve miles on Saturday, the next day proceed about two miles by water, and frequently have to climb the banks of the river up to my knees in mud. Then, after preaching two sermons, catechising the children, and baptizing a number of infants, I return home on Sunday evening by the same route. My congregation at this place is between three and four hundred. I have made a voyage to Digby, about twenty miles below Annapolis, where I officiated one Sunday and baptized a number of children. At Annapolis I perform Divine Service on Wednesday, and catechise near eighty children. I am visiting all the schools in the country for the same purpose, and am frequently obliged to ride twenty miles, besides crossing rivers, to perform the office of baptism. Besides, a regiment of soldiers augment my duty, and, though I am not favoured with the emoluments of a chaplain, humanity obliges me to perform the whole exercises of that office, while those who grow opulent by these appointments, unattended either with labour or expense, reproach me with officiousness, ridicule my indigence, and pursue me with the most unabating malice. This is highly provoking to a feeling and benevolent mind. I cannot determine how others may act in this situation, but I cannot endure that the infant of a poor soldier should remain unbaptized, that his children or himself should be excluded from instruction, or that he should be committed to his parent dust without Christian burial. Is it not a scandal to any government, or rather ecclesiastical institution, that a person should enjoy the profits of an office without performing even the minutest part of the duty? Though disappointed in my expectations, and deprived of my just perquisites, yet I am happy, amidst my struggles, to support an increasing family with decency, and in having no altercations with my people. It is true that they are a collection of all nations, kindreds, complexions and tongues, assembled from every quarter of the globe, and till lately equally strangers to each other. This circumstance has prevented me from receiving any support from the people, and, in fact both

the original inhabitants and the new imagined, till lately, that I not only enjoyed the perquisites of the Garrison, but had the same salary for Granville as for Annapolis. The Wardens and Vestry, however, give some encouragement to expect their assistance, but I derive small expectations from persons engaged in expensive buildings, and settling themselves in a strange country, especially as the finishing of the church demands their immediate and liberal contributions.

“Mr. Wiswall* paid us a visit not long ago, with his wife and her youngest daughter, and by a letter just received from Cornwallis, I am informed that he is settled in the parsonage his parishioners have erected for him. The parochial duties of this gentleman are nothing when compared with mine. His parishioners are few in number, and the most remote are not more than four miles from his habitation, and, if I remember right, he neither christens nor marries, except in Church. * * * I have received several epistles during the summer past from my worthy friend Mr. Bass, of Newburyport, who was expelled the Society’s service upon the testimony of brother Weeks. He wrote to that gentleman last winter, as follows:—

“‘SIR:—I learn that you have been my accuser to the Society, and beg it as a favour, that you would let me know the articles of the charge you alledged against me, and the evidence you produced in support of these allegations.

Your obedient servant,

EDWARD BASS.’

“To which Mr. Weeks returned this answer:—

“‘REV’D SIR:—I had a line from you a few days ago. If you think so meanly of me as that I should turn accuser, or so highly of me as that I should have more credit with the Society than yourself, you greatly wrong me. I assure you I am not admitted to any of their secrets.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

J. WINGATE WEEKS.’

*Rev. John Wiswall, formerly Rector of St. Paul’s Church in Falmouth, now Portland, Maine.

"Mr. Bass intreats that this letter may be shown to Dr. Morice.

"I understand that Parson Walter has arrived at Halifax, in the quality of a D. D. What is your opinion of this gentleman? The ladies who emigrated from York to Annapolis reprobate him as a fop and coxcomb, and affirm that his whole attention is given to dress, balls, assemblies, and plays.

"But it is the fate of us clergymen to be censured. If we are grave, and assume a little dignity, we are stiff, formal, and proud; if we are free, open, and sociable, we are accused of levity. If we, or our families, are attentive to make a fashionable appearance, we are foppish, extravagant, and slaves to the mode; if careless of dress we are slovens. So it was in ancient days. John, the son of Zacharias, who appeared as unadorned as a Micmac of Nova Scotia, and who rejected the delicacies of appetite, was accused of holding an intimate correspondence with the Devil. While his Divine Master, who pursued a different conduct, was blackened as a glutton, a guzzler of wine, and as a friend to harlots and Custom House officers, the aversion of Jews and American smugglers.

"*November 4th.*—That you may form some idea of my parochial situation and fatigues, I will inform you that I was obliged this day to ride twelve miles through mire, near a foot deep, to marry a couple. But when I arrived at the destined spot, behold, there was no boat to cross the river. After holding a conversation a few minutes from the opposite banks, behold Hymen grew angry, the lovers were greivously disappointed, and your humble servant was under a necessity of returning home without his fee through the same muddy road. Hark! A heavy rapping at the door! 'A gentleman and lady want to speak with you.' Let them walk in. The same couple, now made happy. To-morrow I must travel the same road to bury a Judge, who fell a sacrifice to all powerful rum, which in this country, like death, levels all distinctions."

This letter brought a rather painfully characteristic reply from Dr. Peters, Pimlico, February 22, 1785, from which the following is extracted:—

"Your favour of Octob. 31, 1784, reached me Jan'y 7th, for

which I thank you, although you must have some villains at Halifax, who intercept my letters, which have been two for one I have received from you. This, I hope, will reach you by the grace of Dr. Seabury, now the Right Reverend Father in God, by Divine permission Bishop of Connecticut, consecrated by the Non-juring Bishops of the antient and primitive Church of Scotland, who lost their patrimony and church temporalities, Anno 1688, for adhering to their oaths and being loyal to James II. Such honor have you and all good saints.

"The Bishop will wait on you and give you his benediction, of more value than mine and twenty-six Right Reverend Lord Bishops. His certificate will be of great service to you at St. Peter's gate, who will admit you at sight of it into Heaven, without touching at Purgatory, because you have resided in Nova Scotia nine years, which must have purged and sweated you more than three hundred and sixty-five days could have done in the Pope's Prison. * * * Your congregation seems to be composed of Medes, Parthians, and Cretans. One has told me that you let out lots on the glebe at £8 *per annum*, to the amount of £800 *per annum*. The Society expect that Granville should handsomely contribute to your support, as well as where you reside. If Granville omitted" [to do this] "my advice is, that you abide wholly at Annapolis. Your labours are truly hard, and your reward is in Heaven along with our curates here, who bury seven in a day, christen ten to fifteen out and in the Church, marry from three to seven couple per day, visit six or seven persons by night and by day, read and preach three times on each Sunday, and all for £40 to £45 *per annum*. * * Your observations concerning the censure of the world, which commonly falls on the Clergy, is too true. A clean, fashionable appearance is part of virtue and part of Christianity. A clergyman here had better be guilty of grossly immoral and scandalous practices than wear a dirty shirt, long nails, dirty hands, and a long beard; for this crime alone Mr. Lyon, on Long Island, was dismissed the Society's service. I have laid Mr. Bass's letter and its *answer* before the Secretary. The *answer* of Mr. Weeks is mean and vile. Mr. Bass's letters, by Mr. Tracey,

have been considered. The result is not to his benefit. Mr. Bass was ruined here by people of his own Province and profession, and not by Dr. Gardiner or Col. Frye. Mr. Bass employed as his advocate Mr. Hale, and such as bear dubious characters, and never vindicated himself in proper time. I am sorry for Mr. Bass, but if he will move to a mission in Nova Scotia, I will be his advocate, and will succeed, provided it remains a secret to all but him, you, and

Your faithful

S. PETERS."

To this letter Mr. Bailey replied as follows:—

"ANNAPOLIS ROYAL, April 29, 1785.

"*To the Rev. Mr. Samuel Peters,*

"*London, Great Britain.*

"DEAR SIR:—I have in possession your letter of February 22d, and last evening I waited upon the Right Reverend Father, in whose presence I appeared as a dwarf alongside of a giant.

"I am not yet sufficiently acquainted with this dignified character to venture any remarks.

"If my communications are not so frequent as yours, they certainly exceed in quantity beyond all proportion. I observe with extreme concern and vexation that some designing, malicious and lying villain, either in the singular or plural number, has been very busy in contriving to injure me in your opinion.

"As to the affair of the glebes, I will give you an exact account of the matter. There is in Annapolis town an acre and a quarter of land, formerly the Romish glebe, but after the conquest, confirmed by Queen Anne to the Church of England. Another glebe lies at fourteen miles distance from the town which has rented for six pounds; a third, almost contiguous, containing two hundred and eighty-eight acres, in a wilderness situation; with another at Granville. These lots together rent for twenty-seven pounds, but some of these tenants are unwilling and others unable to pay, and I have

hitherto received more trouble in settling these affairs than profit. And I am informed from good authority that Dr. Breynton and Mr. Weeks claim the glebe in Annapolis as a perquisite to the garrison, and that rents for double the sum of the others.

“I must acknowledge that I received an anonymous letter, with reflections equally severe and untrue. Your comparison drawn so keenly between me and Mr. Lyon, excited at once my resentment and curiosity, and knowing that several Long Island people resided in this town I immediately repaired to company in which were two gentlemen and as many ladies of the most unexceptionable and worthy characters. Without hinting at the letter I had received, I inquired into the character of Mr. Lyon, to which inquiry was returned the following answer: ‘That they were intimately acquainted with the man and his circumstances; that he was a gentleman of sense, but illnatured and avaricious to a supreme degree. The former appeared in the cruel treatment of his wife, a woman of the first family in that part of the country, and in his repairing to taverns an other places of public resort to dispute, wrangle and fight with his neighbours. And as to his covetousness, though he possessed an ample estate, he denied himself and family necessary food and clothing. His house was permitted to tumble into ruins, rather than anything should be expended in repairs, and his children for the same reason were shamefully neglected, and no culture afforded either to their bodies or their minds.’ And though the removal which you mention was probably the consequence of his sordid avarice, yet the above crimes, my informants declare, were exhibited in a formal complaint by his wardens and principal parishioners. Now with regard to severity, a covetous disposition, tavern hunting and drunkenness, I am willing to stand the strictest scrutiny of my most malicious enemies. As to your observations on dress, cleanliness, &c., it must be mortifying to the last degree, and deeply wound the sensibility of a feeling and generous mind to be under a necessity of exculpating himself, even to his dearest friend, or of touching upon so delicate a subject. Every one of our acquaintance will acknowledge that in dress

and hospitality we exceed our circumstances. Our neice and children make as good an appearance as any of their age, and my wife would be offended if represented deficient in point of neatness and elegance.

“As to myself, though always obliged to officiate twice and often three times a week, besides distant excursions, yet I never appear without shaving and clean linen. And even when I am going to catechise the children I seldom or never omit to wear my habit, two or three changes of which I have in good condition, fitted for the different seasons. It is true that when I perform at Granville, the skirts of my garments are frequently tinged with the ooze of Toowaubscot, and my shoes disoblged by the mud, but my face and hands generally escape the contagion. Perhaps you may inquire: ‘Why do you dress before you arrive at Granville?’ Because no family within miles of the church have invited me to the freedom of their house, and my friend Bass, who lives nearly opposite, gives me a most hearty welcome. I will mention another circumstance. Besides shaving myself two or three times a week, I pay a barber one shilling a week for keeping my head in proper repair. I intreat you not to mistake me. I acknowledge with gratitude your kindness and friendship in giving me these hints.

“I must remark upon what you mention respecting Granville, that I have received very ill treatment from many of its inhabitants. It was never probable that I should please some of their leading men, who admired Fisher, a professed Socinian and Republican. However, my services, though I officiate but one Sunday in a month, are much harder than at Annapolis. I am frequently called upon to attend funerals, lectures and christenings, and yet have never received anything from that people, (one person excepted,) by way of subscription, contribution, or presents. I am obliged to find my own horse, attendants and ferriage. One man, however, has lately offered me the use of his horse. But not contented with this, a number both of the old and new inhabitants assembled in town meeting, and, directly contrary to the standing laws of this Province, voted to take away from me the glebe, which I

had rented for forty shillings sterling per annum, though it had been in the possession of the Society's Missionary for twenty years. Their pretence is that I am minister only for Annapolis, and they have proceeded to rent it out for five years. I am sensible that this violent and illegal measure has not the approbation of the major part, among either Church people or Dissenters. Two justices of each profession are warm in my favour. We have received directions from my worthy friend Col. Burbidge, of Cornwallis, a member of the Society, to bring it before the Supreme Court, and our wardens are determined to support my claim. It is impossible for a place to be more divided in religious sentiment than Granville. I suppose that there may be about four hundred families now, near half of which reckon themselves to be members of the Church of England, though subdivided into Deists, Socinians, Methodists and Whitefieldites. The remainder are Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Seceders, Congregationalists, Anabaptists, Quakers, Everything-arians, Mystics and New Lights. A number of illiterate and drunken teachers are daily following each other in rapid succession, like waves of the Atlantic, the last of which always eclipses the glory of his predecessors.

"I am at this moment informed that a principal gentleman at Digby is assured by letters from London that the Society are determined to establish a Mission there, but that no suitable person has yet offered. I heartily wish that our friend Bass, might be admitted, since I am persuaded he would accept it with the utmost cheerfulness and gratitude."

In his report to the Society sent in the spring of this year, Mr. Bailey says he had "officiated twice every Sunday since his last, and continued to perform Divine Service, and catechise the children on Wednesdays, without a single exception." *

* "Baptisms, since October, forty; that is, thirty-seven infants and three adults—one negro man; a gentleman of distinction near sixty years of age; and the father of several children. I cannot be exact as to the number of communicants since the inhabitants are yet unsettled, two persons, however, of advanced age were admitted at Easter." He refers to the

statement that he had rented glebe lands to the amount of £800 per annum. This statement had first been communicated to Mr. Bailey in the letter of Dr. Peters which has been quoted. He now says that Bishop Seabury when at Annapolis informed him that he had heard a like report. Mr. Bailey gives the real facts in the case in nearly the same language in which he had stated them in his letter to Dr. Peters. The diversion of the glebe lands in Cornwallis to the use of the poor, and Mr. Bailey's action in consequence, are mentioned as in the letter named. He also says that "illiterate preachers, who style themselves Presbyters of the American Church, have been for several months past travelling through the country, preaching, administering the sacraments, and marrying persons they have seduced. Their success is the greater because they profess to adhere to the liturgy and usages of the Church of England."

Mr. Bailey's report to the Society in the autumn of this year is as follows:—

"ANNAPOLIS ROYAL, OCT. 28, 1785.

"*To the Rev. Dr. Morice, Secretary to the Society,*

"*Hatton Garden, London, Great Britain.*

"REVEREND SIR:—Permit me to address the Venerable Society with the following information.

"The inhabitants of this county, consisting of various nations and characters, are more settled than at their first arrival. A spirit of industry prevails among the emigrants, and finding that winter wheat succeeds beyond expectation upon new lands, they are making rapid improvements, and, of course, that dissipation and vicious excess which was contracted during the rage of civil discord, will, it is hoped, quickly expire. Their attention to religion, order, and the education of children increases, and the happy effects of instruction appear where regular schools are supported, especially at Annapolis, where constant attendance is given for their improvement. And I cannot do justice to Mr. McNamarra, without affirming that there is not a better regulated school in America than his.

"Our church still remains unfinished, as the ancient inhabi-

tants and the new settlers cannot yet agree, though there is some prospect that their disputes may have a favourable termination.

"The Vestry have lately given me twenty cords of wood, the first donation, either public or private, I have received from the people, and for this indulgence I am chiefly obliged to the late comers. The old inhabitants in general are very unwilling to contribute towards the support of a minister, notwithstanding, it must be confessed that their ability is greater, since they have enriched themselves by selling their produce, by no means at a moderate price, to these unfortunate adventurers.

"My Notitia is as follows, since the beginning of May: three new communicants; baptisms, fifty-one; burials, exclusive of the garrison, two; marriages, since June, only one, since roving preachers of various denominations have taken the liberty to perform this important rite without license or publication. And though prohibited by an express law of the Province, under a penalty of fifty pounds for every offence, yet they pretend that the Governor has given them permission. As I have the fullest evidence that a Mr. Renkin, whom I never saw but once, has, without any visible inducement, misrepresented my affairs to the Society, I would humbly request their attention to a concise representation of my circumstances. I came to this Province with a family, destitute of money, clothing and furniture. I had then to draw upon the Society for two hundred pounds sterling, near half of which I had the misfortune to lose by the failure of a merchant in whose hands it was deposited. At Cornwallis, it being a country town and the people generous, I was able to live without exceeding my income. But when I arrived at Annapolis I found it impossible to support my character with so little expense.

"Dr. Wood had lived in affluence and splendour, and it was expected that I should make the same appearance upon the fifth part of his emoluments, the extravagant prices of necessaries considered. About three months after my settlement here the emigration of thousands in distress commenced, which necessarily raised in proportion every article of subsistence, except

pork and flour. The assistance which these sufferers demanded from the humane by no means tended to increase my perquisites.

“There is no parsonage house in the Mission, and I am obliged to pay thirty pounds rent for my present habitation and garden, which with fuel, horse-keeping and a servant, leave a very scanty subsistence for my family. I have always indulged expectations of receiving some emoluments from the garrison. But after having performed the duty with punctuality for more than three years, I have reaped no advantage, and the gentleman at Halifax, who enjoys the profit, has never once officiated here, nor even condescended to thank me for my assistance, and he even pretends that the glebe at Annapolis belongs to him as Chaplain.”

In his semi-annual report to the Society in May, 1786, Mr. Bailey gives the following statistics of his Mission:—

“Baptisms in the last half year: 32 infants, 8 adults, (of which four were black persons,)—40. Burials four, two whites and two blacks. Three new communicants.”

The affair of glebe lands, belonging to the Mission, is again treated at considerable length.

In a letter to Rev. S. Peters, Mr. Bailey speaks of the attempt of some persons in the town of Granville to divert the glebe lands there to the support of the poor. He now repeats his account of that transaction and says: “But a man of resolution appearing, I gave him a lease at three pounds currency per annum, and the town of Granville unanimously refusing to support the said committee, I have acquired possession without the expense of a law-suit.” * * “Upon the whole, the present income of the glebes is as follows:—

	Currency.	Sterling.
Granville,	£ 3 0 0	£ 2 14 0
Annapolis	10 0 0	9 0 0
Queen Anne	20 6 0	18 4 6
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£33 6 0	£29 18 6

“Permit me once more to repeat that it still remains undecided whether Queen Anne’s glebe belongs to the Missionary, or the Deputy Chaplain of the garrison, since Dr. Wood, and others, served in both of these capacities. The records of Annapolis, if any were kept, with the plate and furniture given to the Church by Queen Anne were removed to Halifax by order of Governor Lawrence. * * All that can be obtained with regard to this matter is, from authentic tradition, that this land belonged, before the conquest, to the Romish priest, and that Queen Anne assigned it to the Protestant minister of the English Church. * * * I must submit to the pleasure of the Society, but if they should speedily lessen my salary, it will greatly distress one who has for twenty-six years faithfully served them, His Majesty, and the Church, in situations peculiarly difficult and often extremely dangerous. And allow me to observe that the other Missionaries whose salaries are curtailed are all Chaplains on half pay, and that their situations are less expensive than mine; for the garrison, the Courts of Justice, and the Packets between the two Provinces, are all circumstances which not only render the entertainment of company unavoidable, but in so small a town as Annapolis, raise the price of provisions.”

Mr. Bailey had received a suggestion from a friend in London that his stipend from the Society was to be reduced. This occasioned the observations in the concluding paragraph of the above letter.

The next communication from the Secretary confirmed his fears. From its date it could not have been received when Mr. Bailey transmitted the above quoted half-yearly report.

Dr. Morice says, in his letter: “The Society have lowered your salary ten pounds a year, to bring it more upon a level with the salaries of their other Missionaries, agreeably to the plan which they adopted last year, and of which I gave you some intimation in my last letter. To a person so well esteemed by the Society, it is hardly necessary to assure you, that it is not from any disapprobation of your services and conduct, which, they wish were as well regarded and rewarded by your own people. This diminution of the Society’s bounty

ought to be an incitement to your congregation to do more for you, and, indeed, to fulfil those obligations to which they are bound in common with other Missions.

“Mr. Viets, of Simsbury, is appointed to Digby, and, if he is not yet arrived, I would recommend him to your notice and assistance.”

In Mr. Bailey's letter to the Society, dated Nov. 6, 1786, occurs the following passage: “I have given constant attention to the duties of my Mission, amidst many difficulties and discouragements. I am happy, however, in having so industrious and good a neighbour, as the Rev. Mr. Viets. He is very acceptable to the people at Digby and the adjacent settlements. Since the tenth of May I have baptized fifty-six persons, four of whom are adults. Burials, only four, and for three years past the proportion of the former to the latter has been nearly as twelve to one. * * * Although I submit without repining to the decisions of the Society, the reduction of my salary has greatly embarrassed me, especially as I could not, with the utmost prudence and economy, avoid being somewhat involved in my circumstances, before that event took place.”

“ANNAPOLIS ROYAL, Jan. 29, 1787.

“To Mr. T—— B——.

“* * I presume that you cannot be offended at my application by —. If you fully understood my necessities, I am confident you would, if possible, afford me some assistance. Could I have supported my family without running deeply into debt, I would never have troubled you with any solicitation. But what can I do, unjustly deprived of the Chaplainship, and curtailed in my salary, with an helpless family, in a very expensive situation? Indeed it is with the utmost difficulty we are able to procure the bare necessities of life. We are obliged to suffer almost the same excess of poverty as at Kennebeck, during the day of rebellion. But this is nothing in comparison with the expectation of processes and imprisonment, which cannot be avoided, unless I can make payment within three months, circumstances which you are sensible, must ruin a

clergyman. Two things I must present to your recollection, that half of my salary, which is but £110, is expended for house rent and fuel; and secondly, that what remains in your hands was saved by selling our furniture, Mrs. Bailey's clothes, and by starvation. God knows my heart, that I cannot endure to distress any of my fellow creatures, especially an old friend, for that reason I neither expect nor desire that you should discharge the whole at one payment."

"ANNAPOLIS ROYAL, May 10th, 1787.

"*To the Rev. Dr. Morice, Secretary, &c. &c.*

"REV. SIR:—Permit me to inform the Venerable Society, that I have been able to perform the duties of my Mission since my last with some degree of success; that people are more constant than formerly in their attendance upon Public Worship; that the Dissenters are so reconciled to the Church, that they frequently invite me to officiate among them, and to baptize their children; that there is no Methodist or sectary teacher in the county, except one Ana-baptist at fourteen miles distance; that the inhabitants of Annapolis town have cheerfully subscribed to give me twenty Pounds per annum, which is as much as they are able at present; that all party has to appearance subsided; that they have agreed to finish the church, and have raised one hundred and fifty Pounds for that purpose; and that as no person or party appears to be unfriendly, I have a more pleasing prospect of doing service than in any former period. As many people have removed from the several towns in this county upon their farms, Annapolis at present contains only forty families, including negroes; few of them are in affluent circumstances, and many are very poor, but I reckon five times as many in the county under my care, which cannot properly be discharged without much expense and fatigue.

"Baptisms, forty. Deaths, thirty; three or four of whom died of age and sickness, the remainder were drowned, or perished by the severity of the weather, or want of proper food."

“ANNAPOLIS ROYAL, May 11th, 1787.

“*To Dr. S. Peters, Pimlico, London.*

“DEAR SIR:—I am at this moment favoured with your letter of February last, and heartily thank you for that kind attention which you have paid to Mr. McNamarra. I should never have troubled you had not his conduct recommended him to every worthy loyalist. As to your information and advice I receive it with gratitude. I have ever regarded you with the warmest sentiments of affection and esteem, and, I flatter myself that kindness must have dictated you to address me again upon so disagreeable a subject. But I assure you, upon the word of an honest man, that I never go abroad without taking particular care to appear in character, except when busy in my garden, and this both my health and the necessities of my family require. Indeed, there is no person here above this employment. But I find that you have no idea of travelling in a new country. It cannot be expected that a Missionary on duty in remote corners should appear as sleek and handsome as a London deacon fresh from a barber’s shop.

““If you reflect that we are liable to be called, upon a sudden emergency, in all weathers, to distant excursions, where our progress must be continued, partly on foot, partly on horseback, by land and by water, through deep morasses, muddy roads, and unbroken forests, you cannot wonder that we sometimes exhibit a tragic-comic appearance.

““Several times in the year past I have been exposed in this manner, amidst violent storms of rain, mire to my horse’s belly, wet to my skin, and my clothes rent in climbing over wind-falls; and in this pickle to perform the service I went upon and then to return in the same shattered condition. You are sensible that should a clergyman adjourn a sermon, a wedding, or funeral, or a christening, or the visiting of a sick or dying person till fine weather, as other gentlemen may do, who only travel for pleasure, it would still be more criminal. I will give you an extract from my Journal to the present purpose.

““*November 15th.* After a severe frosty night we set forward, being four in company, for a wedding, to Clement’s, about fourteen miles below Annapolis.

“In the second mile we crossed Allan’s River, a rapid, rocky stream, where we were finely bespattered. Our progress for several miles lay through horrid broken roads, so encumbered with rocks, holes and gullies, roots of trees, and windfalls, and sloughs, that the passage was extremely difficult and dangerous. We were frequently obliged to dismount and lead our horses, wallowing knee-deep, through the mire. The last six miles conducted us over hanging precipices, woody promontories, and three stony beaches, full of honey pots. We crossed Moose River at a critical moment, as the tide was running in with rapidity. A little before sunset we arrived at Mr. Jones’s, a log house, with two small apartments, where I united in matrimony Sheepy Spur and Alicia Van Voorhies, the bride very pretty.

“The house being crowded with people, Capt. Ditmarsh, the bride’s grandfather, invited me to sleep at his house. A little before dark we set forward, and having walked above a mile, we came to a river, where, after wading into the water over our knees, we were under the necessity of returning in a dismal, dark and cloudy evening, along the ragged banks of a rocky beach, every moment in danger of breaking our legs, and of having our eyes scratched out against the branches of trees which had fallen over the bank. We at length recovered the house, where musick and dancing continued till after sun-rising. About nine we began to return towards Annapolis, but we had no sooner crossed Moose River, than a cold, disagreeable storm of wind and rain commenced, which quickly rendered these new roads intolerable. Mrs. Spur was thrown from her horse, but her husband, catching her in his arms, prevented her from receiving any harm.

“She was however so wet and fatigued that we were obliged to leave her behind. By twelve we were compleatly soaked to our skins, and, by the plunging of our horses, were covered with mud from the soles of our shoes to the crown of our hats. Before dark I reached my habitation in woful plight.’

“*Memorandum.* Received half a dollar fee, as a reward for my journey, expense, trouble, wear and tear, and in consequence of this soaking I was afflicted with the rheumatism through the winter, though I never omitted duty.

“As to Annapolis town, upon my arrival it contained eighteen families, at present forty-five, only four or five of which, either by fortune or education, have any pretensions to politeness, and these are all very friendly. One has exerted himself to procure subscriptions, and another, acknowledged to be the politest man in the county, has subscribed to give five Pounds yearly. The other families are tavern keepers, disbanded sergeants, Scotch pedlars, mechanicks, farmers and negroes.

“Some are transformed into shopkeepers, and others remain very indigent. There is not a building equal to the houses of middling farmers in New England. It is from a regard to truth, and not from any disrespect that I transmit this account, for I am treated civilly by all. I have not, to my knowledge, an enemy among them, and they have readily subscribed to give me twenty Pounds *per annum*, which is as much as they are able. It is payable in May, and most of them have already discharged the first year, and the fear of my being removed was their principal inducement to subscribe.

“But the inhabitants of Annapolis are not the fifth part of my parishioners, as will sufficiently appear from my Notitia. They are chiefly husbandmen and labourers with miserable habitations. Many families are confined to a single apartment, built with sods, where men, women, children, pigs, fowls, fleas, bugs, mosquitos, and other domestic insects, mingle in society. No less than forty of these huts exist within a mile and a half of Annapolis town. In some of these wretched hovels, the politest clergyman in Europe, was he a Missionary, would be constrained to enter, to eat, and perhaps to sleep, or else to neglect his duty. Brother Viets, when he has compleated his first year, will doubtless be able to confirm the truth of this narrative. In a new country poverty increases for the first seven years, but after ten the inhabitants begin to revive by degrees. This I have learned from former experience. I resided almost twenty years at Kennebeck. The people were miserable enough for several years, but before the rebellion commenced the country was finely improved, the settlers made a decent appearance, and Pownalborough was politer than even the city of Annapolis, and my congregation there rather exceeded my present in useful knowledge and splendour.

Permit me further to observe that Cisebeau and every other settlement have the advantage of Annapolis in people of wealth, consequence and politeness; that the connections I have formed among the inhabitants, the attention I have paid to their children, and my readiness to oblige them upon all occasions, cannot, I presume, induce them to wish for my removal; that I have been regularly inducted into the Parish; that nearly one-half of the town are my tenants, whose interest would be affected by a change; that I have been a long time in the Society's service in the most laborious and difficult situations; that I have endured many losses and sufferings for my steady attachment to the Church and Government; that my age and constitution will not admit of any new harrassments; that I have a large, helpless family, who depend upon me for support; that though I am pretty well seasoned to woods and bad roads, to wet weather and fresh water rivers, yet I cannot endure the salt water without cruel sickness, and was I removed to a Mission near the sea I could not possibly perform the duty; that I have, at much expense and opposition, procured a grant of two hundred acres, two miles from Annapolis, this I am improving and consider the last resource of my family; that at a certain time removals and the forming of new acquaintances are extremely disagreeable, and that the very idea of such migrations is sufficient to suppress the industry of any clergyman advanced in life, to discourage every generous effort, and effectually to prevent his being useful, since he must be acquainted with the temper and circumstances of his people, before he can do much service among them.

"I fully approve of your reflections upon the revolution Bishops, and at the same time conclude that they and their abettors have as great a regard for the Alcoran as the New Testament, according to which all rebellions are damnable, especially when the most damnable methods are pursued to support them.

"I admire Mr. Waggoner's spirit. Forty Pounds could not furnish him with an hovel, fire, and potatoes.

"Brother Viets went to Connecticut for his family before Christmas, and is expected every moment to return, as are

Clarke, Scovil, and Andrews, to New Brunswick. When they arrive it is probable that we shall unite in giving a true account of the country and our situation, and to acquaint Dr. Morice that if he expects the Missionaries should make a decent appearance, they must have a decent support. And though I have never yet worn a pair of leather breeches, yet, if this curtail business proceeds much further, we shall be obliged to cloath ourselves, like the ancient worthies, not indeed with sheep skins and goat skins, but with the hides of moose, bears, and wildcats.

"The following particulars are absolutely necessary for a clergyman in Nova Scotia:—

"1. That he should have a large, decent house, well furnished.

"2. That he should entertain all genteel travellers in a genteel manner.

"3. That he should feed all the hungry and cloath all the naked who approach him.

"4. That he should reform all disorders in his parish without any authority, or the least support of the civil magistrate, or encouragement from any quarter.

"5. That himself and family should be elegantly dressed, without attempting to rival people of fashion.

"6. That he should keep servants, horses, carriages, books, garden seeds, and farming utensils in the best order, both for his own and every body's service.

"7. He must never be weary, lame, or sick.

"8. He must fly, when requested, to the remotest limits of his Mission, amidst raging elements, and that without dirting, wrinkling, or wearing his garments.

"9. That he suffer himself to be cheated in every bargain, for which, whether he be silent or complains, he is sure to be laughed at.

"10. That it is criminal either to be prudent, or to run in debt.

"As to a Bishop, I can only sincerely declare, that if it depended upon me, Dr. Peters should be the man, and I believe so say all the brethren. * * Permit me to insert a circumstance omitted—at this season of the year you cannot enter

a mile into the woods without being covered with black flies and mosquitos."

The introduction of the smallpox into Annapolis Royal in the summer of this year caused Mr. Bailey no little uneasiness. His wife, deciding to be inoculated, was left in the city, while Mr. Bailey retired into a distant part of the township with the children. From thence he wrote to Rev. Roger Viets, the Society's Missionary at Digby. He says: "Now, Sir, though I am attending to that part of my Mission, which I have perhaps too much neglected, I am sensible that the people in town are uneasy to be so long without public service, and would be highly pleased with a visit from you to officiate among them, and to baptize a number of infants born during my absence. I must therefore intreat you to oblige them and me with your friendly labours. * * I cannot think that this forcing a loathsome and dangerous disorder upon our neighbours is agreeable to the dictates of freedom, religion, or humanity. I am, for instance, restrained from taking it from a principle of conscience."

In 1787 the Rev. Charles Inglis, D. D., who had been Rector of Trinity Church, New York, from 1777 to 1783, was appointed the first Bishop of all the British North American Colonies. This drew from Mr. Bailey a letter of congratulation addressed to him, and dated October 26th, 1787.

The usual half-yearly report to the Society P. G. is as follows:—

"ANNAPOLIS ROYAL, NOV. 12th, 1787.

"*To the Rev. Dr. Morice,*

Secretary to the Society, London.

"REV. SIR:—Permit me to inform the Venerable Society, that the people at Annapolis have cheerfully contributed towards the finishing of our Church, and that it begins to make a decent appearance. But as there was a necessity of repairing it from the foundation, I have been obliged to officiate in the Court House and in private places in the country, by which means a greater number of all denominations have been

able to attend Divine Service. Since my letter of May last, Baptisms have amounted to sixty-one; Marriages, twenty couples; Burials, only five. As this exceeds, in proportion, any former Notitia from this place, it is an argument that the country flourishes, notwithstanding several families have emigrated to the States. But as they were chiefly indolent people, of a restless and roving disposition, or notorious for their criminal conduct, their absence can hardly be perceived in any religious assembly, and their recess may be regarded as a fortunate event to a rising country. A tenant on the glebe having repeatedly refused either to take a lease, or to pay any acknowledgment, I found it necessary, at the instance of the Attorney-General, to bring a writ of ejectment. I have long since dispersed all the Catechisms and Prayer Books transmitted by the Society, and as they are greatly wanted among the people, permit me to solicit a supply."

The statistics of the Mission are not given in the half-yearly report to the Society in May. That letter is occupied mainly in a statement of trouble and expense to which Mr. Bailey had been put in defending the glebe. In his letter to the Secretary of the Society, in November of this year, he informs him that he had "been successful in three several actions, which, it is imagined, will sufficiently prevent any further litigation. Though I have" [he continues] "the countenance of my principal parishioners, yet I am constrained to bear all the expense, except the assistance I received from one generous attorney, and, as I am indebted to a wealthy man, who stimulated the tenants to this contest, I am now exposed to his disappointed malice.

Baptisms, since May last,	-	-	-	53
Burials,	"	-	-	4
Confirmed,	"	-	-	25

"Near an hundred would have offered themselves, had it not been for the following unfortunate circumstance: the Bishop, on his return from New Brunswick, had agreed to give me timely notice. He arrived at Digby on Monday, the

25th of August, and wrote me that he intended to hold confirmation at Annapolis the next Sunday, but the letter was not delivered till a fortnight after. On Saturday, about nine in the evening, he unexpectedly arrived at Annapolis. I was then gone to officiate at Granville. I received a message the next morning to return immediately. It was now eight o'clock and I had twelve miles to ride, so that it was almost time to begin service before I could see the Bishop, but as he had appointed the days for confirmation at Wilmot, Cornwallis, Windsor, &c., it was requisite that it should now be administered at Annapolis. As service was expected at Granville, it was impossible to give timely information. Thus was the Bishop chagrined, the people disappointed, and I mortified by the carelessness of the man to whom the letter was intrusted. I had taken unwearied pains both in public and in private to explain the nature, and to urge the necessity of confirmation, as all the people, except a few Europeans, were wholly unacquainted with this institution."

From a letter from Rev. Samuel Parker, D. D., Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, dated in the autumn of this year, the following is extracted:—

"Young Gardiner* read the service at Pownalborough last winter and spring, but then went to New York and was ordained by Bishop Provost, and had an invitation to a parish, near Charleston, South Carolina, which he accepted, and has been there ever since. I believe there is no service in any Episcopal Church below Falmouth, where a Mr. Oxnard is a reader."

In writing to Rev. Edward Bass, at Newburyport, March 14th, 1789, Mr. Bailey speaks of the trouble and expense to which he had been subjected in defending the glebe lands. He also says: "Pray inform my kinsman that two years ago not a person in Annapolis ventured to sing in public, but they have now attained to great perfection. The best families have

* Rev. J. S. J. Gardiner who afterwards succeeded Dr. Parker as Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, Mass.

joined to encourage it, and we have for more than a year performed Psalmody in all its parts.

“For your amusement I have enclosed the hymns we sang last Easter and New Year’s Day, for the people here expect that I should compose hymns, as well as sermons for the holidays, and through the instigation of some friends I have attempted to court the Muses in my old age, upon several subjects by way of satire, as the character of your demagogues, the trimmer, &c.”

“ANNAPOLIS ROYAL, May 25th, 1789.

“*To the Rev. Dr. Morice,*

Secretary to the Society, London.

“REV. SIR:—I would beg leave to inform the Venerable Society that St. Luke’s Church at Annapolis is at length completely finished, in consequence of which my congregation, exclusive of the soldiers, is increased to twice the former number; that the Dissenters at Granville have converted their meeting-house into an Episcopal Church of England; that I have received an application from the people of Annapolis district, and officiate in their meeting-house one Sunday in six; that the inhabitants of Clements have declared for the Church, and request my occasional assistance, till they shall be happy enough to obtain a minister. I cheerfully comply with these various requisitions, but find that these distant excursions, as age advances, are extremely fatiguing. And though we have no settled society in this county to oppose the Church, yet a succession of itinerant preachers from the States and elsewhere, create great confusion among the lower people, and are of inconceivable damage to a new country, by drawing multitudes almost every day in the week, at this busy season, to attend to their desultory and absurd vociferations.

“These preachers, however, agree in rejecting the literal sense of the Holy Scriptures, and the Christian Ordinances. Their dependance is upon certain violent emotions, and they discourage industry, charity, and every social virtue, affirming that the most abandoned sinners are nearer to the Kingdom of Heaven than people of a sober, honest and religious

deportment, for such, they alledge, are in danger of depending upon their own righteousness.

“Since November last :

Baptisms, 39 infants and 2 adults.

4 new Communicants.

5 Burials.

* * * * *

“The Bishop in March last desired me to transmit him an account of my expense in defence of the glebes, with proper vouchers. I immediately complied with his requisition, but fear my letter could not reach Halifax before his embarkation for Quebec. I must therefore beg permission to repeat the substance of my communications to the Bishop. Besides all the trouble, excursions, neglect of domestic concerns and abuse, I was obliged to give three lawyers three guineas each, and have been severely harrassed by another law suit, commenced in revenge.

“It is true I have not only been successful in all these disputes, but am happy enough to effect a perfect reconciliation with all my opponents. Myself and family have severely felt the consequences of this litigation.”

The letters of Mr. Bailey for six years, *i. e.*, from August 1789 to August 1795, are missing, and but very few of the letters of his correspondents have come into the hands of the compiler of this narrative.

The following is an extract from a communication from Bishop Inglis to Mr. Bailey:—

“HALIFAX, DECEMBER 5, 1789.

“REVEREND SIR:—I am much obliged to you for your *Notitia Parochialis*, inserted in your letter of Nov. 17, which is just come to hand. It gives me great pleasure to find that your Mission flourishes, and especially that so many children and youth attend to be catechised. My greatest hope of reformation arises from them, and therefore I am peculiarly anxious that the Clergy should be diligent in instructing the rising generation.”

From the printed abstract of the proceedings of the Society P. G. in 1789, it seems that "in the course of the year Mr. Bailey had baptized 91 infants, and 4 adults; married 12 couple; and buried 9 persons." It is a circumstance worthy of record in the Biography of a Clergyman connected with the Church in Nova Scotia, that Sunday Schools were established in that Province as early at least as this year. This fact rests on the authority of a printed sermon of Rev. Roger Viets, "preached at Digby, in Nova Scotia, April 19th, 1789," in which he says: "But the abuse of the mornings, noons, and evenings of Lord's days is in part obviated by the late excellent institution of Sunday Schools, for the establishment and support of which we are very much indebted to the piety and assiduity of our worthy Prelate, who is never weary in well-doing."

The Rev. Edward Bass wrote to Mr. Bailey from Newburyport, April 5, 1792. He says: "Last summer we had a high Sunday here. Bishop Seabury preached in our Church and confirmed an hundred and thirty or forty persons. Not more than half the people who came to church could get in."

The Abstract of the Society for the year 1793 contains the following reference to the previous year. "Mr. Bailey, the Missionary at Annapolis, besides the regular performance of duty, continues to instruct in the catechism 30 children every Wednesday, and as many in the country every Friday, during the summer season. His last Notitia was, Baptisms 36, Mariages 7, Burials 2, New Communicants 2."

On the 20th January, 1794, Governor John Wentworth notified officially the agents of the garri:son at Annapolis that he had appointed Rev. Jacob Bailey Deputy Chaplain of that fortress, the appointment to commence on the first instant, in the place of Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks, and directed said agents to account with Mr. Bailey for the subsistence allowed by government.

By this order justice was at length done in this matter to the worthy Rector of Annapolis. During many years Mr. Bailey had at times actually suffered from the want of the income attached to the office, the duties of which he discharged,

while others received the emoluments. He tried all proper means to obtain his just rights, and his letters and those of some of his correspondents abound with passages on this subject, some of which have been inserted in this Memoir.

Mr. Bailey says, June 21st, 1782: "Dr. Breynton, on my removal to Cornwallis, offered to resign his Deputy Chaplainship of the 84th Regiment in my favour." This arrangement, though strongly opposed by the friends of Rev. Mr. Ellis, was carried into effect. Mr. Bailey discharged the duties of the office to the garrison at Cornwallis. In December, 1780, he received £20 as part of his salary. Shortly after, "Dr. Breynton," says Mr. Bailey, "seized the fuel and ordered the Quarter Master not to allow me any perquisites except subsistence, about two-fifths of the whole."

* * * * *

"After my appointment to Annapolis I received no letter from Dr. Breynton till the latter end of June, when he announced that he took the 84th Regiment into his own hands, on the 24th of the previous April, thus depriving me of the stipend from the 1st January previous."

Depending upon the enjoyment of this income until he should be settled in his new Parish, Mr. Bailey incurred debts, to enable him to make a respectable appearance on his removal to Annapolis. The disappointment of course compelled him, to devise, if possible, some way of liquidating these debts.

The Chaplainship of the garrison at Annapolis, however, had been held by the former Rector, and was considered as his right. This was simply just, because this clergyman was called upon to do the duties of his office in the fort.

But on application, by one of the principal men in the Province, to the Governor in Mr. Bailey's behalf, the Governor replied, "that the Rev. Mr. Weeks, the instant he knew of Mr. Bailey's appointment as Missionary at Annapolis, applied to him for the Chaplaincy and obtained it." Nor were applications to a succeeding Governor more successful, for Mr. Bailey says: "The Governor of this Province has been three times directed by the Society P. G. to give me the Chaplainship of

the garrison here," but without effect, "although he acknowledges in his letter to me that my claim is indisputable."

In a letter, November 9, 1785, to Mr. Bailey, Dr. Mather Byles says: "Your letters of August 31, and November 22d are safe in my hands. That to the Archbishop I have enclosed in one of my own, from which I have transcribed the following paragraph for your inspection: 'I enclose a letter from Mr. Bailey, the Missionary at Annapolis, who cannot yet obtain the deputation to that garrison. Mr. Weeks, who resides at Halifax, still enjoys that salary which belongs to the acting Chaplain of Annapolis; and which, as Mr. Neyle, the commissioned Chaplain, is settled in England, has for many years been justly esteemed as naturally and inseparably connected with that Mission. In return for this exertion of Dr. Breynton's influence with the Governor, Mr. Weeks has long officiated as the Doctor's Curate, without putting him to the smallest expense, and, even during his absence at this time, receiving no other reward, unless it be the precarious surplice fees of the Parish. So that, as the matter now stands, a Curate is actually supported for Dr. Breynton by money, which is the equitable property of Mr. Bailey. This, Sir, is the exact fact, fairly stated, and such a partial arrangement must be highly displeasing to your Grace. I make no apology for afresh recommending Mr. Bailey, as an oppressed man, to your powerful protection.'"

Nearly two years after this Mr. Bailey writes to Rev. Dr. Peters in London: "I have heretofore informed you that I served almost two years the fifty-seventh regiment as Deputy Chaplain, without receiving the least advantage, the reason of which now appears. Mr. Weeks, not contented that I should perform the duty of Chaplain to the garrison for nothing, with the Chaplainship of this garrison must have the above regiment likewise; and that they might compel me to perform the duty of both, they procured my name to be inserted in the military returns."

The subject of our Memoir received from the Society £50 sterling, which was afterwards reduced to £40, and from the

Board of Trade £70, in all £110. This was afterwards somewhat increased by income from glebe funds and a subscription of the Parishioners of £20. He says that his "predecessor, when articles of living were less than half the present price, had £320 sterling per annum." At that time the duties of Annapolis Parish must have been much less laborious than they were after Mr. Bailey had taken the charge.

For reasons before stated, the expenses of living were large. Perhaps, however, the Missionary there might have succeeded in making the annual expenses of his growing family fall within his scanty income. But a debt of some £50, incurred at the time of his removal from Cornwallis, and which he intended to pay from the salary of the Deputy Chaplainship of the 84th Regiment, hung over him. His creditor pressed him for payment; he threatened, if he did not commence a suit, and Mr. Bailey was obliged to withdraw £10, at intervals, from his inadequate salary, in order gradually to extinguish it. His letters show how sorely this circumstance distressed him.

At length, after twelve years delay, Governor John Wentworth, who was his classmate in college, was enabled, by an act of simple justice, to do him an essential service in conferring upon him the income of an office whose duties he had for so long a time discharged.

The following is part of Mr. Bailey's letter to the Society: "Dec'r 15th, 1795. Permit me to present the Venerable Society with my Notitia for the year past, as I am uncertain whether my letter of June last has been safely transmitted:—

Baptisms, thirty-eight; Marriages, six couples;

Burials six; New Communicants, eleven.

* * * * "We have been able for several months past to assemble in the new church at Clements. It is a very neat and decent building, fifty-two feet by thirty-four, with a gallery and steeple. It is but justice to mention the very liberal exertions of Capt. Ditmarsh and Mr. Palamus towards completing this church."

Mr. John McNamarra, who had been brought up by Mr. Bailey from a boy, and had attained to positions of usefulness and respectability, died in 1798. Bishop Inglis, in a letter to Mr.

Bailey, notices this event: "I very sincerely regret the death of Mr. McNamarra, who was a very worthy, useful man. In him the community has sustained a considerable loss."

Mr. Bailey had written to Bishop Inglis, giving an account of the disorderly proceedings of certain fanatics in and near Annapolis. The Bishop replied at some length in a letter marked by sound Christian counsel. In the course of it he says: "The fanaticism in the time of Charles I. was one principal cause of the dissoluteness that prevailed in the reign of Charles II.; and from which the nation has not yet perfectly recovered.

* * In the year 1791 the New Lights made a prodigious stir, so that I thought it my duty to advert to them in the charge that I delivered at my Triennial Visitation that year. If you have that charge, you can see in it my sentiments on those points where they appear to be most irregular and vulnerable."

The Abstract of the Society for 1800 contains no report from Mr. Bailey, but speaks at length of "an enthusiastic and dangerous spirit among a sect in the Province of Nova Scotia, called New Lights. * * They have been more particularly troublesome in the parts about Annapolis, Granville, Wilmot, and Aylesford."

The Abstract for the next year states that "Mr. Bailey had baptized during the year, 45; married, 3; buried, 3. Four had been added to the Communion. He requests some prayer books and religious tracts, which the Society have sent him."

In 1806 it is stated in the Abstract, that "Mr. Bailey, the Missionary at Annapolis, has acquainted the Society, that, notwithstanding his advanced age, he has been able to perform Divine Service every Sunday, besides doing duty at the Garrison, and occasionally visiting Clements. His Baptisms for the year are 43; Marriages, 7; Burials, 7. Communicants at Annapolis and Clements, 76. The female school, conducted by his daughter, consists of 34 scholars, 13 of whom are upon charity. They attend catechising on Wednesdays."

Mr. Bailey was Rector of St. Luke's Parish, Annapolis, about twenty-five years, and died of a dropsy July 26th, 1808,

aged seventy-six years, leaving a widow and three sons and three daughters. He retained his faculties, both of body and mind, in a remarkable degree, to the last.*

It is a subject of regret with the compiler of this Memoir that he has been able to glean but a very few facts touching the last years of Mr. Bailey's life. His connection, for a quarter of a century, with a parish having the relative importance of Annapolis, must no doubt have given him a good degree of influence in Ecclesiastical matters in the western part of the Province of Nova Scotia, and the writer has reason to believe that he was loved and respected in the place of his residence. To the last, however, his temporal condition, remained unimproved. He never was in possession of an income sufficient to maintain himself and family. Still, he was remarkable for the benevolence of his heart and the liberality of his hand. Though oppressed himself by want and debt, his hospitality never ceased to flow, and by this kindness of nature he always retained the personal regard of all who knew him.

To conclude the account of his family:—

Mrs. BAILEY died at Annapolis Royal, March 22d, 1818, aged seventy years.

CHARLES PERCY, the oldest son, was a remarkably handsome person; and when the late Duke of Kent, father of the present Queen of England, was commander of the forces in Nova Scotia, he came on a visit to Annapolis, and observing this lad, among a number of others assembled to bid him welcome, he inquired who he was. This prince was so pleased with his person and address that he prevailed upon his father to allow him to take him under his own care, and to provide for him. Accordingly he first placed him in the Military Secretary's office, and subsequently gave him a commission in his own regiment, (the 1st Royals,) where he served with honor, till the breaking out of the American war, when the regiment was ordered to Canada, he then being a captain, high up on the list. He was killed at the battle of Chippewa, in Upper Canada.

REBECCA LAVINIA died at Annapolis Royal.

* Mr. James Whitman's MS. letter, Nov. 30th, 1847.

CHARLOTTE MARIA is still living.

THOMAS HENRY had the appointment of Barrack Master and Staff Adjutant of Militia, which he held till his death. He died young, leaving a widow and three daughters.

WILLIAM GILBERT was a lawyer, and did a great business. He also died young, and left a small family.

ELIZABETH ANNA married Mr. James Whitman.

Mr. Bailey was below the middle stature. A side view of his countenance is furnished in the profile likeness prefixed to this Memoir, being the only portrait of him now in existence. Although his youth was occupied in the labors of a farm, and he lived beyond the "three score years and ten" allotted to man, yet we find him speaking frequently in his writings of his slender constitution. His love of learning caused him to surmount many obstacles in order to improve his mind, and the advantages he finally enjoyed were without doubt well improved. He strove hard to acquire knowledge, and wrote much, and especially at various times no small amount of poetry. Without attributing to him the possession of genius, he may be said to have been a man of a fair degree of talent and of a large amount of various information.

The abilities which the subject of this Memoir possessed were industriously employed, for he was always busy. Many of his writings have been lost, but enough remain to show how continually his early practice of using the pen was followed throughout his life. These writings are of a very miscellaneous character. His journals and letter books which now exist have furnished the greater part of the materials of the foregoing biography. Beside these are a MS. History of New England, comprising an account of its natural productions and topography, extending to some two hundred pages; a Description of the present Province of New Brunswick, with an Account of the Sufferings of the American Loyalists, who were transported thither; Dramatic Sketches, principally of a political cast; and two or three MS. School Books. Much of his poetry has been preserved. "The Farewell to Kennebeck," with the exception of some stanzas, highly charged with politics, has been given in Note K. In the opinion of the present writer this production has considerable merit. But he

has not been able to find, among his other poetical efforts, any which he thinks are to be compared with this. The ancient maxim that "a poet is born such, while an orator can be made" by industry, contains probably more truth than is generally supposed, and a propensity for versifying has doubtless been often mistaken for that natural poetical gift vouchsafed to but very few in any century.

A number of Mr. Bailey's sermons have been carefully examined by the writer of this volume. From various causes many of these MS. are imperfect in the loss of some, and in a few instances nearly all their contents. This of course renders it the more difficult to express an opinion respecting them. Besides, those which have entirely perished might have been on totally different subjects from those which have been preserved. Of those examined many are of an historical character, illustrating either some particular incidents, or the lives of persons mentioned in the Bible; a few are Thanksgiving Sermons, on various occasions; some are aimed at specified vices; some are designed to enforce the Christian virtues, and some are devoted to the instruction furnished by events in the Saviour's life. A few are either directly based on some of the Fasts and Festivals of the Church, or refer to them. But, as before stated, so large a portion of many of them is lost, that it becomes difficult to judge of these discourses from the fragments that remain. This, however is evident, that they do not exceed contemporaneous sermons in close application of Gospel truth, or in pungent appeals to the hearer.

Whatever may be assigned as the cause, it is very certain that the eighteenth century witnessed a coldness and deadness in religion truly lamentable. This characterized all bodies of Christians, nor did a favorable change become widely established till within the last forty years. Now, it is to be hoped, that while the truths of natural religion are enforced, the Gospel of Christ is faithfully preached by the majority of ministers in Protestant countries.

It is abundantly apparent that Mr. Bailey entered warmly into politics. Considering his situation this can cause no surprise. On his visit to England for Holy Orders he saw, among

other things, evidences of the great military and naval power of that nation, and the opportunities he had of meeting with the dignitaries of the established Church, and other circumstances, strengthened, no doubt, the loyalty which all Americans felt at that time. He was a recipient of the bounty of a Church of England Missionary Society to an extent that to him must have seemed large. That Society, pitying the destitute condition of a poor and ignorant people in America, entirely neglected by their countrymen, who seemed to be willing to let the whole Kennebec valley either sink into infidelity or become the prey of Popish Missionaries, that Society could send its sympathy and aid across the Atlantic, and the subject of this Memoir was the agent for carrying out its benevolent designs. The people of his charge were poor and their learning was scanty. They were also a very heterogeneous collection. A small number of persons, however, consisting mainly of officers of the county court and lawyers, might furnish him with better society. But while some of these were estimable, others were far otherwise. The latter harrassed and persecuted him, and exerted themselves to destroy the Church, of which he was the minister.

The differences between the mother country and America increased. Yet there is satisfactory evidence that after matters had proceeded to considerable lengths, some of the most prominent of the American patriots contemplated only a redress of grievances, and had no desire or serious thought of independence.

It is very easy to perceive that Mr. Bailey, who had witnessed the wealth and vast warlike means that Great Britain possessed, and therefore knew her power, must be confident that the parent country could easily conquer her revolted colonies. The Revolution, therefore, in his view, was little short of madness. Nor could he be favorably impressed with the character of some of the leaders of the revolt in his region. They were men of but little learning or refinement. Some of them disclaimed all religious obligation. Many excesses took place in these eastern regions, and if arguments failed to convert a Tory, the tender mercies of a mob would not be effectual.

The Missionary saw and felt that men raised to power in his neighborhood, under the new order of things, abused that power to gratify old personal grudges. Receiving his main support from a Church Society in England, doubtless he feared that should the Revolution be successful, that support would be cut off,—he would be obliged to abandon his charge, the labor and anxiety of so many years would be entirely lost, and the Church, of which he was minister, become extinct.

When we contrast the treatment received by the Tories in Boston, and other large places, with the persecutions which the friends of Great Britain underwent in the eastern parts of the Province, we cannot fail to see that the officials of the latter region grossly abused their power, and made personal hatred, rather than the requirements of public safety, the measure of their severity. It was desirable, no doubt, that all parts of the country should be united in opposition to the measures of Great Britain, and men were to be drafted from every town in the Province to fill up the Continental army. Aside from this, it could be of little practical importance whether the county of Lincoln was loyal or rebellious. A vast wilderness intervened between it and any of the loyal Colonies. Nor could it in any way be a barrier to attacks from the English from those quarters. British troops occupied Castine more than four years, till the end of 1783. There was nothing to prevent the enemy from taking possession of Kennebec if he were so disposed. An apology for a fort near the mouth of the river, armed with one cannon, which had been an alarm gun at Fort Frankfort,* was the only hindrance to a British fleet that might see fit to sail to its head of navigation.

The gratification of personal animosity, then, on the part of some of the Whig leaders in Lincoln County, rather than an enlightened and honest love of liberty, appears to have excited them to measures which would not have been tolerated in the more populous parts of the same Province. This could not

* Mr. Bailey says that this fort was "a wooden block house, with one gun, a four pounder."

but be known and felt by Mr. Bailey and his political friends. And making all due allowance for the weakness of human nature, knowing how prone it is to resent injustice and oppression, we think that the facts before stated, while they do not prove to be a sufficient vindication of Mr. Bailey's political course, may still mitigate the censures which any may be disposed to pass on an American, who did not feel the injustice which Great Britain was showing to his country, and therefore did not exercise his influence on what we all now agree to have been the right side.

NOTES.

NOTE A.

[Page 2.]

IN the "History of Rowley, etc., by Thomas Gage; 1840," is a "Genealogical Register of the Families of some of the First Settlers of Rowley." The first on the list is—

BAYLEY.

1. James and Lydia. Had four sons; *John*, born 1642 James, 1650; Thomas, 1653; Samuel, 1658.

2. John and Mary (Mighill). Three sons; *Nathaniel*, born 1675; Thomas, 1677; James, 1680; and two daughters.

3. Nathaniel and Sarah (Clark). Five sons; Joseph, born 1701; Nathaniel, 1703; Josiah, 1705; *David*, 1707; Samuel, 1709; and two daughters.

4. David and Mary (Hodgkins). Seven sons; *Jacob*, born 1731; David, 1735; Pierce, 1738; Amos, 1740; John, 1741; Nathaniel, 1743; Ezekiel, 1748.—p. 438.

The father of the subject of this biography was one of the seven deacons of the First Congregational Church in his native town.—p. 24.

The writer of the above-named History, gives the name of the family as Bayley. But as the subject of this Memoir uniformly spelt his name Bailey, and as his immediate relatives and his descendants did the same, this form of the name has been adopted in this work.

NOTE B.

[Page 70.]

As the interesting facts, mentioned in this and the preceding paragraph, have never, (so far as the writer is aware,) been distinctly stated by any historian, it is proper that the authority which substantiates those facts, should be given. They form not only a part of the annals of the Episcopal Church in this country, but they are a portion of the history of the United States.

Williamson, who has given, in his History of Maine,* the most detailed account of this colony, says of the colonists: "They left the ships, August the 11th,† and, assembling on the shore, returned public thanks to Almighty God, and listened to a sermon adapted to the occasion." Bancroft says:‡ "The adventurers reached the coast of America, near the mouth of the Kennebec, and offering up public thanks to God for their safety, began their settlement under the auspices of religion." "Purchas§ makes the following statement: *An.* 1607, was settled a Plantation in the River Sagadahoc,|| the Ships called the Gift and Mary and John being sent thither by the famous English Iusticer, Sir *John* Popham and others. * * * They chose the place of their Plantation at the mouth of Sagadahoc, in a Westerly Peninsula: there heard a Sermon, read their Patent & Laws & built a Fort. * * * The people seemed affected with our men's devotions, & would say that King *JAMES* is a good King, his God a good God, and *Tanto* naught, so they call an evil spirit which haunts them every *Moone*, and makes them worship him for feare. * * On February the 5, the President died."

The compiler of this Memoir, although well satisfied in his

* Williamson's History &c., i. p. 198.

† An error in the date, see *post*.

‡ History U. S. 13th Ed. i. p. 268.

§ Purchas' Pilgrims, London, 1626, Vol. v. p. 830.

|| Sagadahoc is the proper name of the river from Merry Meeting Bay to the sea. The Kennebec and Androscoggin unite at this Bay, and thence take the first-mentioned name.

own mind, from various reasons, that a minister of the Church of England accompanied this expedition, (as was the case with the first colony which a few months before settled the present State of Virginia,) still supposed it to be nearly impossible to establish this fact beyond a doubt, and entirely so to recover the name of the Clergyman, after the lapse of nearly two and a half centuries. He had stated his reasons in a note, when, just as this work was ready for the press,* he accidentally discovered that there was an ancient document in existence which would furnish him with much information desired on this point. This document forms one of the Volumes published by the "Hakluyt Society," London: 1849, and is copied from a manuscript in the Sloane Collection, No. 1622, in the British Museum. The larger part of this contemporary narrative was contributed by the writer of this Memoir to the Massachusetts Historical Society, and was published in Volume I, Fourth Series of their Collections. An extract also appeared in the third Volume of the Maine Historical Collections.

The title of the second part is as follows:—

THE SECOND BOOKE

OF THE FIRST DECADE OF THE HISTORIE OF TRAVAILLE INTO VIRGINIA BRITTANIA, ENTREATING OF THE FIRST DISCOVERERS OF THE COUNTRY, AND OF THE FIRST COLONIE, TRANSPORTED BY S^R RICHARD GREENVILE, KNIGHT UPON THE ISLAND OF ROANOK, AT THE EXPENCE AND CHARGE OF S^R WALT: RALEIGH KNIGHT.

AS ALSO OF THE NORTHERN COLONIE, SEATED UPON THE RIVER OF SACHADEHOC, TRANSPORTED AN^O 1585, AT THE CHARGE OF S^R JOHN POPHAM, KNIGHT, LATE LORD CHIEFE JUSTICE OF ENGLAND, GATHERED BY WILLIAM STRACHEY, GENT:

PSAL. CII. VER. 18.

"This shalbe written for the Generation to come: and the people w^{ch} shalbe created shall praise the Lord."

* In 1850.

(In the title to "the first Booke," the writer says "COLLECTED BY WILLIAM STRACHEY, GENT: 3 YEARES THITHER IMPLYED SECRETARIE OF STATE, AND OF COUNSAILE WITH THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORD LA-WARRE, HIS MATIES LORD GOVERNO^R AND CAPT: GENERALL OF THE COLONY.")

In 1606 a ship was despatched to the northern parts of America by some members of the Plymouth Company, under command of Capt. Chalons.

This ship, which carried thirty-one men and two of the Indians whom Weymouth had delivered to Sir F. Gorges, was taken by a Spanish fleet, and carried to Spain, where she was condemned. After mentioning this discouraging circumstance, the Strachey account proceeds: "Howbeit the late Lord Chief Justice would not for all this hard hansell and Spanish mischief give over his determinacon for planting of a Colony wthin the aforesaid so goodly a cuntry upon the River of Sachadehoc, but against the next year prepared a greater number of Planters and better provisions, w^{ch} in two shippes he sent thither, a Fly boat called the Gift of God, wherein a kinsman of his, George Popham, comanded and a good shipp called the Mary and John of London, wherein Raleigh Gilbert comanded, w^{ch} wth 120 persons for Planters brake ground for Plymouth in June 1607."

"Aug. 1. * * They hoisted out their bote, and the Pilott, Capt. R. Dauies wth 12 others rowed into the Bay wherein their ship road, and landed on a galland Island."

"Aug. 9. Sondag the chief both the the shippes wth the greatest pt of all the Company landed on the Island where the crosse stood, the w^{ch} they called St George's Island, and heard a sermon delivered vnto them by Mr. Seymour, his preacher, and soe returned abourd againe."

Leaving St. George's Island they stood for the Kennebec. A violent storm nearly caused the shipwreck of both vessels. Before reaching their destination they were driven somewhat to the south-westward and were a part of the time in Casco Bay, whose leading features are described in the account.

"Aug. 15. * * Came to the eastward, and found the

Island of Sutquin,* and anchored vnder y^t, for the wynd was of the shoare, by w^{ch} they could not gett into Sachadehoc, yett Capt. Popham wth the Fly boat gott in."

"Aug. 16. * * in the morning Capt. Popham sent his shallop to helpe in the Mary and John, w^{ch} weyed Anchor, and being calme was soone towed in and Anchored by the Guifts side."

"Aug. 18, they all went ashoare and there made choise of a place for their Plantation at the mouth or entry of the Ryver on the west side (for the River bindeth y^tself towards the Nor-east and by east) being almost an Island of a good bignes, being in a province called by the Indians Sabino, so called of a Sagamo, or chief Commander under the grand Bassaba."

"Aug. 19, they all went ashoare where they had made choise of their Plantation, and there they had a Sermon delivered vnto them by their preacher, and after the Sermon the President's Comission was read wth the Lawes to be observed and kept, George Popham gent was noiated President, Capt. Raleigh Gilbert, James Dauies: Ri: Seymer preacher, Capt. Ric Dauies, Capt Harlow, the same who brought away the Saluadges at this tyme shewed in London from the River of Canada, were all sworne Assistants; and soe they returned back againe."

"Aug. 20. All went to shoare againe, and there began to entrench, and make a Fort and to buyld a storehouse, contynewing the 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27."

* * * * *
 "Octo. 4. Then came 2 canoas to the Fort in w^{ch} were Nahamada and his wife, and Skidwares, and the Bashabaes brother, and one other called Amenequin, a Sagamo, all of whom the President feasted and entertayned wth all kindness, both that day and the next, w^{ch} being Sondaye the President carried them to the place of publike prayers, w^{ch} they were at both morning and evening, attending y^t with great reverence and silence."

* * * * *

"Octo. 6. * * * After Capt Davies departure* they fully finished the Fort, trencht and fortified y^t wth 12 pieces of Ordnance, and built 50 houses therein, besides a Church and a Storehouse, and the Carpenters framed a pretty Pynnace of about some 50 tonne, w^{ch} they called the Virginia, the chief shipwright being one Digby of London."

This contemporary account establishes the fact that this colony had a clergyman of the Church of England in their number, that he was their chaplain, was sworn as one of the assistants, and regularly officiated in the church built within their fort. It also gives his name. The common notion that Plymouth, in Massachusetts Bay, was the first place in which any kind of Protestant religious worship was steadily kept up, is evidently unfounded. Thirteen years before a landing was made on "Forefathers' Rock," the wilderness of Maine echoed to the sound of a pure and fervent liturgy.†

It is desirable to correct a misapprehension which has prevailed to some extent, as to the precise spot on the Kennebec, (or Sagadahoc,) where this colony established itself. Williamson‡ says: "Although, according to some accounts, they first went ashore on *Erascohegan*,§ or the western *Peninsula*;

* In the Mary and John.

† The present writer, while he wishes to show that members of the Church of England made provision at a very early date for the spiritual wants of colonies in America, and also of the savages among whom those colonies were founded, has no disposition to keep out of sight the pious endeavors of any other Christians to promote the same great end. It is only since these pages have been prepared for the press that it has come to his knowledge that Protestant worship and preaching were continued for some time previous to Popham's expedition, in a locality within the present State of Maine.

The colony of De Monts has been spoken of, p. 68. It was made up of Romanists and Protestants. Among the latter was L'Esarbot, who was a Huguenot. He kept a journal, which was afterwards published. In the "little chapell, built after the sauage fashion," L'Esarbot gave public religious instruction to the colonists on Sundays and other times. The name of this worthy man should not be suffered to sink into oblivion. He undoubtedly labored faithfully in his endeavors to promote the interests of religion, and whatever may have been his success, of which we are not informed, he has connected his name in the most desirable manner with the history of ancient "Acadia," and will hereafter receive the commendation of "good and faithful servant" from that Master whose religion he sought to promote.

‡ History of Maine, i., p. 198.

§ Now Parker's Island.

yet it is believed they finally disembarked upon an island two hundred rods eastward, called Stage Island, supposed by them to be better situated for all the conveniences of trade with the natives and of navigation through the year." * * He acknowledges that they afterwards, for various reasons, removed to "the south-east side of a creek, near what is now called Atkins' Bay, which stretches west into the land half a league, and forms a peninsula at the southerly corner of the present" [town of] "Phippsburg." Here, he says, "a few slender cabins were built and a fortification erected."

The present writer has taken considerable pains to ascertain where the idea, that this colony first landed on an island, originated. The earliest book he has met with in which the statement occurs, is "The History of the District of Maine, by" [Gov.] "James Sullivan," published in 1795. He says, p. 53, "they spent a miserable winter, principally on an island called Stage Island." At page 174, he states: "Tradition assures us that Popham's party made their landing on the island, now called Stage Island, and as there are remains of an ancient fort on Cape Small Point, and wells of water of long standing, with remains of ancient dwelling-houses, so it may be concluded that the Plymouth fort was at that place."* Four pages previously the historian had said: "On the west side of the river are the remains of an old fort made of stone and earth; there are also eight old walls now to be seen, and the ruins of several houses. Whether these buildings were erected by the English or French is uncertain; but the probability is that the former were the erectors of the works." At pages 169 and 170 the following statement occurs: "On an island already spoken of, called Stage Island, was the landing place of Popham's party. * * * Ogilby, in his Collection, which he made in the year 1671, says that they landed on the west side of the river and there began a plantation."

It will be perceived that *tradition* alone is assigned as au-

* "As early as 1642 the Plymouth Company, who had a grant of land on the Kennebec, erected a fort and trading house at Georgetown. By some it is supposed that this fort was at Small Point, and by others at Sagadahock Bay."—*Maine Historical Collection*, ii., p. 200.

thority for the statement of this colony landing in the first place upon an island. Yet tradition appears to have been utterly at fault in pointing out the locality of the fort built by the Plymouth company thirty-seven years after the departure of Popham's colony. Besides, the description of the remains of an old fort on the west side of the river existing in 1795, indicates that that fortress was built by persons of European notions as to the strength of fortifications, rather than by the colony at Plymouth, Mass., who would doubtless deem block houses, built of timber, to be sufficient. Tradition is not uniform on this point. In Massachusetts Historical Collections, Vol. i., 252, a writer contends that *Parker's Island* was the first landing place of Popham's colony. Certain indications of early settlers are to be found even at the present day upon Stage Island. Why may not these have been what was left by the garrison established by the Plymouth Company, whose locality is now confessedly unknown? It will be observed in one of the quotations made from Sullivan's History, that although he makes the distinct assertion that the island he names was the landing place of Popham's party, yet that shortly after he quotes Ogilby as stating, in 1671, that this party landed on the west side of the river. Ogilby agrees with all the ancient writers, (for it is only *modern* historians who have assigned this varying tradition as their authority.) Thus Purchas, before quoted, "In a Westerly Peninsula." And the Strachey MS. says: "they all went ashoare, and there made choise of a place for their Plantation at the mouth of the Ryver on the West side, * * being almost an Island, of a good bignes."

In the autumn of 1852 the writer of this Memoir, in company with a friend, visited the locality spoken of, and indicated on the map, opposite page 77, by the figure 1. Standing upon high ground, near the centre of it, he saw at once that the phrase "being almost an Island, of good bignes," was a very accurate description. And from a pretty thorough examination of this peninsula, it seemed as if the precise situation of the fort built by these early colonists might almost be settled. Conspicuous to all who enter or leave the mouth of the Ken-

nebec, is a two story dwelling-house, built by Major Shaw, standing a few rods from the sea coast, and not far distant from the river just named. Near this house is a crescent-shaped pond of *fresh* water, covering about five acres of ground. The land rises some forty feet on the north of this pond, and then descends by an easy slope to the water of Atkins' Bay, giving sufficient space for the erection of a fort containing "fifty houses, besides a Church and a Storehouse." A large supply of fresh water would evidently be needed for such an establishment as this. At the present day the water in the wells on the peninsula is more or less brackish, which in all probability has always been the case. Such a pond, then, would be of great value to a fortress. This fact, and the adaptation of the land to such a building, seem to be decisive as to the locality of the fort.

The satisfaction of being able to determine with a tolerable degree of accuracy, the precise spot where this, the earliest but one of the colonies in the Northern United States, passed a number of months, will, it is hoped, be a sufficient apology for the space devoted to the discussion of this question. While everything relating to this colony will no doubt prove interesting to members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the addition here made to the previous knowledge of it cannot be unacceptable to the student of American history.

From some cause or other, historians have done but very scanty justice to the interest that some of the members of the Church of England took in providing for the spiritual welfare of those who attempted to colonize the then inhospitable regions of this western world. We have seen in this Note, that a colony of Episcopalians in Maine, with a clergyman of their Church as their chaplain, and as one of their "Assistants," preceded that of the Puritans in Plymouth by thirteen years. We now propose to show that another part of North America witnessed the celebration of divine worship, and the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, *forty-two* years before the "Pilgrims" landed on these shores.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Capt. Martin Frobisher made three voyages to the continent of North America. In the attempt to discover a shorter passage to China than that by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, he struck boldly for the west. He finally reached a point far north of Labrador, and in 63° N. latitude discovered the straits which have ever since borne his name. He returned to England, and the next year a motley collection of miners, gold-finers, bakers, carpenters, and gentlemen, with thirty soldiers and forty seamen, were embarked on board of "fifteen sayle of good ships," which reached their former harbor in safety in the summer of 1578. Before sailing from England certain regulations for the guidance of the adventurers were drawn up, of which what follows is an extract:—

"Articles and orders to be observed for the Fleete, set down by Capt. Frobisher, Generall, &c.

"I. Inprimis, to banish swearing, dice and card playing and filthy communication and to serue God twice a day with the ordinary seruice of usuall in the Churches of England, and to clear the glasse* according to the old order of England."—*Hackluyt*, (Ed. 1600,) Vol. iii., p. 74.

They arrived at their destination "upon the one and thirtieth of July." "Here every man greatly rejoiced of their happie meeting and welcomed one another after the sea manner with their great Ordinance; and when each partie had ripped up their sundry fortunes and perils past, they highly praysed God, and altogether upon their knees gaue him due, humble and hearty thanks, and Maister Wollfall, a learned man and appointed by her Maieties Councill to be their Minister and Preacher, made unto them a godly sermon, exhorting them especially to be thankfull to God for their strange and miraculous deliuerance in those so dangerous places, and putting them in mind of the uncertaintie of man's life, willed them to make themselues always readie as resolute men to enjoy and accept thankfully whatsoever aduenture his diuine Prouidence should appoint. This Maister Wollfall, being well seated and settled at home

* Hour glass.

in his owne Countrey, with a good and large liuing, hauing a good honest woman to wife and very towardly children, being of good reputation among the best, refused not to take in hand this painfull voyage, for the only care he had to saue soules, and to reforme those Infidels, if it were possible, to Christianitie: and also partly for the great desire he had that this notable voyage so well begunne, might be brought to perfection: and therefore he was contented to stay there the whole yeare if occasion had serued, being in every necessary action as forward as the resolutest man of all. Wherefore in this behalfe he may rightly be called a true Pastor and Minister of God's word, which for the profite of his flocke spared not to venture his owne life."—*Ibid.*, iii., 84.

On the 30th of August, "Maister Wolfall * * preached a godly sermon, which being ended, he celebrated also a Communion upon the land, at the partaking whereof was the Capitaine of the Anne Francis, and many other Gentlemen and Souldiers, Mariners and Miners with him. This celebration of the diuine mystery was the first signe, seale and confirmation of Christ's name death and passion euer knowen in these quarters. The said M. made sermons, and celebrated the Communion at sundry other times in seueraille and sundry ships, because the whole company could neuer meet together at any one place."—*Ibid.*, iii., 91.

No American historian, it is believed, has noticed any of the above interesting facts respecting the religious features in this expedition, though some have spoken at length of Frobisher's voyages, as connected with the discovery and colonization of the American continent.

A discovery of somewhat recent date, on an island near the shores of Maine, promises to give additional plausibility to the theory that the coasts of North America were visited by Northmen some centuries before natives of England or France came hither. In 1808, a gentleman in Bath, Maine, communicated to the Rev. William Jenks, D. D., well known as an accom-

plished Oriental scholar, a sketch of some singular characters found "on the side of a ledge of rock, near the middle of the little Island of Manānas, which is separated from Monhegan Island only by a narrow strait that forms the harbor of the latter." At the annual meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, in May, 1851, Dr. Jenks made a communication respecting the characters referred to. Since that time an accurate transcript has been made of the inscription. The characters are eighteen in number, and Dr. Jenks has now no doubt that they are Runic in their origin. As in the case of the inscription on the rock at Dighton, Mass., "only some six or seven characters are claimed to be Runic, or even Phœnician, Punic, or foreign," should it be established beyond a reasonable doubt that this inscription at Monhegan is Runic, the State of Maine will present greater claims to the interest of the historian and antiquary than has heretofore been allowed to it.

Dr. Jenks says, in Hayward's Gazetteer, p. 64: "We cannot, perhaps, venture to assert that the coast had never been visited by Europeans before the voyage of Cabot, or those of the Spaniards, who, with the French, seem to have been upon it at an early date. But on a small island very near Monhegan, was discovered in 1808, an inscription of rather a curious kind made on the side of a rock. It might possibly countenance the hypothesis, which has of late been entertained with so much approbation and interest by the Danish antiquaries, that America was visited by Scandinavians or Icelanders, long before Columbus. Yet the inscription seems to be too simple to be resolved into Runic characters. On the top of the rock were found three holes, about one foot apart, rather deeply perforated, and calculated to accommodate a tripod. The island is called Manānas, or Menannah, and is described by Williamson; although so far as is known to the writer, the above inscription has never before met the public eye. It is the only one of which he has heard as existing in Maine; and whether it were the result of mere idleness, or made to score a reckoning,* or has a meaning of a different kind, we will not

* This rock is either granite or gneiss. Is it probable that any one would "score a reckoning" in so hard a substance?

undertake to determine. The holes are an inch deep or more, and near three inches in diameter. The strokes are cut to the depth of nearly half an inch, and are about six inches in length, as our informant* stated. A spring is near, and the shore about thirty rods off. The ledge of rock is near the centre of the little island, and runs about N. NE. and S. SW."

NOTE C.

[Page 74.]

"The ancient colony of New Plymouth, having met with many losses and discouragements in their trade at Kennebeck, in 1661 conveyed their lands to Antipas Bois, Edward Tyng, Thomas Brattle and John Winslow, with all the privileges of the Patent, for the sum of £400 sterling.

"But the frequent wars and commotions which disturbed the Eastern country prevented these gentlemen and their heirs from making any improvements. And besides, this territory, being seldom visited, was generally esteemed only a barren tract, in a severe climate and a remote and wilderness country. At length, Mr. Samuel Goodwin, of Charlestown, (Mass.,) now Major Goodwin of Pownalboro', having obtained some intelligence from his ancestors concerning the above-mentioned purchase, and having procured a twenty-fourth part from his father, engaged with resolution in the affair. But the original Patent, by which they were entitled to reassume the possession could not be found, and a majority of the proprietors imagined it lost beyond recovery; it was therefore his first concern, to acquire, if possible, this necessary instrument; and it was with indefatigable industry, unwearied application, and a great expense, he was able to obtain proper intelligence of said Patent. After searching a multitude of Records, he found it in the hands of Samuel Wells, Esq., one of the Commissioners for settling the bounds between the late Colony of Plymouth and that of Rhode Island. This Patent had been long con-

* The late Major JOSHUA SHAW, of Bath, Maine.

cealed by an ancient woman with a view, it is presumed, of making some advantage to herself, or family, and it was finally wrested out of her possession by a stratagem, and delivered to the above Commissioners in order to assist in their determinations. Mr. Goodwin obtained an order from the General Court, directing Mr. Wells to resign the Patent, and having in this manner procured the original conveyance, prevailed with a number of gentlemen to be concerned by purchase, and Mr. Bowdoin, Vassal, Hancock, Dr. Gardiner, Hallowell, and other wealthy persons were engaged, and formed themselves into a company, and the first meeting was held, agreeable to a warrant, in 1749.

"Mr. Goodwin, by order of the proprietors, began his surveys in 1750, and continued in that employ through the whole summer, notwithstanding the Indians, by their motions, had terrified all the inhabitants into garrison."

The above is taken from a MS. History of New England, by Rev. Jacob Bailey. As he lived on terms of intimacy with Major Goodwin it is probable that he obtained his information from him. The following also occurs in the same "History, &c.:" "Towards the end of summer, 1751, a number of Protestants arrived at Boston from Germany, who had been enticed from their native country in consequence of pompous advertisements and specious promises. About fifty families of these strangers were prevailed upon by the Plymouth Company to settle under their protection. They, with several others of Irish and English extraction, were conducted to Kennebeck by Major Goodwin, where they began a settlement upon a commodious neck of land opposite to Richmond, and almost thirty miles from the ocean.

"But before they could enter upon their voyage to the Eastward winter came on with uncommon severity, and it was with extreme difficulty they reached Fort Richmond, about the beginning of March, 1752. In order to secure the inhabitants of this new plantation, called Frankfort, from any disturbance, the Plymouth Company agreed to erect a fort about one mile and a quarter above Richmond on the eastern shore, near a famous carrying place from the Kennebeck into

Mundooscotoock, or Eastern River. This fortification was named Fort Shirley, in honour of the Governor; a wall of palisadoes enclosed a square of two hundred feet, two strong block houses, mounted with cannon were erected at opposite angles, and several barracks, for the reception of soldiers."

Rev. Mr. Bailey states in a communication to the *Boston Evening Post*, November 4th, 1773, that it had been asserted "that the first settlers of West Pownalboro' emigrated from Franckfort, in Germany, but upon enquiry it appears that not a single family came either from that city or its jurisdiction. It is true that six or seven families, chiefly of French Protestants, who had been expelled France for their religion, issued from the neighbouring territories; several other Dutch Lutherans were collected from the different parts of the Empire, to which we may add a number of families from about Mount Billiard, who speak a dialect of the French."

The following, extracted from Hawkins's "Missions of the Church of England," p. 356, is inserted here to show that emigrations from the same part of Europe just mentioned, were going on to other parts of the British American Colonies, and also that these emigrants readily conformed to the Church of England. "In 1752, Mr. Moreau" (a Missionary at Halifax, N. S.) "reported that 500 Protestants of the Confession of Augsburg, recently arrived in Nova Scotia from Montbelliard, had joined themselves to the Church of England, and desired to partake of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. They received copies of the Book of Common Prayer, in French, with the greatest satisfaction, which they showed by kissing the books and Mr. Moreau's hand as he distributed them."

NOTE D.

[Page 77.]

It seems proper to record such information as is preserved, concerning the first Church Missionary that officiated east of Casco, (now Portland.)

Of the time or place of his birth, we have no knowledge, nor do we know where he received his education.

The first notice we have of him, is in the very laborious and correct edition of Smith's Journal, by Wm. Willis, Esq., of Portland, Maine. Mr. Willis says, on page 83, Note 1: "In November, (1736) the Presbyterian party of the Irish emigrants in Portland, installed Rev. William McClanethan, a staunch supporter of that persuasion from the North of Ireland; but they were unable to support him, and he went to Georgetown and Brunswick and finally to Chelsea"

The following is copied from General Sewall's History of Bath, published in collections of Maine Historical Society, Vol. ii. p. 220. s. "The Church first established in the County of Lincoln, was at Georgetown. The members were Presbyterians. In 1734,* Rev. William McLanathan was ordained as an evangelist, and officiated there until 1774. The house of worship was near the Mansion house of the late Major Lithgow where Mr. McLanathan usually officiated,† but whether Mr. McLanathan had the pastoral charge of the church, we are not informed." Divisions arose and two societies were established. The Pastor of the second Society, having left the place, Mr. Mac Lanathan officiated for both Societies one year, on a salary of £200.

In the Church Records of Chelsea, Mass. is the following: "Octo. 19th, 1747. Voted, that the town's Committee be desired to request and agree with the Rev. Mr. William Mc. Clenachan to preach for the further term of two months on probation."

On the 13th of April, 1748, "Mr. Mc Clenachan was chosen, by a great majority, Colleague with the Rev. Thomas Cheever," Pastor of the Congregational Society in the above-named town. It is afterwards stated in the same Records that the

* This date cannot be reconciled with the one previously given, 1736. The latter however, must be correct, as it occurs in a journal of daily occurrences, for many years kept by Rev. Thomas Smith, Pastor of the first Congregational Parish in Portland.

† There is reason to think that this building was not erected till many years afterwards, and then for the services of the Church of England. Major Lithgow's house, was built in 1766.

town had concurred with the Church in the above choice "by a very great majority." In the letter prepared to be sent to the Churches invited to assist in the installation of Mr. Mc. C., he is spoken of as "late of Blanford." The installation took place on the 21st December, 1748. * * * *

"Dec. 18th, 1754. The Church met by appointment. Rev. Mr. Mc. Clenachan desired the Church would dismiss him from his Pastoral relation to this Church, and insisted thereon. Upon which, voted, unanimously, not to dismiss him.

"Dec. 25th, 1754. The aforesaid Mr. Mc. Clenachan having dissolved his relation to this Church, by leaving them contrary to the above vote, was received, confirmed,* and partook of the Lord's Supper under the establishment of the Church of England, by the Rev. Dr. Timothy Cutler." †

On the 21st March, 1755, Mr. Maclenachan was appointed by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, as their Missionary to the "Eastern Frontier of Massachusetts Bay," and his salary commenced from the Christmas preceding. He must have been in London previous to the former date, and have taken Orders in the Church of England. He did not, however, embark for America till August of that year. He landed in Boston, October 10th of that year, and remained there during the following winter, assigning as a reason for this course that he did not think it safe to carry his family, on the eve of winter, to the place of his Mission, where no house was provided for them. However, in May, 1756, he removed to Fort Richmond, using this ruinous structure, a part of the time at least, as an habitation.

"The Society (P. G.) on complaint of his delays, had stopped his salary: but on his writing from his Mission, promising diligence and expressing his hope to be continued, they restored it December 1756. And on his requesting, in June and October, 1758, to be removed, the Society ordered him £10 each time as an encouragement, fearing from his repre-

* It can hardly be necessary to remind the intelligent reader that this is a mistake. As there was no Protestant Bishop in America until after the Revolution, of course confirmation could not be administered.

† Rector of Christ's Church, Boston, Mass.

sentations that a successor of sufficient resolution and activity could not easily be got." The people of Frankfort stated that he did not stay with them but till Dec. 1758.* He first went to Virginia, then to Philadelphia, "from which city he sent, June 22d, 1759, his first notification to the Society of his resigning his Mission; and desired to have his salary paid till midsummer, alleging that it wanted but two days of the time. This the Society granted of course: not suspecting that he had left the place of his Mission six months before, which he ought fairly to have told them. And thus he received his salary for four years and a half, besides gratuities of £20, and were but two years and a half upon his post."

Mr. Maclenachan thus left his Mission on the Kennebec without the usual notification to the Society of such an intention, and accepted an invitation to some church in Virginia, but omitted to go there, "though he had received such marks of favour, that he ought to think himself obliged to serve them."

Shortly after his arrival in Philadelphia, the Vestry of Christ Church in that city, chose him assistant to the Rector, Rev. Dr. Jenney.

There being already one assistant in that Church, and one previously recommended as the second, the Rector declined to sign the application for a license to Mr. McL. and signified to the Bishop of London that he disapproved of the candidate.

In answer to a letter of the Vestry of Christ Church, the Bishop of London wrote, March 26th, 1760, refusing to give Mr. McL. the license desired, for the reasons stated, whereupon, an application was made to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to obtain from him what had been desired. This was accompanied by a letter in Mr. McL's favor, from 18 *Presbyterian* Ministers, convened in Philadelphia! To these documents, His Grace replied at some length in a letter to Mr. McL., under date of October 9th, 1760.

In this letter he points out, (among other things,) the ex-

* "Mr. Mac Clenachan officiated among us but a little while, viz.: from May, 1756, to Dec. 1758."—*Copy of a Petition to the Society P. G., among Rev. Jacob Bailey's Papers.*

treme indelicacy of applying to him in a matter which was entirely within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, and mildly, yet severely rebukes Mr. McL. for his conduct. The Archbishop says: "ought it not to give you a further distrust of your proceedings, that no one Clergyman of the Church of England in America, hath declared himself to approve them: and that the Convention of Clergymen which met at Philadelphia last May, have strongly expressed their disapprobation of your behaviour both in that Convention and out of it; and have signified that they would not suffer you to preach in any of their pulpits?"

Mr. Maclenachan stated, in his letter to the Archbishop, "that he had been favoured with the occasional use of the State House in which to officiate, and was followed by a multitude of people of all denominations." Mr. Maclenachan is also said to have been the founder of St. Paul's Church, in Philadelphia. He probably removed shortly after to New Jersey, for in a letter from the Rev. Colin Campbell, December 26th, 1761, he laments "that his congregation at Mount Holly, which was very flourishing, has been hurt by some enthusiastical people of Mr. Maclenaghan's party, who pretend that Mr. Maclenaghan is the only preacher of Christ in America, and all the rest are Antinomians." But from another letter, written about six months after, by Mr. Campbell, it appears that these people were "reduced to a sense of their sin in a causeless separation, and are returning daily to their proper fold."

The authorities for the statements in the first part of this Note have been given. For the facts in the history of Mr. Maclenachan, after his ordination in the Church of England, and for some of the language used in narrating them, I am indebted to a letter of Archbishop Secker, published in the "True Catholic," No. LXII., p. 80, s. s., and No. LXIII., p. 129, s. s.; also to Rev. Dr. Dorr's "History of Christ Church, Philadelphia," p. 119, 120, 122, and Bishop Doane's "Sermon at the Consecration of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, N. J.," Dec. 23d, 1834, p. 15, Note *.

That Mr. Maclenachan was a man of an ardent temperament is sufficiently obvious from the above sketch. His uncommon

powers of pulpit oratory, testified by his admirers and those who bore witness to the crowds who followed him, are also acknowledged in the traditions remaining of him in the town of Chelsea, where he passed six years. But these traditions are unfavorable to him in other respects. The writer has been assured by an aged and intelligent resident of that place, that when he was a boy it was said by the old people of the town, "that when Mr. Maclenachan was in the pulpit he ought never to come out of it, and when he was out of the pulpit he ought never to go into it." The same person also stated that Mr. Maclenachan occasionally indulged in the excessive use of ardent spirits. Mr. Maclenachan had been settled as the colleague of Rev. Thomas Cheever. Mr. Cheever died at an advanced age in less than two years after this settlement. As he felt called upon in the last days of his life to join with others in "a petition to the General Court that they might be erected into a new Parish,"* it is to be presumed that the conduct of Mr. Maclenachan, even during the early years of his ministry in Chelsea, must have been very objectionable to the venerable pastor and some of his Christian brethren. We know not what induced Rev. Dr. Cutler to receive Mr. Maclenachan among his communicants. He, however, must afterwards have regretted his agency in promoting the change of Mr. Maclenachan's religious relations. Nor was the time of experiencing this regret deferred till the troubles in Philadelphia, occasioned by him in whom he had taken such an interest. For the Archbishop, in the letter to Mr. Maclenachan which has been spoken of, states that it "hath been reported that you had hired a house in Boston for a year, and that you attempted to procure a settlement in Dr. Cutler's Church till you were forbidden his pulpit." Mr. Maclenachan seems to have deliberately deceived his patrons in England, by obtaining from them a salary for a time in which no services were rendered. The influence of a clergyman of such a character, could not have been beneficial to any congregation, and while his residence on the Kennebec must have been irksome to his

* Chelsea Town Records, Dec. 18th, 1749.

pride, it may fairly be presumed that he did little to recommend the communion, of which he was a minister, to the people of his charge, or to promote the progress of morality and religion.

NOTE D^A.

[Page 78.]

In the following, copied from an Almanac for 1764, it will be seen that the usual way of travel in the region of the Kennebec was as stated in the text. "Long Reach," there named, is the present city of Bath, or, more strictly, that portion of the Kennebec River which passes in front of that city. The traveller could pursue his journey on land till he reached that place, when, if he wished to go further, he must take a water conveyance. The extract will also prove interesting, it is trusted, as enabling the reader to compare the way of travelling into Maine a century since with that which now exists. At the present time a large steamboat leaves Boston for the Kennebec twice every week in the summer, while a railroad conveyance is afforded twice every day to the same region.

ROAD FROM BOSTON EASTWARD.

Lynn—Norwood,	7	———, Ring,	6
Salem—Pratt,	8½	Falmouth—Freeman,	8
Wenham—Porter,	6	New Casco—Butman,	8
Ipswich—Treadwell,	6½	North Yarmouth—Mitchell,	7
Newbury Bridge—Hale,	7½	" " —Woods, Coffin,	6
Newbury—Davenport, Choate,	4½	Brunswick—Ross,	10
Hampton Falls—Sanborn,	7	———, Thompson,	4
Greenland—Clark,	9½	Georgetown—Springer,	8
Portsmouth—Stoodley, Foss,	5½	LONG REACH, BY WATER, TO	
Old York—Ingraham,	9	Pownalborough—Lovejoy,	15
Wells—Littlefield,	14	Fort Western,	16
———, Storer,	2	Fort Halifax,	17
Kennebunk—Kimball,	5	Norridgewalk,	27
Arundell—Patten,	2	Great Carrying Place,	30
Biddeford—Ladd,	7	Chaudiere, Quebec.	
Scarborough—Milliken,	8		

NOTE E.

[Page 79.]

Petition to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts:—

“REVEREND SIR:—We, the inhabitants of Franckfort on the Kennebeck River, beg leave to express our acknowledgments of the Society’s goodness in sending a Missionary to this truly necessitous place, without the assistance of whose compassion we and our posterity are in danger of losing all sense of religion, or else of being seduced by Popish Missionaries, who not only have been industrious heretofore in these parts in seducing His Majesty’s subjects and settlers upon this Frontier, but probably upon a peace will revive their attempts. We therefore humbly pray the Society will be pleased to supply this Mission now vacant by the removal of the Reverend Mr. Mc. Clennachan, who indeed officiated among us but a little while, viz., from May, 1756 to December, 1758, though we did everything in our power to make his continuance easy. We are indeed very poor, being a frontier settlement, hitherto prevented from cultivating our lands to advantage by being exposed to the incursions of a barbarous enemy, yet we shall continue to provide for a minister to the utmost of our ability if the Venerable Society will please to send us one. Particularly we shall contribute at least as much as we have heretofore done, which, including the cultivated land and estate put into our former Minister’s possession, was not less than twenty £stlg. per annum. We have a glebe of two hundred acres of good land, and as soon as we enjoy the blessings of peace we promise to build a Church and Parsonage house, and till that happy time comes we can have Richmond fort for a mansion house for the Minister, and the chapel belonging to the garrison for a church, and the farm round the fort for a glebe, which is already under cultivation and very valuable. We hear one Mr. Bailey, a sober, prudent and well disposed young man, is willing to undertake this Mission, and with the approbation of the Rev. Clergy of Boston will proceed to England for Holy Orders,

and offers himself to this service. We pray the Society will favour this motion, as the gentleman, by what we can hear of him, will be likely to continue, and perhaps spend his days among us.

Humbly hoping the Society's indulgence to this our request, we beg leave to subscribe ourselves, Rev. Sir,

Your very distressed, tho' most obliged

and obedient servants,

FRANKFORT ON KENNEBECK RIVER, }
Nov. 24, 1759. }

A true copy.

Timothy Whiden.

his

Martin X Haley.

mark.

Abraham Wyman.

Samuel Marson.

Stephen Marson.

Simon Wyman.

Elias Cheney.

Abner Marson.

Samuel Hinds.

Mauris Wheeler.

his

Mark X Carney.

mark.

William Storey.

Abiathar Kendall.

Jonathan Bryant.

Francis Ridall.

Samuel Oldham.

his

Dennis X Loins.

mark.

his

Wm. X Moor.

mark.

James Goud.

Jacques Bunyon.

Peter Pechin.

Frederick Pechin.

George Pochard.

Christopher Pochard.

Abraham Pochard.

Adam Couch.

Amos Paris.

John Paris.

Obadiah Call.

James Widden, Jr.

Lazarus Noble.

David Thomas.

his

Joseph X McFarling.

mark.

Benj. Noble.

Daniel Goodwin.

James Wyman.

John Henry Layer.

John Peter Shoul.

John Heron.

John George Goud.

Charles Estinay Houdlet.

George Goud.

Daniel Goud.

Frederick Jacqueen.

Ludovicus Cassimire Mayer.

Philip Mayer.

George Mayer.

John McGown.

Michael Stilphen.

Thomas Low.

John Andrews.

Daniel Malbone.

John Pochard.

Philip Fought.

NOTE F.

[Page 80.]

The family of Mrs. Bailey were among the first in social rank in the then Province of New Hampshire. Her father was a physician, and also a colonel. At that day professional men were regarded with a degree of esteem and respect which has now to a great extent diminished and military office brought an extensive influence. Besides being the daughter of a gentleman so favored by position, the family of Mrs. Bailey, on the mother's side, consisted of individuals who became extensively known, or whose descendants performed important parts in the history of their country. It is thought proper by the writer to add the genealogy. He is indebted for it to J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston, Mass., a descendant, who has prepared a very full and accurate genealogy of the Wingate family, which must be highly interesting to all persons of that name, or who are in any way connected with that family.

JOSHUA WINGATE, born at Hampton, N. H., Feb. 2d, 1669; married Nov. 9th, 1702,* Mary Lunt, of Newbury, Mass. (He commanded a company at the siege of Louisburg, C. B., and was afterwards for several years Colonel of Hampton Regiment of Militia. Died, Feb. 6th, 1769.)

Children.

1. Rev. Paine Wingate, m. Mary Balch. Harvard College 1759; afterwards U. S. Senator, and Judge of Superior Court of New Hampshire. Died in 1838.

2. Sarah, m. Dr. Edmund Tappan, of Hampton, N. H.

3. Mary, m. Deacon Timothy Pickering, of Salem, Mass., father of Hon. Timothy Pickering, grandfather of Hon. John Pickering, the distinguished Lexicographer and Oriental scholar.

4. Joshua, m. Dorothy Frees.

5. Jane, m. Rev. Stephen Chase,† of New Castle, N. H.

* Also Coffin's History of Newbury, p. 321.

† Spoken of in the previous Memoir, p. 12.

6. Abigail, m. John Stickney.
7. Anna, m. — Marston, of Hampton, N. H.
8. *Martha*, born March 30. 1718, m. *Dr. John Weeks*, of Hampton, N. H., Nov. 10, 1737.
9. Love, m. Rev. Nathaniel Gookin, of Hampton, N. H.
10. Elizabeth, m. Dr. John Newman, of Newbury, Mass.
11. John, born January 24, 1724-5; Har. Coll. 1744; died at Hampton, N. H., Sept. 4, 1812, unmarried.

(8.) *MARTHA WINGATE* m. *Dr. JOHN WEEKS*, Hampton, N. H.

Children.

1. Joshua Wingate, m. Sarah Treadwell. Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, Mass., &c. &c.
2. Comfort, m. Dr. Coffin Moore.
3. Martha, m. Benjamin Randall.
4. Mary, m. Adon Nye. 2d husband—Brackett.
5. SARAH, m. Rev. JACOB BAILEY.
6. John, m. — Brackett.
7. William, m. — Haynes.
8. Ward Cotton.
9. Joanna, m. Folsom.
10. Abigail, "dyed an infant."

NOTE G.

[Page 82.]

From the following letter, it would seem that one Episcopal Clergyman at least penetrated into the remote and uncultivated region of the Kennebec. The season of the year when this clergyman made this journey is generally so unpleasant, that we are the more surprised at his undertaking.

" April 21st, 1763, }
GEORGE TOWN. }

" REV'D SIR:—The Rev. Mr. Jas. Dormer, from So. Carolina, but last from Portsmouth and Casco, will call upon you

in a few Days. A Brother *Clergyman*. He means upon the *Establishment*. As the Winter has been bad, (and consequently y^r Journey hither, almost, if not Altogether Impracticable,) He will officiate in his Journey at *Go. Town*, which may possibly be an Alleviation to you, &c. He will proceed to pay his compliments to you, and in the Interim

Yr. Unknown Friend

and Brother in Christ,

JAS. DORMER.

"N. B.—He produces Satisfactory Credentials to y^e principal People here, and takes not a Farthing for Services Done.

"*To The Rev. Mr. Bailey, at Pownal Borough.*"

NOTE H.

[Page 104.]

It is known that the portion of the Kennebec Valley, near Mr. Bailey's residence, had, in former years, been frequented more or less by Indians. The residence of the Sachem, Kennebis, from whom the river is supposed to have derived its name, "was upon Swan Island, in a delightful situation; and that of Abbagadussett, between a river of his name and the Kennebeck, upon the northern borders of Merry meeting bay."* Both of these localities are within six miles of the former site of the Parsonage-house in Pownalborough. In the present town of Pittston, but a few miles further in another direction, two old burying grounds have been discovered. The mode of interring the bodies found in these places, shows conclusively that they were Indians.†

These facts are mentioned as an introduction to the following extract from a MS. "Geographical description and Natural History of the Eastern Country," written by the subject of this Memoir:—

"On the Western side of the Kennebeck, about thirty-two miles from its exit, there is a round hill, which rises above the

* Williamson's History of Maine, i., 467.

Ibid., 493.

surrounding level near fifty feet perpendicular. The hill is one entire pile of stones, covered with herbage, and several stately oaks, which make a fine appearance from the water. There is some probability that it was erected by art, and what conduces to confirm this opinion is that not a single stone is to be found on the adjacent plains. It is a noted retreat for serpents and other vermin; and it is remarkable that two hills of a similar aspect, and the same materials, may be seen in Gardinerston, about three miles distant. It is conjectured that these were raised by the natives in former ages, as the monuments of some distinguished victory, or else were designed to cover the bodies of some mighty heroes." In a letter to Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D. D., after having read the 1st volume of American Biography by that writer, Mr. Bailey says: "I had for more than twenty years been making collections of everything curious respecting the original inhabitants, but in consequence of my compulsory emigration from Kennebec, I had the misfortune to lose most of my papers. *

* * I have observed near the river Kennebec some appearances of Indian antiquity." He there describes the hills before mentioned nearly in the terms used in his MS. "Geographical description." The additional particulars are, that this hill was "about forty rods from the river," was "nearly of a circular form, and its base may occupy half an acre," and that "the stones of which it is composed resemble the stones on the beaches of the river." He continues: "In Pownalborough, half a mile from the river Kennebeck, I enclosed three acres for a garden, in a situation rude, rocky, and broken, beyond expression. There was, however, a spot containing about half an acre, which had been cleared of stones at some distant period; they had been thrown together on each side, and growing in these heaps were found hemlock trees of an enormous size."

NOTE I.

[Page 110.]

An expedition of eleven hundred men under Col. Benedict Arnold had been detached by Gen. Washington from the army at Cambridge, Mass., to enter Canada by the way of the Kennebec and Chaudiere Rivers, through the wilderness of Maine. That detachment in a number of small vessels entered the former river on the 20th September, 1775, and the same evening came to anchor opposite the fort in Pownalborough. About eight miles higher up, the transports in which the troops came were abandoned for batteaux, which had been built for them by Maj. Reuben Colbourn. Most of this army remained a number of days at Fort Western, in the present town of Augusta, before commencing their fatiguing and dangerous journey. Mr. Bailey's Journal for September of this year is in existence. Entries are made against every day to Sunday 17th, inclusive, when it seems that he had a congregation of 72 persons. The remaining week is left blank. On Sunday, 24th, 60 persons attended Divine Service. The following week is also left blank. The Journal of the next month is as full as usual. In a MS. History of the Eastern Country, Mr. Bailey gives a tolerably full account of Arnold's expedition after the arrival of the soldiers in Kennebec, but his statements do not vary much from other narratives. As blanks are left in his Journal, as above noted, on the days when the troops were in his neighborhood, he probably absented himself from his house, and his information must have been derived from other persons.

In the "History" above-named, Mr. Bailey says, just before giving the account of the expedition against Canada: "It was not long before that party of Norridgewocks, which Colbourn had allured to the army, quitted their station in disgust and returned to Kennebeck, finding more satisfaction in ranging the streams and the forests than in all the boasted freedom of Congresses and Continental armies."

This contemporary statement confirms an account given to the writer of the present Memoir some years since, by one of

the oldest settlers in Kennebec. His account was communicated to S. G. Drake, Esq., and is noticed in "The Book of the Indians," Eighth Edition, Boston: 1841. Book iii. p. 156.

NOTE J.

[Page 117.]

"On the 7th of October another special court was convened at Pownalboro' for the trial of Tories, when Mr. Jones and eight others belonging to Vassalboro', with Mr Blanchard, of Woolwich, were brought prisoners before the above-mentioned judges. Mr. Langdon undertook to plead in favor of the criminals, and his character being so distinguished in the present times, the court readily admitted him to engage, conceiving that so strenuous an advocate for American measures could offer nothing disagreeable to their Honors.

"But in this opinion they quickly perceived themselves mistaken, for Langdon, in his applications to the jury, discovered an inclination to humanity and justice, for which friendly exertions he received a most severe reprimand both from Bowman and Arnold; the former even threatened him with the lawless vengeance of a mob.

"The first person admitted to trial was one Mr. Ballard against whom there appeared nothing but a few words expressing his attachment to the King and government, under which he was educated. The matter being debated with great solemnity and illnature by the court, it was at length committed to the decision of the jury, as an affair of the utmost importance to the security and salvation of the country. The jury would have presently found this harmless person guilty of treasonable designs against the American States, and have sentenced him to a perpetual expulsion from his estate, his family, and his friends, had not Mr. John Patten, his brother and son been more compassionate than the rest. This worthy man alleged that he could not, without offering violence to integrity and conscience, consent that a neighbour should be sent several thousand miles into banishment for no other crime than a few expressions unfavourable to our publick proceed-

ings. Both parties were, however determined not to resign the contest, but marked the altercation with mutual obstinacy for twenty-two hours. In the conclusion they presented themselves before the court and desired their interpretation of this question: 'Is speaking a few exceptionable words counteracting the struggles of the American States for freedom?'

"The judges all replied that every inadvertent word, or any expression that tended to censure the American measures was certainly counteracting them, except Justice North, who added that 'even thinking or conceiving that the publick administrations were unjust or injurious, was evidently a crime which deserved the severe sentence of transportation.' Such stupid and iniquitous decisions as this must excite the indignation of every honest man, and inspire the most hearty contempt of the present government, and plainly evinces that it is founded in absurdity — and cruelty. These explanations of the law gave no satisfaction to the Pattens, but rather confirmed them in their opinion. The elder endeavouring to support his sentiments by some quotations from the Gospel, was silenced by a quick reply from Justice Hobly: 'Sir, we have nothing to do with Scripture in this place, but must form our determinations agreeable to the laws of the state!' The judges, perceiving that they had not a jury agreeable to their designs, dismissed the court, and though Mr. Jones and the other prisoners had been at great expense they refused to admit them to trial, and in conclusion, bound them over to appear on the 4th November, keeping them during the interval under the cruel torments of anxiety and suspense. It is observable that when Justice North espied the Pattens entering the court, he was heard to say, 'We shall not be able to carry our point, while we have such inflexible men upon the jury,' and Mr. Bowman declared 'that these honest men shall either be persecuted by the mob, or else prosecuted as enemies to their country.' The arbitrary proceedings of these magistrates alarmed several conscientious people, who perceived themselves obnoxious, and some to avoid their unjust and merciless tyranny, abandoned their habitations and families and fled out of the country to more distant parts of the Province.

"Among the number we may reckon Mr. John Carlton, of Woolwich, who had been cleared by an unanimous vote of the town, but was pursued by a warrant from these inexorable and avaricious judges. He had the good fortune to conceal himself from their malicious scrutiny, till the season of persecution was over.

"Mr. Stinson, of the same district, was pursued by the same virulent combination, but arming himself to resist the officer who attempted to break into his house with violence, his wife was so terrified at the commotion that she fell in travail and quickly expired.

[The account of the troubles of Rev. J. Bailey at this time, is inserted in the Memoir, pp. 117-119.]

"On the seventh of November a third Tory Court was held at Pownalborough, but no jury appearing, the magistrates were obliged to adjourn to the sixteenth of December. The town of Vassalborough, in the meantime being touched with a little compassion, reconsidered their votes and excluded Mr. Ballard, the Moors, and the Towns from further trial, on condition of their defraying all former expenses, which amounted to one hundred dollars apiece.

"No evidence at all appeared against Mr. Blanchard, and, when the sixteenth of December arrived, the day appointed for the trial, as Justice Howard was attempting to begin his journey from Fort Western, he encountered a terrible fall upon the ice, by which accident he was so wounded, that his attendance at Court was prevented, and there being no other of the Quorum to supply his place, Court was adjourned without day, and as the 'Transportation Act' expired on the first of January, nothing further could be attempted with respect to Mr. Jones.

"In the beginning of winter our persecuting rebels were engaged in another employment, which for a season engaged their whole attention. Capt. Callahan, being driven away by their unjust and cruel persecutions, they determined to take advantage of an obscure act of the present government to seize his estate. The act upon which they proceeded was expressly confined to such persons as had absconded and left

Since doom'd in foreign lands to roam
Far distant from my much lov'd home,
With anguish at my heart.

* * * * *

Again my mournful song pursue,
These grateful objects still in view,
And every rising scene ;
My eye with pleasing anguish meets,
This artless group of blended sweets
Array'd in virgin green.

When first the blushing morn arose
To rouse me from the night's repose
My cares were fixed on you ;
With rapid haste I wandered forth
To mark the progress of your growth
Amidst the glittering dew.

And when the fair, declining day
Darted his horizontal ray
To stain the distant hills,
I felt the gentle vernal breeze
Rush in soft murmurs thro' the trees
And play along the hills.

Taught here to wonder and adore
The wisdom, goodness and the power
Which in these beauties shine,
I learned my glowing heart to raise
In humble gratitude and praise
To the Great Source Divine.

Adieu, to all my pleasing toil ;
No more to smoothe the rugged soil
I spend the happy hours ;
No more employ my hand and care

Along the winding walk to rear
The tender, smiling flower.

No more for me the lovely rose
Her open blushing charms disclose,
Nor breathes her sweet perfume;
I now renounce my boasted skill
To plant the snowy daffodil,
Nor teach her where to bloom.

See there the humble crocus bring
The earliest tribute of the spring
Amidst surrounding snows;
And there the columbine is seen
In richest robes of cheerful green
Adorn'd with various hues.

Behold that parti colour'd bed
Of pinks, their grateful odours shed
To please on every side;
The spotted lily towers on high
And spreads her glories to the sky
In fair, majestic pride.

In yonder walk let us survey
The opening tulip, proud and gay,
In naked beauty rise;
Foe to the shelter of a shade,
She stretches her defenceless head,
Ting'd with unnumber'd dyes.

See there reviving to the sense,
Emblem of infant innocence,
Pansies of different hue;
Here maiden violets strike the sight,
In yellow, or the purest white,
Or dressed in heavenly blue.

Since doom'd in foreign lands to roam
Far distant from my much lov'd home,
With anguish at my heart.

* * * * *

Again my mournful song pursue,
These grateful objects still in view,
And every rising scene ;
My eye with pleasing anguish meets,
This artless group of blended sweets
Array'd in virgin green.

When first the blushing morn arose
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In yonder walk let us survey
The opening tulip, proud and gay,
In naked beauty rise;
Foe to the shelter of a shade,
She stretches her defenceless head,
Ting'd with unnumber'd dyes.

See there reviving to the sense,
Emblem of infant innocence,
Pansies of different hue;
Here maiden violets strike the sight,
In yellow, or the purest white,
Or dressed in heavenly blue.

There stands the bright immortal flower
In clumps along the bending shore
Crown'd with a silver plume,
Amidst the biting frosts and snows,
With undiminish'd lustre glows,
In one eternal bloom.

There pushes forward into view
The mighty wonder of Peru
Exulting from the ground;
Blossoms of scarlet, snow and gold
Mix'd with their gloomy leaves unfold
And spread their glories round.

Behold a plant majestic rise,
Erect and tow'ring to the skies,
Shaggy and rough to sense,
He stares with round, expanded face
Full on the sun's meridian rays,
Picture of impudence.

The poppies here in rich array
The boldest, glaring tints display
Of summer's glowing pride;
The radiant aster, soft and clear,
The latest blossoms of the year,
From me their splendours hide.

Ye trees which 'round the borders stand,
Planted by my laborious hand,
And nurs'd with fondest care,
I view the swelling fruit which grows
In clusters on your pendant boughs,
Delicious, rich, and rare.

But I, by stubborn fate's decree,
Am doom'd your grateful shades to flee

With sorrow most profound;
Lo, there the hostile sons of war,
With fierce, indignant rage prepare
To tear you from the ground.

Ye lofty pines that tower on high,
That wave and threaten in the sky,
'Till wintry storms descend,
And while the winds tremendous war
In all the rage of hostile power,
Before the tempest bend.

There hemlocks rear their lofty head,
And wide their shaggy branches spread,
In gloomy pride abound;
While from their trunks the solemn owl,
Responsive to the wolves' grim howl,
Makes all the woods resound.

With reverent awe my eyes pursue
That ancient oak in open view
Extending wide his arms;
With thunders oft thou didst engage,
And stood the loud, conflicting rage
Of all the northern storms.

In pensive thought I often rove
Thro' the tall forest and the grove,
When vernal beauties rise;
And when the summer's charms decay
I then your trembling leaves survey,
Stain'd with autumnal dies.

Teach me, ye Muses, to describe
The wonders of the winged tribe
And sing their power to please,
While music from their artless throats
In tender, wild harmonious notes
Mix with the whispering breeze.

Adieu, ye plains and mossy rocks,
Frequented by the browsing flocks;
And yonder distant hills,
Ye fountains clear and murmuring floods,
That stream along the dusky woods,
Or fall in tinkling rills.

Ye verdant banks of Kennebeck,
Which numerous plants and flowers bedeck,
Thou great majestick stream,
To swell whose silent, sullen tide
A thousand lesser rivers glide,
No more my favorite theme.

Oft have I seen thy waters pour,
And with rough horrors foam and roar
Adown the precipice,
And with impetuous fury force
Along the winding shores its course
To mingle with the seas.

My throbbing heart with sorrow glows
And feels a multitude of woes,
When thro' yond' shady trees
I view that solemn House of Prayer,
And at the sight let fall a tear
My anguish to appease.

Rejoic'd to see each others face,
We met in this devoted place
To learn the heavenly way,
Till impious and insulting foes
With mad, envenom'd zeal arose
Their vengeance to display.

Those sturdy sons, who never fear
The hottest wrath of Heaven to dare,
Who glory in their shame,

Forbid that we our hearts should raise
 In public prayer and songs of praise
 To the Eternal Name.

I feel a thousand anxious fears,
 And oft bewail in silent tears
 My friends' unhappy fate,
 Involv'd in scenes of deep distress,
 Expos'd, despairing of success,
 To Whigs' revengeful hate.

In fervent strains I must implore
 The smiles of that propitious Pow'r
 Who pities human woes;
 May He attend your plaintive grief,
 Afford protection and relief,
 And bless you with repose.

O Lord, with speedy justice rise
 And frown upon these enemies
 To virtue's sacred name,
 But save the honest and the good,
 And fill the sons of rage and blood
 With penitence and shame.

Once more with heavy parting sighs
 We roll around our misty eyes;
 My partner calls to mind
 Her babes beneath the heaving ground,
 And mourns and weeps with grief profound
 To leave their dust behind.

NOTE L.

[Page 191.]

The name of Capt. Henry Mowat is still disliked, if not detested, by many, on account of his commanding the expedition which, in Oct., 1775, reduced Falmouth, now Portland,

Adieu, ye plains and mossy rocks,
Frequented by the browsing flocks;
And yonder distant hills,
Ye fountains clear and murmuring floods,
That stream along the dusky woods,
Or fall in tinkling rills.

Ye verdant banks of Kennebeck,
Which numerous plants and flowers bedeck,
Thou great majestick stream,
To swell whose silent, sullen tide
A thousand lesser rivers glide,
No more my favorite theme.

Oft have I seen thy waters pour,
And with rough horrors foam and roar
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NOTE L.

[Page 191.]

The name of Capt. Henry Mowat is still disliked, if not detested, by many, on account of his commanding the expedition which, in Oct., 1775, reduced Falmouth, now Portland,

to ashes. It may be well to say, in passing, that Mr. Bailey was on a visit at that place at the time it was burned, and that he has left a written account of the transaction, which throws a fuller light upon it than is contained in the published narratives, as it relates occurrences that were either unknown to, or suppressed by, those who have heretofore undertaken to describe it.

Although Capt. Mowat acted upon positive orders from Admiral Graves, in burning Falmouth, yet he has been condemned with as much warmth, as if he merely gratified his own private antipathies.

And the historian of Maine* publishes a letter written by this officer to the people of the place doomed to destruction, in which, by italicising words, he evidently wishes the reader to notice that ignorance was a characteristic of the writer as well as cruelty. All this may be as has been thus represented. But as an act of simple justice to the memory of Capt. Mowat the following letter to Mr. Bailey, which accompanied the child of the former, is here inserted. The reader may be assured that it is copied *exactly* as it was written. Reminding him, that according to the usage of that time, many more words began with capital letters than at present, the letter is submitted to his perusal, that he may decide whether or not is it the production of a brutal or ignorant man.

“HALIFAX the 11th Aug^t. 1782.

“REV^d. SIR,

I have for some time been in expectation of receiving Your answer to my Letter by Mr. Lovett on the Subject of my Child; but having been given to understand by him and other friends of yours that I may assure myself of your receiving my Boy, I have at last determined to send him, and I have made choice of his going by water, as I cannot accompany him myself by land—a satisfaction I wished much to have enjoyed, and what I have had in view for a long while, but being now within a few days of leaving this for York in my way for England, will prevent me the pleasure of seeing

* Williamson's History of Maine, ii. 435.

you and that of delivering up my Dear Child into your care, which I now do, with all the endearing and tender feelings of a Father, earnestly requesting you to receive him in that light. His Aunt accompanies him in the desire of seeing him safe with you, and I shall leave directions with Mr. Thompson (one of his Guardians) to pay you the Charge of his Yearly Board and Education: every other necessary will be sent to him by Miss Peak and other friends, whom you will be pleased to correspond with in my absence. I have sent a Black Servant of my own in order to assist you in the care of him. This man has been mine for the last 8 years, and I hope he will behave so as to become useful to you as well as the child, and I have laid my Commands on him to obey you the same as myself, and not to do anything or move from your House without your leave. Whatever Quarter my professional Duty may call me will not prevent my Corresponding with you, and I beg you will write often, and put your Letters under Cover to Alex^r. Thompson, Esq^r. at Halifax, and he will forward them to James Sykes, Esq^r. Crutched Friars, London, where they will be taken care of. The indulgence of a very tender Mother and other friends over the Boy I am fearful may occasion you and Mrs. Bailey more trouble before he forgets it than I wish he should, but I hope in time his natural disposition will appear, and so far as may be comprehended from his infant years I am in hopes he will not give more than what may be expected. The wind coming favourable this morning hurries me in hopes of the Vessels getting away. My respectful Compliments wait on Mrs. Bailey, I present the same to you and am,

Rev'd Dear Sir,

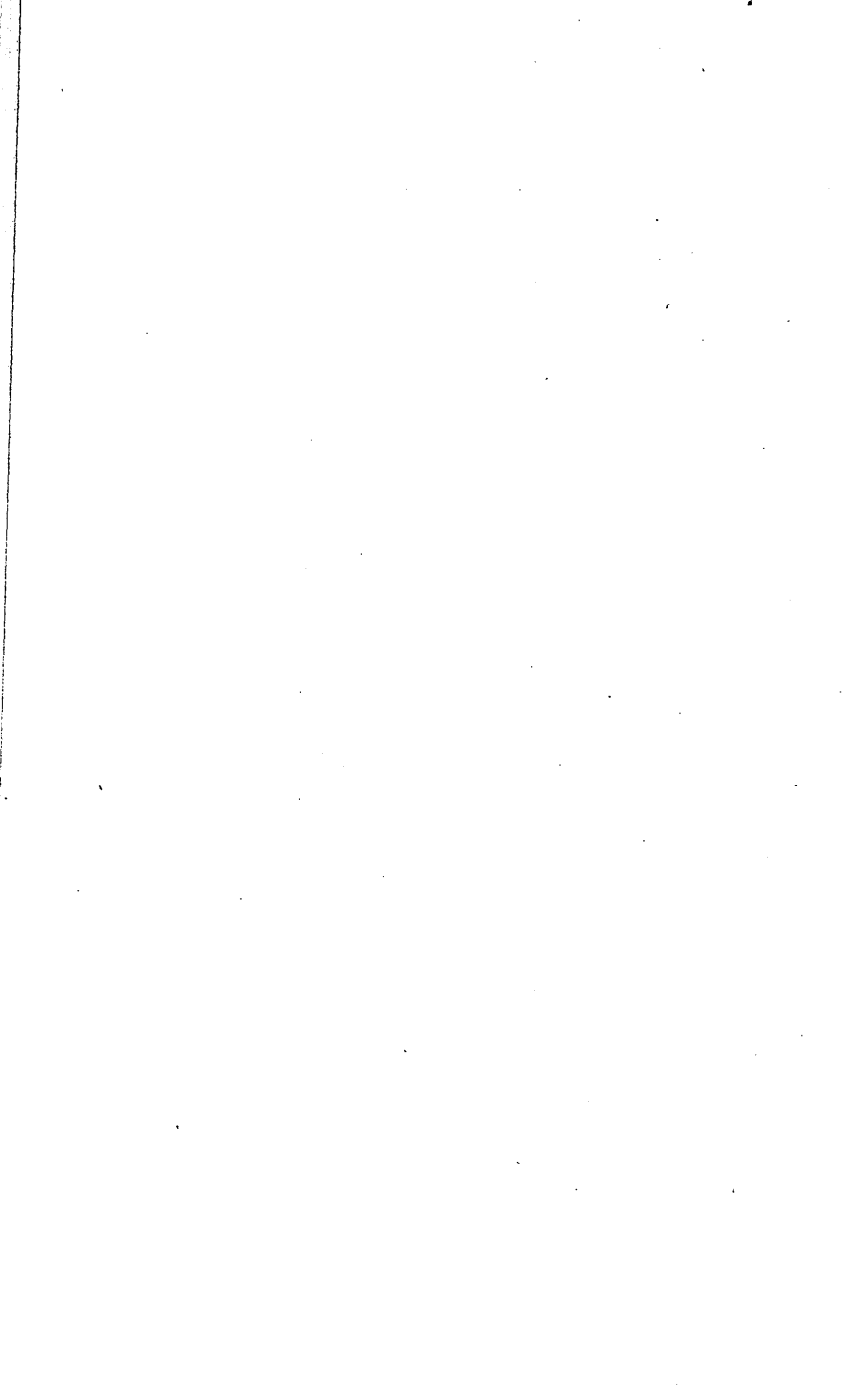
Your most obedient

Humble servant,

H. MOWAT.

Rev. Mr. Bailey, Annapolis."

It should be stated that the chirography of the above letter is such that it would be creditable to any person.



APPENDIX. .

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, POWNALBOROUGH.

Of those who may have been interested in this narrative, some, doubtless, will be desirous to learn the history of St. John's Parish, Pownalborough, after Mr. Bailey's departure. At that time both the church and parsonage were standing. It is necessary to mention this, since a somewhat different impression has prevailed. Among other mis-statements made in a newspaper article in July, 1848, is the following: "Then they" (i. e. the Whigs) "took the remedy into their own hands: they demolished the church, tore down the priest's house, and drove him out of town." An exploit, (which, if it ever happened,) would no doubt have conferred all due honor on the valiant actors in it! The article continues: "He and Episcopacy never appeared there afterwards."

We will now state some of the facts in the case:—Nathaniel Bailey, brother of the subject of this Memoir, removed into the parsonage house immediately after it was vacated by its former tenants, in June, 1779, and remained in it nearly a year. Major Samuel Goodwin wrote to Mr. Bailey, under date of Pownalborough, June 9th, 1784. This letter contained a subscription paper, which he wished Mr. Bailey to circulate in order to collect funds for the purpose to be mentioned. The paper states, that "after Mr. Bailey went away some persons began to take the windows out of St. John's Church, Pownalborough, and did carry one off, so we were obliged to take all the rest down. The house is stripped and running to ruin.

If not repaired, both church and house will be lost. We being a frontier town, are, by the late wars, reduced so low that we are not able to repair them without the charity of our good friends to help us." The same person also wrote to Mr. Bailey, October 5th, 1785: "Our church is all going to pieces, the roof is coming down, the rafters and beams broke with heavy snows last winter. What application can we make to Dr. Seabury? I wrote to the Rev. Sam'l Parker for advice last year, but no answer." Under date of June 7th, 1787, Major Goodwin writes: "John Sylvester (John) Gardiner reads prayers and sermons on the Lord's day."

This appears to be the last intelligence concerning Mr. Bailey's Parish on the Kennebec during his life. It will be remembered that while he resided there, attempts had been made at more than one time to establish a Congregational Society in that part of the town. But twenty-two years elapsed after his departure before this measure was effected. A meeting-house for this denomination was built about a mile distance from the site of St. John's Church.* Their first and only minister remained with them about twenty-five years, and then left. The house has at various times since been occupied by Universalists. Previous to this, *i. e.*, in 1794, this part of the township, which was called the West Precinct of Pownalborough, was incorporated into a town by the name of DRESDEN. The other portions were called *Wiscassett*, and New Milford, (till changed, in 1811, to *Alma*.)

Within a few years a small settlement has grown up about three-fourths of a mile easterly of the spot formerly occupied by St. John's Church. Near this settlement a small Methodist meeting-house has been built, and a "Union meeting-house" has been erected in this village.

On Whitsunday, June 11, 1848, Evening Service of the P. Episcopal Church was held in the Union meeting-house spoken of by the Rt. Rev. George Burgess, D. D., who had been consecrated the year previous as the first Bishop of the Dio-

* Although this Society was incorporated in 1793, it was not till 1801 that the Congregational Church was organized and Rev. Freeman Parker was ordained.—*Greenleaf's Eccl. Sketches*, p. 151.

cese of Maine. Arrangements were also made for the establishment of a Sunday School under the charge of a Candidate for Orders.

During the long interval which followed the last performance of the services of the church in this town, the territory occupied by the church building, and that reclaimed from the wilderness for a garden by the Rev. Mr. Bailey, had relapsed almost into its primitive state. The foundations of the sacred edifice are still visible, as are also the rough flat stones* erected at the graves of the old parishioners. The cellar of the parsonage is still distinctly to be seen. The company which had given the land embracing the territory named, and a glebe, had closed their concerns. After their right to this property had been legally determined it was sold, and the income was to be applied to the support of an Episcopal minister, when one should be settled in Dresden, and until then to a resident Congregational minister. The minister of this denomination, before alluded to, enjoyed the benefit of this fund for a time. On the cessation of that persuasion, the fund was left to accumulate, ready for its originally intended use.

The new Parish of St. John's, Dresden, was organized in the presence of the Bishop of the Diocese, January 26th, 1849, and admitted into the Union with the Convention of Maine at its next session. Rev. Edwin W. Murray was appointed Missionary to this Parish, and entered upon his labors in October of the year last named.

In 1850 the ladies of Christ Church, Gardiner, presented to St. John's Church a set of Communion Plate, and a handsome Bible and Prayer Books for the desk.

Rev. Mr. Murray resigned the Rectorship of the Parish in 1850, and his place was supplied by Rev. W. H. C. Robertson. After an absence of two years Mr. Murray returned, and is now engaged in this, his first field of labor.

On the 17th of November, 1852, the "Union meeting-house," before spoken of, was consecrated to the worship of God,

* The grave of one of the last Vestrymen of St. John's has white marble grave stones. One of them is inscribed as follows: Mr. George Goud, died May 18, 1826, Æ 91.

according to the rites and usages of the Protestant Episcopal Church. On this occasion the Bishop of the Diocese preached from 1 Kings xviii. 30: "And he repaired the altar of the Lord that was broken down."

CHURCH AT GEORGETOWN.

"The town of Georgetown was incorporated in 1718, and then included all the territory within the present limits of Bath, Woolwich and Phippsburg.*" Fort St. George, erected by the colony of 1607, was in the present town of Phippsburg. That fort contained a church. Thus it will follow that the Episcopal Church, which was formed in the last century within the bounds of ancient Georgetown, as above described may be considered as the legitimate successor of the first Protestant congregation which ever existed in the Northern United States.

The notices of this Church, scattered throughout the foregoing Biography, and the sketches of the Rev. Messrs. MacClenachan and Wheeler, in the Notes, contain nearly all the information that it has been possible to gather of the condition of this Parish up to the time of the Rev. Mr. Bailey's leaving the country. The following is the only report that Mr. Wheeler is known to have sent to England:—

"The Rev. Mr. Wheeler, in his letter of Nov. 20th, 1769, acquaints the Society that his Parish extends near twenty miles westward and twelve miles eastward. That there are about 200 families; some Presbyterians, some Independents, and some Papists. His people have erected the frame of a church since his coming; he has statedly preached twice on Sundays, besides giving lectures on week days, and has baptized twenty-eight children."

The mention of the church building in the above extract reminds us to speak of its locality. The Kennebec River runs in a very direct course by the present city of Bath. This fea-

* Maine Historical Collections, ii. 202.

ture of the river at this place caused the territory on its banks to be called by the early settlers Long Reach. At some distance below the city the Kennebec turns suddenly at right angles, and then quickly resumes its previous southerly course. It was at this point that the church spoken of was erected.

The family of the Lithgows, some of whom were conspicuous in the colonial times in this part of the Province, erected, in 1766, a spacious and what was then, doubtless, considered to be an elegant mansion very near the church.* Some years since the house and farm passed into other hands. When the present proprietors took possession of their property the church was standing. They describe the church as "a low building, with a double floor, but no marks of pews upon it. The only ornament was a simple beading upon the tie beams." The churchyard has been ploughed up, and barns and barnyards occupy its place. The church itself was used as a barn, till a portion of it having blown down and killed a valuable animal, the remainder of the building was demolished. The sacred edifice was situated but a few rods from the river, some distance from any settlement. This fact shows that in the absence of any county roads, the river was the highway of the inhabitants, and the small boat their usual means of travelling. Tradition still commemorates the pious life and conversation of a lady of the Drummond family, who was baptized in this church, and who has but recently deceased.

Within three miles of the site of this church, and in the city of Bath, an Episcopal congregation has been gathered, which has attained to a considerable degree of strength and prosperity, and now occupies a church building, which was consecrated January 19th, 1853. It is to be hoped that it may prove to be the continuation of the former Church in Georgetown, as the new parish in Dresden is the resuscitation of St. John's Church, Pownalborough. Should this be so, the ante Revolutionary churches in Maine, will, after a long interval, again exist, conferring their blessings upon some of the descendants of those who formerly worshipped in the words of the same liturgy.

* Rev. Mr. Wheeler resided for a while in the Lithgow house, as appears from one of his letters to Rev. Jacob Bailey.

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, PORTLAND.

All the information which the present writer has of the early history of Episcopacy in the above place, is derived from a daily Journal, kept by Rev. Thomas Smith, Pastor of the First Congregational Society of Falmouth, which was the ante Revolutionary name of a township, part of which now forms the city of Portland. His Journal, with the very full Notes of William Willis, Esq., in his edition, 1849, have furnished most of the material for the following account.

In the summer of 1754, Governor Shirley, accompanied by several persons of distinction, embarked at Boston in the Province frigate Massachusetts, for the purpose of meeting the Norridgewock Indians at Falmouth, and forming a treaty with them. Rev. Charles Brockwell was then Assistant Minister of King's Chapel, Boston, a Church in which Gov. Shirley was a worshipper. Mr. Brockwell was probably in the company which attended the Governor. The Journal before spoken of contains the following:—

"June 26, 1754. The Governor got in this morning.

"June 30. (*Sunday*.) Parson Brockwell preached here A. M., and carried on in the Church form.

* * * * *

"July 14. Mr. Brockwell preached."

More than nine years passed away and no further notice of the Episcopal Church is to be found.

Nov. 4th, 1763, forty-one persons entered into a written agreement to procure a lot of land and to build "a meeting house for Divine Service." In July, of the following year, an increased number expressed, in writing, under their hands their desire "that the worship to be carried on in said house should be agreeable to the laws of Great Britain."

"July 23, 1764. The new meeting men had a meeting and declared for the Church. They have been in a sad toss since the Parish meeting, and made great uproar, getting to signify for the Church. They began to frame the house.

"Aug. 31. There is a sad uproar about Wiswell, who has

declared for the Church, and accepted, (a day or two since,) of a call our Churchmen have given him to be their minister.

"*Sept. 2. (Sunday.)* A great day this. Mr. Hooper* preached to our new Church people, and baptized several children.

"*Sept. 3d.* The corner stone of the Church was laid by the Wardens, who, with their officers, were chosen to-day.

"*Sept. 9.* Mr. Wiswell preached in the Town House.

"*Sept. 30.* Mr. Wiswell preached in the Court House to-day to a small company.

"*Oct. 8.* Mr. Wiswell sailed in the Mast ship, Capt. Haggett," (to England,) for Episcopal Ordination.

Mr. Wiswell returned from England and commenced his labors in St. Paul's Parish. In the conflagration of the town in 1775, by Capt. Mowat, the church was burned and the minister left. The services of Mr. Parker, as lay reader, were engaged in 1785 and continued for about two years. Mr. Thomas Oxnard succeeded, and officiated in a similar capacity for the next five years. After him Mr. Joseph Hooper acted as lay reader for about a year. These services were held in hired rooms till 1787, when a wooden church was built.

After the discontinuance of Mr. Hooper's services, there were no regular exercises until 1797, when Rev. Joseph Warren took charge of the Parish and remained till 1800. Rev. Timothy Hilliard succeeded him the next year and continued as minister till 1809.

During the incumbency of Mr. Hilliard, in 1803, the wooden church was abandoned for one built of brick. After Mr. Hilliard's resignation, there were occasional services, only, for some years. Rev. G. W. Olney officiated during the summer of 1817. Rev. P. S. Tenbroeck was instituted in 1818, and was Rector for the succeeding thirteen years. He was followed, after two years intermission, by Rev. G. W. Chapman, D. D., who left in 1835.

Rev. A. H. Vinton was Rector a few months till about

*Rev. William Hooper, of Trinity Church, Boston, who Mr. Smith says, Aug. 30, "came here yesterday."

Easter, 1836. Rev. Thomas M. Clark officiated during the summer of that year and was succeeded by Rev. John N. French, who continued during the next three years. In 1839 St. Paul's Parish having become embarrassed, St. Stephen's Parish was formed. The property of the former was purchased by the latter society. Rev. James Pratt became Rector in 1840.

In 1851, a second Parish was organized in Portland under the name of St. Luke's, of which Rt. Rev. Horatio Southgate D. D., was the first Rector.

CHRIST CHURCH, GARDINER.

To Dr. Sylvester Gardiner this Church is indebted for its origin and liberal patronage. He erected, at his own expense, a church and parsonage in 1772, which was dedicated by Rev. Jacob Bailey, August 16th, of that year. The church had a spire, but was unfinished at the time of the American Revolution. It would seem that it also was furnished with a bell for at the Easter meeting, in 1773, of King's Chapel, Boston, it was voted "that the old bell, with the Appurtenances, be given to the Saint Ann's Church, Gardinerston."* In 1793 a Parish was incorporated by the name of the Episcopal Society, in Pittston, that name having been previously given to the town which had been incorporated, embracing lands on both sides of the Kennebec River. As soon as the Parish was incorporated the executors of Dr. Gardiner proceeded to complete the church edifice, and the Rev. Joseph Warren was chosen Rector. The church, yet incomplete, was burned by an insane person. Another edifice took its place shortly after, which, though only partly finished, was occupied for public worship. Rev. Mr. Warren left in 1796, and he was succeeded by Rev. Mr. Bowers. Mr. Bowers removed to Marblehead in 1802. In the summer of that year Mr. N. Crocker read prayers three months. In 1803 that part

* Greenwood's History of King's Chapel, p. 132.

Pittston lying on the west side of the Kennebec River was incorporated into a new town by the name of Gardiner. Rev. Samuel Haskell, Rector of Christ Church, Boston, became Rector of this Parish in 1803, and left in 1809. The church was closed for the following year, when it was opened under the ministrations of Mr. Aaron Humphrey, a Methodist minister, who more than a year afterwards was admitted to Holy Orders. Mr. Humphrey left in 1814. Rev. Mr. Leonard, of Vermont, officiated in the latter part of 1815. Rev. G. W. Olney became Rector in October, 1817. His popularity was so great that a larger church building was required in a short time. About this time an act was obtained changing the name of the Parish to Christ Church, Gardiner.

The new and elegant structure, built of stone, was consecrated October 19th, 1820. Its cost was rising \$14,000, and the land occupied by it was given to the Parish. Mr. Olney resigned the Rectorship in the spring of 1826, and was succeeded, temporarily, by Rev. B. C. C. Parker, who was followed by Rev. E. M. P. Wells. In the autumn of 1827, Mr. Wells resigned the Parish, and lay reading was again resorted to for a short time. The Rev. T. S. W. Mott officiated for a few weeks in the latter part of this year, but on account of ill health he withdrew to the south. The Rev. William Horton was minister during the winter, and in the spring, Rev. N. M. Jones officiated for a few weeks. In September, 1828, Rev. Mr. Mott was instituted as Rector of the Parish, but his health was such that he returned again to the south, having officiated but one Sunday. Rev. Lot Jones was engaged to supply Rev. Mr. Mott's place during his absence. Mr. Jones left in May, and was immediately succeeded by Rev. Isaac Peck. Mr. Mott having resigned the Parish, Mr. Peck was chosen Rector in April, 1830. In October of the following year Mr. Peck resigned his Rectorship. In the spring of 1831, Rev. Joel Clap took charge of the Parish, and held it nine years, when he removed from the State. Rev. William R. Babcock entered upon his duties as Rector in October, 1840. He resigned his office in 1847, and was succeeded by Rt. Rev. George Burgess, D. D., first Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Maine.

KITTERY.

A church building was erected in that part of Kittery now called Elliot, near the banks of the Piscataqua, and about six miles from Portsmouth. Rev. Arthur Brown, Rector of Queen's Chapel, in the last named place, occasionally officiated in this church, and reported to the Venerable Society that in Kittery there were fifteen communicants of the Church of England. For many years Mr. Brown received from the Venerable Society £15 sterling per annum for officiating at Kittery, in addition to £60 sterling, his stipend as Missionary at Portsmouth. Mr. Brown died in 1773.

The "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," contains (vol. iv. p. 38) the following article:—

"The following is the inscription upon the tomb-stone of the Minister of the Episcopal Church in Kittery, near Elliot, which Church, it is supposed, became extinct at the time of his death. The grave is in a field belonging to Mr. Fernald.

"'Here Lyes Buried the Body of the Rev'd Mr. John Eveleth, who departed this Life Aug. 1st Anno: Dom: 1734, aged 65 years.'

"Epitaphs from South Berwick, &c., communicated for the Register, by Mr. John S. H. Fogg, of South Berwick, Me."

Mr. Eveleth was not a clergyman of the Episcopal Church. The following is stated on the authority of Rev. Joseph B. Felt, Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society:—

"Rev. John Eveleth was the son of Joseph Eveleth, who belonged to Ipswich, Mass. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1689, preached as a Congregational minister at Manchester, Mass.; was ordained in that denomination at Stow in 1700, dismissed in 1717, settled at Kennebunk Port, dismissed 1729, and was at the latter place 1732."

The compiler of the present Memoir would not have inserted this Note were it not that a tradition is current in the neighborhood of Mr. Eveleth's burying place, similar to the statement furnished to the N. E. Historical and Genealogical

Register. As the article copied from the Register may tend to extend and perpetuate an erroneous idea, it seemed desirable to correct it in a work treating of the Ecclesiastical History of Maine.

PROSPECT.

Williamson says,* in speaking of the town of Prospect: †
“Before the war of the Revolution, Thomas Goldthwait and Francis Bernard, son of the Governor, took from the Waldo proprietors a grant of 2,700 acres, near the southerly part of the town; in consideration of which, they engaged to settle thirty families and an Episcopal minister, and to build a church. They did, indeed, rear a small brick chapel, and attempt a settlement; but being Tories, they, in the war, left their country and forfeited their property. The plantation continued, and in 1784 there were in Prospect twenty-four families.”

REV. WILLIAM W. WHEELER, MISSIONARY AT GEORGETOWN.

The subject of the following notice was the son of William Wheeler, and was born at Concord, Mass., Dec. 24th, 1734. He was a classmate of Rev. Jacob Bailey. In Mr. Bailey's Journals, during the time he was in college, mention is made of a visit he paid to Mr. Wheeler's family. This and subsequent notices show that the father of this gentleman was possessed of a large farm in Concord, and one of his daughters is described as a young lady of talent, and considerable literary attainment.

On the 18th November, 1765, Mr. Bailey wrote to Rev. Mr. Caner, minister of King's Chapel, Boston, as follows: “Since the Society have determined to send a Missionary to Georgetown, I would intreat you to look out for some suitable gentle-

* History of Maine, Vol. ii., p. 565.

† Prospect is on the Penobscot River, near its mouth.

man, that we may recommend for Orders as soon as possible I have wrote to one Mr. Wheeler of Concord, a classmate of mine, who several years ago was inclined to the Church. He sustains a good character, and it is probable, he will soon wait upon you for directions."

From a letter from Mr. Wheeler, dated Concord, Dec. 5th 1765, the following is taken. After expressing his friendly sentiments towards the Church of England, he says "I am constrained to return this answer, viz.: that if the proposals you mention are strictly and absolutely complied with, viz. if the people of Georgetown will enter into bonds to furnish the Missionary with £20 sterling per annum, and a dwelling-house, &c., beside the £50 sterling granted by the Society, I say, I will accept of it, and am willing to go for Ordination as soon as opportunity permits." A letter from Mr. Wheeler, Concord, May 17th, 1766, acknowledges the receipt of letters from Rev. Jacob Bailey, since the date of the letter just quoted. Mr. Wheeler assigns indisposition as the cause of his not before writing or visiting Kennebec. He says: "I have waited upon the Rev. Dr. Caner, (for such he is now,) and Dr. Gardiner, and find them both very friendly and kind, and much of gentlemen. Since I received your last, I have received a kind invitation to the westward, to Marlborough and Hopkinton, of the same nature as your's, by a letter from a gentleman there, and he begs that I would see him before I come to the eastward." From a letter from Mr. Wheeler in November of this year, it would seem that he had had an interview with Mr. Butler, one of the principal Churchmen at Georgetown, and that probably an arrangement would be made for his going to that place. Mr. Wheeler says: "I am at present engaged to officiate at the Church in Cambridge. They have a minister appointed, Mr. Sergeant, but he is not expected until spring." Mr. Wheeler writes to Mr. Bailey from Boston, Aug. 5th, 1767: "The Society has been so good as to grant me £20 sterling for my services at Cambridge besides what the people gave me, which is very kind and unexpected to me."

Mr. Wheeler was recommended to the Society by the clergy

in Convention assembled in Boston, June 17, 1767. The Rev. Secretary of the Venerable Society adds a postscript to his letter of Dec. 1767, in which he says: "Mr. Wheeler is arrived and will be ordained for Georgetown very soon." He returned from England, having received Holy Orders there, and arrived in Boston, in the ship *Boscawen*, Capt. Jacobson, in May, 1768.

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Mr. Wheeler died at Scituate, January 14th, 1810, aged 75 years.

The present writer has no means of forming an estimate of his character. Soon after his death an obituary notice appeared in one of the Boston newspapers. This notice is devoted mainly to praising his political principles, and if the writer's ignorance of the character of Mr. Wheeler is to be measured by his ignorance of some of the leading facts in the clerical life of the subject of his sketch, but little reliance can be placed upon this obituary notice.

man, that we may recommend for Orders as soon as possible. I have wrote to one Mr. Wheeler of Concord, a classmate of mine, who several years ago was inclined to the Church. He sustains a good character, and it is probable, he will soon wait upon you for directions."

From a letter from Mr. Wheeler, dated Concord, Dec. 5th, 1765, the following is taken. After expressing his friendly sentiments towards the Church of England, he says "I am constrained to return this answer, viz.: that if the proposals you mention are strictly and absolutely complied with, viz. if the people of Georgetown will enter into bonds to furnish the Missionary with £20 sterling per annum, and a dwelling-house, &c., beside the £50 sterling granted by the Society, I say, I will accept of it, and am willing to go for Ordination as soon as opportunity permits." A letter from Mr. Wheeler, Concord, May 17th, 1766, acknowledges the receipt of letters from Rev. Jacob Bailey, since the date of the letter just quoted. Mr. Wheeler assigns indisposition as the cause of his not before writing or visiting Kennebec. He says: "I have waited upon the Rev. Dr. Caner, (for such he is now,) and Dr. Gardiner, and find them both very friendly and kind, and much of gentlemen. Since I received your last, I have received a kind invitation to the westward, to Marlboro and Hopkinton, of the same nature as your's, by a letter from a gentleman there, and he begs that I would see him before I come to the eastward." From a letter from Mr. Wheeler in November of this year, it would seem that he had had an interview with Mr. Butler, one of the principal Churchmen at Georgetown, and that probably an arrangement would be made for his going to that place. Mr. Wheeler says: "I am at present engaged to officiate at the Church in Cambridge. They have a minister appointed, Mr. Sergeant, but he is not expected until spring." Mr. Wheeler writes to Mr. Bailey from Boston, Aug. 5th, 1767: "The Society has been so good as to grant me £20 sterling for my services at Cambridge besides what the people gave me, which is very kind and unexpected to me."

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SILVESTER GARDINER, M. D.

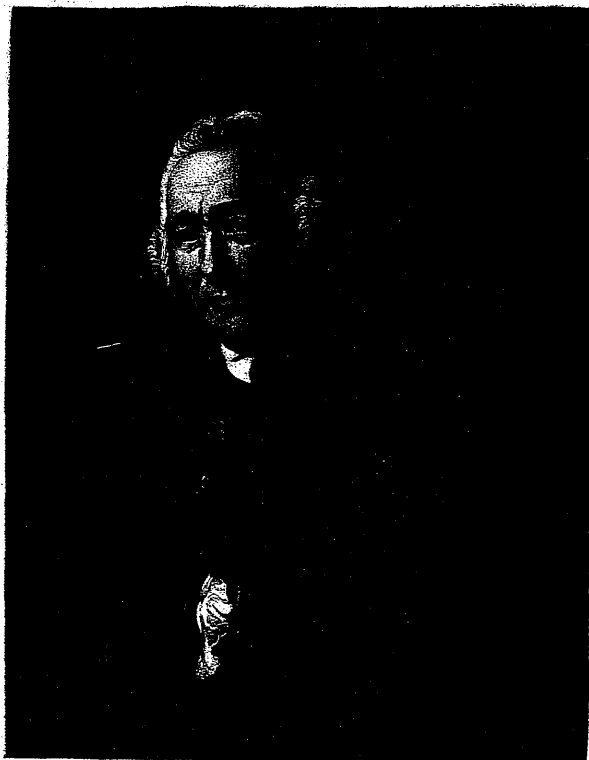
The important part that this gentleman took in promoting the interests of the Episcopal Church in Maine, before the Revolution entitles him to a more particular mention than is made in the text.

Among the families of note who settled Boston Neck, now in the town of Kingston, R. I., was the Gardiner family. William, a grandson of the original settler of that name, was born in 1671. The fourth of his seven children, who was born in 1707, is the subject of this notice. The marriage of his sister, Hannah, with the Rev. James McSparran, (afterward D. D.,) had a great influence on his future life.

Mr. McSparran, perceiving the abilities and tastes of his brother-in-law, persuaded his father to give him a liberal education. It having been settled that the expenses necessary to this should be deducted from Silvester's share of the paternal estate, he was sent to school in Boston, and afterwards instructed by Mr. McSparran. He decided upon the practice of medicine as his future profession.

At that time great difficulties lay in the way of medical students. No hospitals nor schools of medicine existed in America, public prejudice forbade dissections, and the law laid heavy penalties on any one who should seek to acquire the knowledge of Anatomy in the only proper way. No alternative presented itself to the ambitious student of the healing art, but to avail himself of those facilities in Europe, which were denied him in his own country. Silvester passed eight years in London and Paris, principally in the latter city, and acquired an amount and kind of medical knowledge which at that time were perhaps in possession of but few in his native country.

His religious principles, early inculcated, carried him safely through the licentiousness of French society, always great but more so at the time of his residence in Paris, which was in the early part of the reign of Louis XV., soon after the regency of the Duke of Orleans. The open profligacy that he



Copley Print.

H.W. Smith Sc.

your humble servant
Silas H. H. H.

SILVESTER GARDINER, M. D.

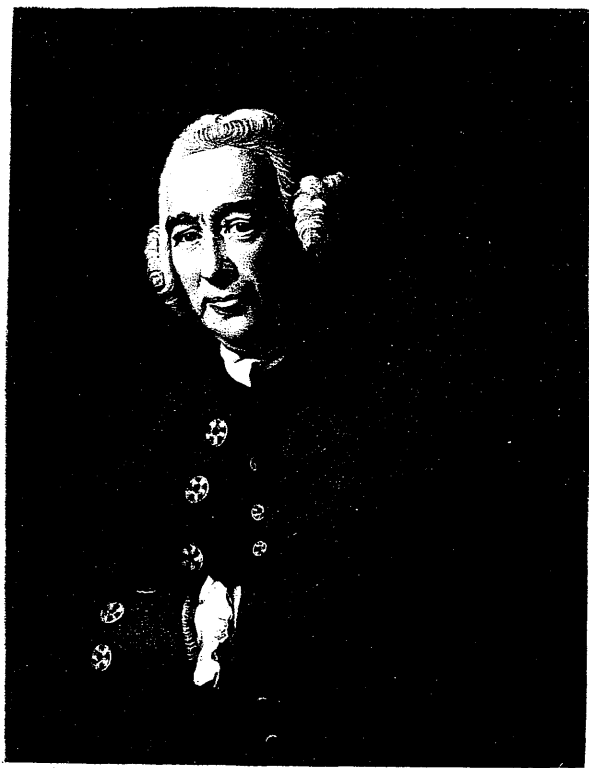
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your humble servant
Silw hawdiner,

had witnessed in France, gave him such a dislike to the nation, that in after life he would not consent that his children should be instructed in the French language, lest their minds should be corrupted by the literature of that country.

Upon his return he married Anne, daughter of Dr. Gibbons, a wealthy physician of Boston, and was soon engaged in that place in an extensive and lucrative practice. He also lectured on Anatomy, illustrating his lectures by preparations he had brought from Europe. He opened in Boston a large establishment for the sale and importation of drugs. By these means he acquired an immense estate.

Having become one of the proprietors of the Kennebec purchase, covering a tract of land from Bath to Norridgewock, some fifty miles in length, and extending fifteen miles on each side of the Kennebec River, he directed his energies to the improvement of that wilderness country. Almost the entire management of the affairs of the company was committed to him. He managed the trust with great energy and judgment, and at his own personal expense built houses and cleared farms which he well stocked, at the Chops of Merry-meeting Bay and Lynd's Island, Pittston, Winslow, and Pownalborough, at the latter of which places he built mills. The tract of land near the Cobbosee Contee River, was obtained by him of his associates, and he labored and expended much to bring it forward. He built houses, dams, and mills, at this place, now the city of Gardiner; introduced many settlers and advanced them means necessary to their establishment, amounting in the aggregate to a large sum, most of which was never repaid him.

He built a church and parsonage at Gardinerston, (as it was then called,) in 1772, but was interrupted in his benevolent labors by the political troubles of the time, and was obliged to leave the church uncompleted. He was one of the most active and efficient persons in building King's Chapel, Boston, and contributed largely to its erection, and was for many years one of its wardens.

Dr. Gardiner left Boston with the British army, when that town was evacuated. His property was all confiscated, but

owing to some legal informality the confiscation did not hold, and his estate descended to his heirs.

Dr. Gardiner died at Newport, August, 1786, in the 80th year of his age; the citizens, at his funeral, bestowing those marks of respect which evidenced their high estimation of his character. His remains were deposited under Trinity Church, in that place, and a monument, (with a Latin inscription, by his grandson, Rev. Dr. Gardiner, former Rector of Trinity Church, Boston,) has been erected to his memory in Christ Church, Gardiner, Maine. His agency in influencing Mr. Bailey to visit London to receive Holy Orders has been already named in the Memoir. To him it was owing that an Episcopal Missionary was sent to Pownalborough, a glebe given in that town, and a church and parsonage erected thereon. His building a church and parsonage at Gardiner, at his own expense, has been already mentioned. To that Parish he gave a glebe lot, which now yields a handsome income yearly. The church, not being completed at his decease, he directed in his will that it should be finished by his executors, and the expense charged to his estate, and he endowed it with a legacy of £28 sterling per annum, to be paid forever to the Rector. Says one, who knew him well: "But his piety was not shown only in these public acts. His family was the well ordered family of a Christian, from whose altar the morning and evening sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving regularly ascended. Believing the observances enjoined by the Church to be eminently calculated to afford spiritual sustenance to the soul, and to keep alive the spirit of piety, he strictly observed all its ordinances, its Festivals and Fasts, and on the greater Fasts spent the whole day, excepting what was occupied by family and public worship, in the retirement of his closet. During the latter years of his life, secluded from business, he spent much of his time in religious contemplation, and compiled a book of devotion, evidencing not only sterling piety and sincerity of purpose, but bearing the impress of a heart truly and deeply warmed with the love of Christ, and filled with that fervency of devotion which can only be the fruit of man's deep sense of his need of a Redeemer. He had a large

edition of this book printed at his own expense, and which he designed for gratuitous distribution."

A highly esteemed and respected friend has had the opportunity of perusing the little book above-named, which is entitled "A Daily Companion to the Closet;" a compilation of prayers, with a few hymns and practical dissertations; "the whole collected and compiled from the Common Prayer, and from some of the most pious writers. By a Layman. London: Printed for the Author; 1785." The friend alluded to expresses his high gratification at the perusal of this volume, as evidently the production of one of earnest, habitual prayer, and exercised with the deep convictions and sanctified desires of private, personal religion.

The Episcopal Church in Maine is under great obligations to Dr. Silvester Gardiner, for the warm interest he manifested in her, and the sacrifices and exertions he made in her behalf in the days of her weakness. It is very pleasant to know that he was deeply imbued with the spirit of the Gospel. The inscription on his monument, before named, fails to do him justice in this particular, and the writer of this sketch delights to have it in his power to be enabled to convey, however feebly, a more true picture of his religious character.

Contribution to the list of Three Hundred Ministers, of the different denominations, who have entered the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States:—

Rt. Rev. EDWARD BASS, of Newburyport, Mass.

See Biographical Sketch.

Rev. WILLIAM MCCLENNATHAN.

Note D to the foregoing Memoir.

Rev. JACOB BAILEY.

See foregoing Memoir.

Rev. WILLIAM W. WHEELER.

Rev. JOHN WISWALL.

Willis Smith's Journal, p. 150, Note 1.

Rev. JOHN RUGGLES COTTING, of Waldoborough, Me.

In 1812 "he changed his sentiments, and became an Episcopalian."

Greenleaf's Ecclesiastical Sketches, p. 175.

Rev. WILLIAM CLARKE, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Dedham, Mass.

Authority: *Rev. S. B. Babcock's Letter*, Aug. 9, 1851.

Rev. JOSHUA WINGATE WEEKS, Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, Mass.

See Biographical Sketch.

ABSTRACT OF SERMONS.

The compiler of this Memoir, feeling desirous of forming a correct estimate of Mr. Bailey's literary qualifications and religious views, made a careful abstract of most of his sermons which came into his possession. He had written on the abstract the words: *The following is not intended for publication.* But a friend, well qualified to advise in such matters, wished him to strike out the words above-named and hand the abstract, with other "copy," to the printer. My clerical brethren can appreciate the labor necessary to make an analysis of such a large number of sermons, many of them imperfect, and some not easy to be deciphered; and if an error in judgment has been committed, they will, it is believed, pardon it, in consideration of the nature of the task which I imposed upon myself.

St. Luke xxii. 44. On the sufferings of Christ. 1759.
A quotation is made in this discourse from "an Ancient Father, on the wide extent of the efficacy of Christ's sufferings." The divinity of Christ and his equality with the Father, are emphatically set forth in this sermon. [This discourse is numbered eight by Mr. Bailey.]

Preached in
Gloucester
and Cape
Ann Harbor,
March and
August.
No. 1.

1 *Chronicles* xxviii. 9. [Imperfect.]

Hampton,
Falls, J'e 3d.
No. 2.

Hebrews ix. 26. Christ's sacrifice.

No. 3.

Psalms i. Exposition of this Psalm. [Imperfect.]

No. 4.

Imperfect. This MS. contains also a list of books distributed by order of Venerable Society, sundry baptisms, and memos. of the sickness of Mr. Bailey.

1760.
No. 5.

The greater part of a Thanksgiving Sermon: "this is the first opportunity that ever presented of having a Thanksgiving celebrated in this place." Attacks

1761.
Frankfort.
Dec'r 3d.
No. 6.

by Indians. "These events, we all know, have frequently happened in this country till the present and the year past."

1762.
Frankfort,
ecember.
No. 6a.

Psalm cxvii. 1st and part of 2d verse. A Thanksgiving Sermon. I. Consider the various instances of Divine goodness: 1. In continuing the life and prosperity of our Sovereign; 2. In the preservation of the Queen and the birth of a Prince; 3. Continuance of our civil and religious liberties; 4. In success of our armies, both by sea and land, *e. g.* conquest of Havana, expulsion of the French from Newfoundland, the capture of several ships of war from the French and Spaniards; 5. The prospect of a honorable and lasting peace.

Frankfort,
August 29th.
No. 6b.

Psalm viii. Exposition of this Psalm.

1763.
Frankfort,
July 16th.
No. 7.
No. 8.

Proverbs x. 19. Sins of the tongue.

Frankfort,
June 10th.
No. 9.

Esther vii. 6. Guilt the cause of fear. Example of Haman.

1764.
Frankfort,
March 22d.
No. 10.

St. Matthew v. 37. A proper use of the tongue enjoined. [This sermon was corrected by Rev. J. W. Weeks, Numbered 2.]

Place and
date want'g.
No. 11.

Part of a Christmas Sermon. St. Chrysostom quoted.

1765.
Frankfort,
March 1st.
No. 12.

Daniel iv. 30. On self-conceit. [Numbered 11.]

Frankfort,
July 12th.
No. 13.

Proverbs xxvi. 12. On self-conceit. [Numbered 21.]

1766.
Frankfort,
Febr'y 21st.
No. 14.

Genesis xix. 26. Punishment of Lot's wife. [This sermon was corrected by Rev. J. W. Weeks.]

- Acts* xvii. 25 to 28. A Fast Day Sermon. Frankfort, April 24th. No. 15.
- Genesis* xx. 11. The fear of the Lord. 2d division: When any person and place may be said to be destitute of the fear of the Lord. 1. When the inhabitants of any place are addicted to *intemperance and immodesty*; 2. When they give themselves up to *profane swearing*; 3. When a spirit of lying universally prevails; 4. When they give themselves up to *slander*, revile and backbite their neighbors; 5. When a spirit of *contention and quarrelling* prevails; 6. When they live in the *neglect of the worship of God*. No. 16.
- St. John* xvi. 2d and 3d verses. On persecution 1767.
[A correction made by Rev. J. W. Weeks. Numbered 6, by Mr. B.] Pownalboro, May 28th. No. 17.
- 2d article of the *Apostle's Creed*. Exposition of the same. [No. 2.] Frankfort, August 9th. No. 17a.
- 1 *Corinthians* ix. part of 24th verse. The Christian race. 1768.
Frankfort, previous to Febr'y 5th. No. 17b.
- St. John* v. 39. Search the Scriptures. [No. 2.] Frankfort, Febr'y 5th. No. 17c.
- Joshua* vii. 25. Wicked men cause all the trouble, &c., of the world; but they shall be punished here or hereafter. [Numbered 2 by Mr. Bailey.] Pownalboro, July 9th. No. 18.
- Joshua* ix. 22, 23. Sin of deceiving another. [This is headed Scripture History, No. , by Mr. Bailey.] Frankfort, July 28th. No. 19.
- Romans* xi. 20. On self conceit. [No. 4.] Frankfort, August 17th. No. 20.
- Ruth* iv. 13. Character of Boaz. 1769.
Frankfort, Sept. 7th. No. 21.
- 2 *Samuel* xviii. 33. Conduct of Absalom, his death; 1770.

Frankfort, King David's grief; cause of this grief—a belief
August 18th. that Absalom would be eternally punished.
No. 22.

No. 23. Part of a sermon on love to God.

Pown'lboro' *Ecclesiastes* v. 1, 2. Sermon at the Consecration
Nov. 4th. of St. John's Church, Pownalborough: 1st, the se
No. 24. sons; 2d, the places; 3d, the manner; 4th, the d
sign; and 5th, the importance of Public Worship
[Prefixed to this sermon is "A Prayer at the dedica
tion of St. John's Church, Pownalborough."]

1771.

Pownalboro, *Proverbs* iii. 25. Shame the promotion of fools
Nov. 18th.
No. 25.

1772.

Pown'lboro, *St. Matthew* v. 44. The duty of benevolence.
April 23d.

No. 26.
Pown'lboro, *Hebrews* xii. 7. Duties of fathers to their children
May 27th.
No. 27.

Pown'lboro' *St. Matthew* iv. 19 and 20. Duty of following
June 20th. Christ.
No. 28.

Pown'lboro' *Job* iv. 14. On the nature and advantages
July 17th. Fear. Part first.
No. 29.

Pownalboro' *Isaiah* li. 7. On the excesses of Fear. Part second
No. 30.

Pown'lboro' *St. Matthew* xiii. 7. The vanities which hinder
Nov. 18th. the Gospel taking effect in the hearts of men. Part
No. 31. fourth.

Pown'lboro' *Revelations* (?) —. —. Probably for All Saints
Nov. 1st. Day. Account of Popish persecutions.
No. 32.

Pown'lboro' *St. John* iv. 48. Causes of unbelief. [Original
No. 33. prayer added.]

Pown'lboro' *St. Matthew* xxi. 11. The necessity of a Redeemer
Advent Sun-
day. No. 34. er. "I shall at present endeavour to shew the necessity

sity of a Redeemer, and then, in a number of discourses, consider and explain the nature of this great redemption." [Original prayer added, marked: "Before sermon."]

St. Luke ii. 14. 1st. Value of Peace. 2d. Methods to obtain and preserve it. 3d. Exhortation. Pown'lboro' Dec. 24th. No. 35.

St. Matthew xxi. 5. Kingly office of Christ. Pown'lboro' Dec. 29th. No. 36.

Job xxx. 23. Feelings of various classes of sinners at the approach of death. 1773. Pown'lboro' Jan. 20th. No. 37.

St. Matthew xiii. 7. A fondness for popular applause is one of those things which choke the good seed. Pown'lboro' May 6th. No. 38.

II. *Samuel* xii. 31. Character of David. Caution to be used in estimating the characters of Scripture personages. Pown'lboro' July 2d. No. 39.

St. Matthew xii. 31, 32. The sin against the Holy Ghost. Pown'lboro' July 8th. No. 40.

Acts i. 1 to 6. "An exposition of the Acts of the Apostles." [No. 1.] Pown'lboro' August 11th. No. 41.

Proverbs iii. 17. The pleasure derived from the practice of virtue. Pown'lboro' Sept. 29th. No. 42.

St. Matthew xiii. 8. Parable of the good ground. Pown'lboro' No. 43.

St. Matthew xiii. 8. Part II. of same discourse. Pown'lboro' No. 44.

St. Matthew xv. 18. Caution against following those who attempt to spread new and unauthorized opinions. 1774. Pown'lboro' June 25th. No. 45.

- Pown'lboro' *St. Matthew* xviii. 27. Forgiveness of injuries.
 July 7th.
 No. 46.
- Pown'lboro' *St. Matthew* xviii. 31 to 35. Aimed against the
 July 8th. practice of creditors imprisoning their poor debtors.
 No. 47.
- Pown'lboro' *St. Matthew* xx. 16. God has a right to deal with
 July 14th. His creatures according to His own pleasure.
 No. 48.
- Pown'lboro' *St. Matthew* xxi. 28 to 31. Parable of the two
 July 16th. sons.
 No. 49.
- Pown'lboro' *St. Matthew* xix. 19. Love of our country and
 July 21st. benevolence.
 No. 50.
- Pown'lboro' *St. Matthew* xxii. 7. Consequences of neglecting
 August 24th. the offers of salvation. [Refers to a former discourse
 No. 51. on the same subject.]
- No. 52. Two lectures on the right training of children.
 No. 53.
- No. 54. Want of interest in religion.
- No. 55. Persecutions that holy men have suffered.
- No. 56. The case of Cornelius. [Corrected by Rev. J. W.
 Weeks.]
- No. 57. 2 *Samuel* i. 16. David's nobleness of conduct
 proposed for imitation.
- No. 58. Shortness and uncertainty of life. [Imperfect.]
- No. 59. Death and future judgment. [Imperfect.]
- No. 60. Robbing God of His glory. [Imperfect.]
- No. 61. Dangers arising from national victories. [Imperfect.]

1 *Kings* xvii. 13 and 14. God will reward us for acts of charity and mercy. Three other points enlarged upon in former sermons from this text. No. 62.

Genesis vi. part of 3d vs. Danger of being connected with persons of vicious characters. [Imperfect.] No. 63.

Attributes of God. [Imperfect.] No. 64.

2 *Kings* x. part of 16th vs. True and false zeal. [Imperfect.] No. 65.

Romans viii. part of 28th vs. 1st. Concerning those who love God. 2d. The reasons for believing that all things should work together for your good. No. 66.

Exodus xx. 16. On the ninth commandment. No. 67.

Philippians ii. 5th to 10th vs. Exposition. [Imperfect.] No. 68.

Genesis. Sketches of some of the prominent persons in this book. Chapter i. Life and character of Eve. Chapter ii. Life of Adah. Chapter iii. Life of Zillah. Chapter iv. Life of Naamah. Character of antediluvians. Chapter v. Life of Sarah. [Written in a flowing style, though disfigured by some ideas and expressions not in good taste.] No. 69.

A prayer offered at the execution of criminals. No. 70.

1 *St. Peter* iii. 12. 1st. God's favour to the righteous. 2d. His displeasure against the wicked. No. 71.

Deuteronomy, iv. 39. Duty of Knowledge and consideration. No. 72.

No. 73. *Deuteronomy* iv. 39. Same subject continued.

No. 74. *St. Luke* xiii. 4. Against rash judgments.

Probably a
Thanksgiving Sermon.
No. 75. 1. Reflect a little upon the calamities of war in general; 2. Give a short history of the Spanish proceedings in America, with a particular view to the Island of Cuba; 3. To take notice of the remarkable successes of the English in some of the preceding, as well as in this late expedition. In 1758, Louisburg taken; in 1759, capture of Quebec; in 1760, conquest of all Canada; Havana taken, August, 1762. "Let us then this day rejoice." [Imp.]

1776. Three sermons "on Relative Duties," viz.: Nos. 76, 77, 79. [See below.]

No. 76. Respect to superiors. [Imperfect. No. 1.]

No. 77. 1 *St. Peter* iii. 8. Duty of superiors to inferiors [No. 2.]

May 5th.
No. 78. *Romans* xii. 10. Duty of equals towards each other. [No. 3.]

May 5th.
No. 79. 1 *Timothy* ii. 2. "That we may lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty."

July 14th.
No. 80. *St. Mark* x. 17. The young man's enquiry. [Imp.]

No. 81. The sin of Jereboam. Caution against sacrificing conscience to interest.

1778.
Boston,
July.
No. 82. *St. James* i. 27. 1st. Show who are meant by the terms fatherless and widows. 2d. The treatment due to persons of this description. [Endorsed sermon 7.]

Zechariah ix. 12. [Endorsed "Sermon eight,] A Pown'lbore' Farewell Discourse delivered at Pownalborough, July, No. 83. 1778." 1. Give some explanation of the text. 2. Make some reflections suitable to the present occasion.

Psalms lxxv. 11. Reasons for gratitude during the year past. 1780. Cornwallis, Dec. 31st. No. 84.

Duty of promoting peace. 1781. Cornwallis, No. 85.

St. Mark i. 15. 1. The nature and extent of repentance. 2. The necessity of it. Cornwallis, March 1st. No. 86.

Acts xvi. 29, 30. Narrative of the imprisonment of two Apostles. Application of the jailor's questions to the present hearers. Cornwallis, March 20th. No. 87.

St. John iii. 3. Errors with respect to conversion. [No. 14.] Cornwallis, Sept. 17th. No. 88.

Hebrews xii. 14. Advantages of peace. [No. 3.] Cornwallis, Dec. 5th. No. 89.

Psalms cxv. 16. The goodness of God calls for gratitude. [No. 4. An original collect prefixed to this sermon.] Cornwallis, Dec. 11th. No. 90.

1 *St. Peter* iv. 18. Description of the righteous and the sinner. 1783. Annapolis, June 29th. No. 91.

1 *St. Peter* iv. 18. Difficulty of salvation and certainty of future punishment. Annapolis, July. No. 92.

St. Luke xviii. 18 to 22. 1. An account of this young man. 2. Nature and extent of the command given to him. 3. Practical reflections. [No. 3.] Annapolis, August 17th. No. 93.

Genesis ix. 9. The temptation of Joseph. Practical remarks. 1784. Annapolis, August. No. 94.

Annapolis,
August 1st.
No. 95. *Genesis* ix. 9. The example of Joseph recom-
mended, especially to the young.

1786. *Genesis* xxxvii. 19. The nature, effects and un-
Annapolis, reasonableness of envy. "Scripture History."
Feb. 22d.
No. 96.

Annapolis,
Sept. 25th.
No. 97. *St. Matthew* xi. 12. A mere outward profession
will not secure our future happiness.

Annapolis,
February.
No. 98. Against the love of money. [Imperfect.]

Annapolis,
Feb. 1st.
No. 99. *Romans* vi. 16. "Servitude of sin; its danger."
Second part.

1787. *Judges* ix. 14, 15. Endeavor to draw some moral
Annapolis,
Feb. 7th.
No. 100. and religious observations from these words. [No. 1.]

Annapolis,
Feb. 15th.
No. 101. *Judges* ix. 14, 15. The vanity and pride of human
nature. [No. 2. Part 2.]

Annapolis,
Feb. 17th.
No. 102. *Acts* xviii. part of 17th vs. True Christian zeal.
[No. 3.]

Annapolis,
Feb. 19th.
No. 103. *Acts* xviii. part of 17th vs. Counterfeit zeal. [No. 4.]

Annapolis,
Feb. 22d.
No. 104. *Acts* xviii. part of 17th vs. Indifference to religion.
[No. 5.]

Annapolis,
Feb. 21st.
No. 105. *Psalms* xlix. 13. The folly of men. [No. 6.]

Annapolis,
Feb. 22d.
No. 106. *Deut.* xxx. 15. Abuse of the grace of God.
[No. 7.]

Annapolis,
Feb. 23d.
No. 107. *St. Luke* xii. 1. Display some appearances of
this pharisaical hypocrisy and show its baseness.
[No. 8.]

Annapolis,
Feb. 24th.
No. 108. *St. Luke* xii. 1. Same subject continued. [No. 9.]

St. Luke xii. 1. Same subject continued. [No. 10.] Annapolis, Feb. 26th. No. 109.

St. Mark x. 17, 18. "One may be apparently strict and punctual in the performance of moral duties, without being entitled to everlasting happiness. [No. 11.] Annapolis, March. No. 110.

St. Mark x. 17, 18. "It concerns us to examine: 1. The disposition of our minds; and 2. The extent of our obedience." Practical application. [No. 12.] Annapolis, March 26th. No. 111.

Job i. 18, 19, 20. 1. To make some reflections upon the story and conduct of Job; 2. Observe that calamity is the portion of human nature; 3. Enquire what improvement we ought to make of afflictions. [No. 13.] Annapolis, April 10th. No. 112.

Ecclesiastes ix. 12. A funeral sermon. Brief. [No. 14.] Annapolis, April 16th. No. 113.

Proverbs x. 19. 1. Consider some of those sinful excesses which are occasioned by a multitude of words; 2. Exhibit the wise regulation of our discourse recommended in the text. [No. 15.] Annapolis, April 16th. No. 114.

St. Luke xiii. 5. 1. Against rash judgment; 2. Exhortation to repentance. [No. 16.] Annapolis, April 17th. No. 115.

St. Luke xiii. 5. 1. Many instances of sudden bereavement; 2. Caution against delay of repentance. [No. 17.] Annapolis, April 19th. No. 116.

Proverbs x. 19. Against talebearing. [No. 18.] Annapolis, April 27th. No. 117.

St. Matthew v. 8. 1. Enumeration of spiritual evils; 2. Application. ["No. 2 on the text *St. Matthew*, v. 8."] Annapolis, Nov. 2d. No. 118.

Annapolis,
Dec. 22d.
No. 119.

St. Luke ii. 20. 1. Occurrences before the birth of Christ. 2. Angels appear to the shepherds, and message. 3. Suitable reflections. [Sermon 8.]

1788.

Annapolis,
Jan. 13th.
No. 120.

St. Matthew iv. 10. Duty to God.

Annapolis,
Jan. 25th.
No. 121.

St. Luke ii. 34. Presentation of Christ in the Temple. While the coming of Christ shall prove the salvation of some, it shall increase the condemnation of those who neglect his precepts. Let us then repent. [Sermon 9.]

Annapolis,
Jan. 30th.
No. 122.

St. Matthew ii. 1. Brief account of the Magi. Herod's jealousy at the birth of another prince. The Magi not disgusted by the poverty in which Mary and the infant Saviour were found to be. Their conduct contrasted with that of men in these days. Let the trouble the Magi took to come to Christ excite us to seek him. [Sermon 10.]

Annapolis,
Feb. 1st.
No. 123.

St. Matthew ii. 16. Character of Herod. Account of the massacre by his order. [A spirited sketch.] This story displays the terrible effects of ambition. This passion whether it appears in a single person, or a Congress of rising heroes, is like the inundation of a mighty river. Humanity and benevolence recommended. [Sermon 11.]

Annapolis,
Feb. 6th.
No. 124.

St. Luke ii. 40. Character of Herod and account of his death. Explanation of the text. The example of Herod teaches us the danger of delaying repentance. Lastly: Let every person be excited to increase in wisdom and understanding. [Sermon 12.]

Annapolis,
Feb. 10th.
No. 125.

St. Luke ii. part of 51st vs. The first part of this discourse refers to the 45, 46, 47, 48 and 49 verses of this chapter. 1. From the example of our blessed

Lord, we may learn the necessity of Confirmation, when it may possibly be obtained. Explanation of Confirmation. Children urged to acquaint themselves with the nature of their Baptismal vows. The Saviour's example of obedience commended to children. [Sermon 13.]

Daniel v. 27. An account of the revels of Belshazzar, the hand-writing; consequent terror, and Daniel's interpretation of the mysterious characters. (Written with considerable power.) 1. God knows, considers, and examines all our actions with the greatest exactness. [Sermon 2.] Annapolis,
Feb. 12th.
No. 126.

Daniel v. 27. When we purpose to enter upon any enterprise let us ask ourselves, if our conduct in it will stand the test? "Endeavor to shew when people may be reckoned (to be) in a dangerous situation." Several particulars named. "Let us then engage in works of repentance, piety, devotion, charity and temperance. But our most perfect performances will not avail without the atonement of the Son of God." [Sermon 3.] Annapolis.
No. 127.

St. John iii. 1, and part of 2d vs. Short account of Nicodemus. Does the conduct of Nicodemus merit applause or the contrary? Answered in the negative in the remainder of this discourse. [Sermon 4.] Annapolis
Feb. 21st.
No. 128.

St. Luke iii. part of 12th verse. Character of John Baptist's preaching. "The subject before us and the season of the year invite us to repentance." Reasons for repentance. [Sermon 14.] Annapolis,
Feb. 25th.
No. 129.

Romans iv. part of 25th verse. The circumstances of the death of Christ. The sins of the world were the cause of the sufferings and death of our Saviour. Annapolis,
March 7th.
No. 130.

1. The thought of this should humble us; 2. It should fill us with hatred of sin; 3. we should avoid sin. [Sermon 5.]

Annapolis,
March 14th.
No. 131.

St. Luke xi. 4. Definition of temptation. 1. Trials and afflictions which prove our faith. 2. The endeavors of Satan to draw us into sin. 3. Our own depraved appetites may draw us into sin. Therefore we should pray to God for His aid and protection. Caution; God never leads any one into temptation. We should carefully shun all temptations. [Sermon 6.]

Annapolis,
March 18th.
No. 132.

St. Luke xi. 4. 1. Human nature is weak in resisting temptation. Yet many persons voluntarily expose themselves to it. Can these, with propriety, offer the prayer in the text? God promises his aid to those who shun temptations. [Sermon 7.]

Annapolis,
March 20th.
No. 133.

Romans iv. part of 25th vs. 1. The Resurrection. 2. The design and importance of this event. 3. The improvement to be made of it. [Sermon 8.]

Annapolis,
March 26th.
No. 134.

St. Matthew iii. 15. Account of the preceding circumstances: 1. Christ's example on this occasion should convince us that it is our duty to obey all commands of God; 2. Observe the humility of John Baptist; 3. Notice the regular proceedings of Divine Providence, even in the most weighty concerns. Application. [Imperfect. Sermon 15.]

Annapolis,
March 29th.
No. 135.

St. Matthew i. 1 to 11th verse. Explanation of the temptation of Christ, with practical reflections [Sermon 16.]

Annapolis,
April 5th.
No. 136.

Amos vi. 1. Multitudes repent of their sins without any real reformation. The human heart has many ways to deceive itself. Specification of some of these ways. [Sermon 9.]

Amos vi. 1. Many Christians content themselves with a cold and partial performance of their duty. [Sermon 10.] Annapolis, April 7th. No. 137.

St. John i. 47, 48. Four of the disciples of John Baptist described. Among them was Nathaniel. Explain the meaning of the words "in whom is no guile," and then enquire if the description will agree with our own characters? [Sermon 17.] Annapolis, April 14th. No. 138.

St. John ii. 11. Account of the miracle: 1. Make some observations on this occurrence; 2. Attempt some practical improvement. [Sermon 18.] Annapolis, April 18th. No. 139.

St. John ii. 24. The care of the Jews in observing externals of religion shames the conduct of many Christians. Christ's driving the traffickers from the Temple shows that religious buildings have a relative sanctity. Christ would "not commit himself" to certain who professed to be his disciples, and why? From this, and other passages, we are persuaded of Christ's divinity. Christ is therefore omniscient. Have we always acted under a persuasion of this truth? [Sermon 19.] Annapolis, April 21st. No. 140.

St. John iii. 5. Brief account of the interview between Christ and Nicodemus. Surprise of Nicodemus. Explanation by Christ. "Our blessed Lord has united Baptism with Regeneration, and has declared the necessity of both in the strongest terms." "The outward sign must not be omitted if we expect the inward spiritual grace." "We learn from this discourse of our Lord with Nicodemus, the necessity of an heavenly disposition, and that our souls must be renewed and sanctified, &c. &c." [Sermon 20.] Annapolis, April 30th. No. 141.

St. Matthew v. 43. Our Saviour encouraged that Annapolis,

- May 2d.
No. 142. affection and benevolence which is the most amiable virtue, the brightest ornament of human nature. Our benevolent feelings to have no limits. I intend this discourse chiefly as an introduction to this great and important branch of Christianity. Paraphrase of the story of the good Samaritan. Selfishness the character of the present age. Our forbearance in religion proceeds from indifference to it rather than from true charity. [Sermon 11.]
- Annapolis,
June 14th.
No. 143. *Proverbs* i. 10. 1. Many persons endeavor to seduce others into sin, and successfully. 2. These seducers are atrocious sinners. 3. "Enlarge upon Solomon's caution." [Sermon 12.]
- June 14th.
No. 144. Second sermon in which the same subject is continued. [Sermon 13.]
- June 20th.
No. 145. Third sermon in which the same subject is continued. [Sermon 14.]
- June 17th.
No. 146. *St. Mark* x. 16. 1. Explain the nature and urge the necessity and advantage of confirmation. 2. Address myself to the younger part of this congregation.
- July 12th.
No. 147. *St. Luke* x. 41, 42. Religion is a matter of the utmost concern and importance. [Sermon 16.]
- July 18th.
No. 148. 1 *Corinthians* x. 3, 4. Comparison between manna and the Gospel. [Sermon 17.]
- Proverbs* i. 24, 25, 26. 1. God in tender compassion for mankind continues to repeat His gracious invitations. 2. Notwithstanding this, we are disposed to reject His condescending offers. [Sermon 18.]

NOTICES OF LOYALISTS.

The papers of the Rev. Jacob Bailey, which have been preserved, are of a very miscellaneous character.

Some of them furnish information not before known respecting persons of some note in their day. The notices which follow, refer, exclusively, to those who, at the time of the American Revolution, favored more or less the Royal cause.

Great credit is due to Lorenzo Sabine, Esq., for his very full and accurate work, containing biographical sketches of American Loyalists. With all the labor which must have been bestowed on that book, it is still somewhat imperfect, either in the brevity of the notices of some of the persons spoken of, or in the entire omission of the names of some who adhered to the British Crown. The contents of this Appendix supply in a measure this deficiency. The present writer supposed that there might be a general desire in the Protestant Episcopal Church to learn all that could be gathered of the history of those of its ministers, who retained their allegiance in the trying times of the American Revolution. While he has, therefore, made full extracts from the MS. materials in his possession to gratify this desire, he has also availed himself to some extent of other sources of information.

Some of the persons noticed in the following sketches were in humble life, and perhaps, on account of their never having possessed any extensive influence, it may be supposed that any memorials of them are hardly worth preserving. Still these slight sketches will probably have a local interest. More than this, they serve also in some degree as contributions to the general history of the State in which the subjects of them lived. The writer of the present Memoir could not resist the desire which he felt to select from the time-worn MSS. which

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were intrusted to him, such facts were inserted in an Appendix. For the compiler feels assured of the interest of every one of the following in some of these, and he has put them over, with the consolation that they are nothing to the price of the book.

REV. EDWARD BASS, D. D., and Episcopal Church

MR. BASS'S ancestors were among the first settlers in Roxbury about 1630. In about 1790 (now Quincy.)

The subject of this notice was born in 1761, entered Harvard College when he was thirteen, and some years after he was engaged in the ministry. He was licensed to preach among the Congregationalists, and ordained a minister by them.* On the 24th of 1781, he received Orders by the Bishop of London, and having returned to his native country, and on the 1st of 1782, he entered of Queen Anne's Church in Newbury.

At the commencement of the American Revolution, he and other Ministers of the English Church, were expelled from the country.

It would seem, that to a certain extent, he was the champion of his Church, and omitted the prayers for the King, which will show the light in which he was regarded by the Government. In writing to the Secretary of the American Missionary Society in 1781, Rev. J. Bailey says: "At the early part of his Missionary at Newburyport, I venture to say that of his circumstances and conduct, and, if you will communicate it. Two gentlemen, who depend, have lately been with me, and affirm that the Government; that though he was obliged to leave the country, he never could be induced to pray for the King in his department; that he has always refused to read the papers appointed by rebel authority; that he has been the violent, in confirming the doubtful, and that it is his duty to attend to his arguments, and that it is his duty to defend the Church, and the supremacy of the British King." The greater part of the above account, and I am authorized to observe that he has forfeited the favor of that venerable body which has granted him his salary, though he is wholly subsisted

*"The bearer, Mr. Bass, has preached for some time at Newburyport."—*Hawkins' Missions of Church of Eng*

appeared worthy of being
increasing interest now
alogical researches, the
ss with which many will
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ich they are contained.

Bishop of the Protestant ssachusetts.

s of Massachusetts Colony, and
ey removed thence to Braintree

ter, Mass., Nov. 23d, 1726. He
old, and graduated in 1744. For
youth, and in theological studies.
nalists, if indeed he was not or-
752, he was admitted to Deacon's
afterwards been ordained Priest,
f the Rev. Matthias Plant, Minis-
k charge of that Parish.

n, Mr. Bass, in common with the
n a situation of extreme embar-

ed with the wishes of the officers
l Family. The following papers
Society in England, whose Mis-
Society, under date of Nov. 9th,
t of the Rev. Mr. Bass, the late
you the following representation
give offence to the Society, I beg
e veracity and honor I can entirely
r. Bass is a most sincere friend to
e usual prayers for the King, yet
either in the civil or military de-
solves, declarations, or any other
n of great service in moderating
king converts of such as would
e design to promote the interests
her Colonies. I can attest the
sidered him as an honest, worthy
ore deeply affected in having for-
ved so long, than at the loss of
v." In reply to this statement,

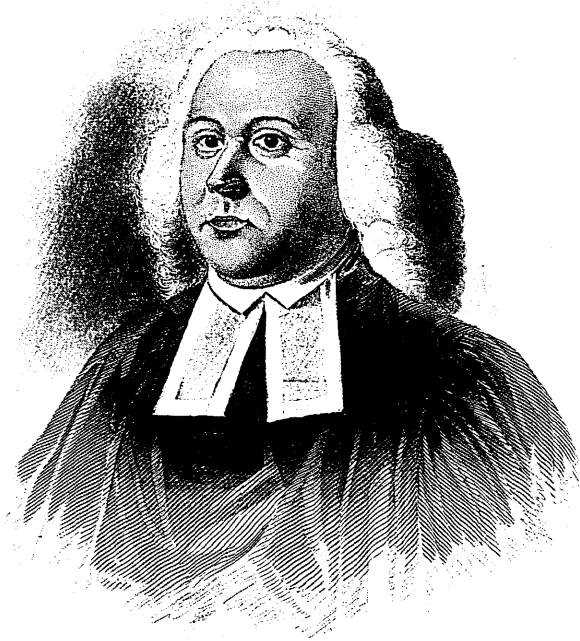
the dissenters, to good acceptance. F.



WILLIAM HENRY WATSON

First Bishop of Massachusetts

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE



the Secretary of the Venerable Society says, January 29th, 1782: "That part of your letter which concerns Mr. Bass, has a little surprised me, since among other witnesses of his disloyal principles and conduct, you seem to have been among the number. For when Mr. (Rev. J. W.) Weeks was in England, he assured me in these words: 'That Mr. Bass went so far as to preach a sermon, exhorting his hearers to give their money liberally for clothing the rebel soldiers. Mr. Bailey, my brother, was present on the occasion, and heard the sermon.' I should be glad if you would explain this and, if you can, reconcile it with your last letter. The clergy of Boston, in the beginning of the troubles, disapproved of Mr. Bass's conduct, and wrote over that he complied too far with the prevailing powers. He is said to have kept all the Fasts, &c., appointed by Congress, and to have read the Declaration of Independency in his Church. All this Mr. Bass must clear himself of, and very fully too, before he can be restored to the Society's favor. P. S. If Mr. Bass had been truly loyal, I can't see how it was possible for him to stay at Newburyport, a place so much in favor of the other part."

In answering this letter, May 4th, of the same year, Rev. J. Bailey says: "With respect to Mr. Bass, and the information I gave to Mr. Weeks, the case is, in brief, as follows: being compelled to leave my family to avoid confinement on board a guard ship, I wandered through the country, and about the middle of November came to Newburyport, and was at Church on a day of public thanksgiving appointed by the Congress. Mr. Bass desired me to preach, but I refused, assuring him that I would never deliver a charity sermon to collect money for clothing the rebel soldiers. This I repeated soon after to Mr. Weeks, but, as nearly as I can remember, Mr. Bass gave us a general discourse, without descending to particulars, or even mentioning the occasion of the solemnity. After sermon, the collection was made. Many refused to contribute, and a lady of some distinction declared with a spirited voice, 'I will never give a single penny towards the support of rebels.' This bold declaration was perhaps the occasion of my retaining the above in my memory. I am very confident, both from the repeated assertions of Mr. Bass himself, and other circumstances, that he refused to read the Declaration of Independency, and he became, on that account, extremely obnoxious to the violent party. I am certain that he was publicly reported for a Tory, and I was, one evening just upon my arrival at his house, witness to a scene equally ludicrous and indecent, for as he was returning from an entertainment with his wife, he was pursued along the street by near two hundred persons, who pelted him with dirt and stones, and treated him with the most indelicate language. * * On the whole, I am persuaded that Mr. Bass was conducted into his deviations, not from even the least inclination to the cause of the revolters, but from a mistaken zeal for the Church, which, he imagined, in some measure, would justify his compliance." Rev. S. Parker, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston, writes to Rev. J. Bailey, Dec. 22, 1782. "Mr." (Rev. J. W.) "Weeks was dismissed from the Society's service with much greater reason, I think, than poor brother Bass, whose loyalty during the whole contest has stood unimpeached."

The following is from a letter from Rev. Edward Bass, Newburyport, Dec. 29th, 1783: "That I showed a readiness to keep all the Congress Fasts, as Dr. Morice hath been informed, is not true. I complied with much reluctance. It is indeed true that I did generally open my Church on those days, but not in consequence of orders or commands from any Rebel authority whatever, none of whose papers I ever once read in Church, but of the earnest request of my parishioners, who represented it to me as the only probable way of saving the Church from destruction, while people in general were in such a frenzy. Besides a number of private letters written by my friends in my favor, my wardens did last year sign a testimonial of my loyalty: the Hon'ble Mark H. Wentworth and George Jaffrey presented me with another, which I begged the favor of Governor Wentworth to present to the Society."

In a postscript to a letter from Rev. Edward Bass, in the Spring of 1784, he says: "By the good offices of your Brother Weeks, this Church is, I think, like to fall very soon."

Rev. J. Bailey wrote to the subject of this sketch, March 7th, 1787: "I received a letter from you last November, with your remarks upon the Society.* Our Brother Clark, formerly of Dedham, was present, from whom I chiefly collected the following account of your affairs. After Mr. Weeks had procured, by his representations, a suspension of your pay, my letters and other testimonials arrived in your favour, which induced the Board to revise your case, and to make some further enquiries. In consequence of which, one Salter was produced, who declared upon oath that he had been a parishioner of yours; that you omitted all the prayers for His Majesty, etc., observed all the rebellious fasts and thanksgivings, and read the Declaration for Independence, without the advice, and contrary to the desire of your Parish, and that you not only encouraged privateering, but was actually engaged in the plunder of British property. (Quere, who was this Salter? Was it not Malachi, who visited New England in the autumn of 1777, and who afterwards made a voyage to London?) This evidence, however, greatly increased, or rather confirmed every prejudice against you. After this, your friends exhibited several circumstances in your favour, and had so far elucidated your character, that a restoration was almost agreed to. Upon which Mr. Clark was examined for a deciding voice, the Arch-Bishop assuring him that should his testimony prove favourable, the Society would confirm your salary. But this gentleman, it appears, declared upon his honour, that he regarded you as a friend to the rebellion, upon which they immediately passed a vote of reprobation. I have had several warm altercations with Mr. Clark on this subject, and have demanded the foundation of his opinion. In reply, he alleges, that upon a visit with Mrs. Bass, at Dedham, he conceived that both you and your lady were greatly attached to the rebellion; but, I conjecture, that he was chiefly influenced in his sentiments by what Mr. Weeks and others had asserted."

Several letters from Mr. Bass of a later date are preserved. They relate mainly to domestic matters. Some of them inclosed letters to his brothers Joseph and John Bass, then living in the neighborhood of Mr. Bailey.

The degree of D. D. was conferred on Mr. Bass by the University of Pennsylvania, in 1789. Seven years after, Dr. Bass was chosen Bishop of Massachusetts, and in 1797 was consecrated in Philadelphia, by Bishop White; Bishops Provost and Claggett assisting. At the request of the Churches in Rhode Island and New Hampshire, he exercised his Episcopate in those States. Until his death, which happened in 1803, he retained the charge of St. Paul's Church, in Newburyport, which he had held for the long space of fifty-one years. He is yet remembered in Newburyport, as a person of a remarkably cheerful and even temperament, a lover of peace, to such an extent as to have, on some occasions, sacrificed his own undoubted rights, rather than to contend with avaricious and quarrelsome neighbors. Such traits are remembered when even the learning of their subject is forgotten. From the unusual advantages he possessed in youth, and his diligent habits at that time, it is probable that his acquirements were greater than common.

A marble monument, with a Latin inscription, written by his assistant and successor in the Rectorship, the late Rev. James Morss, D. D., is erected to his memory in the Churchyard of St. Paul's, Newburyport.

* This probably relates to a pamphlet published by Mr. Bass, of which the following is the title: "A brief Account of the treatment which Mr. Bass, late Missionary from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at Newbury-Port, New England, hath received from said Society. Drawn up by Himself, with Remarks upon particular Parts of it, and addressed to the impartial Public. Admonish a Friend, it may be he hath not done it. Admonish thy Friend, it may be he hath not said it. Admonish a Friend, for many Times it is a Slander, and believe not every Tale.—Eccles. xix. 13, 14, 15. London: Printed in the Year MDCCLXXXVI."

The writer of the above heard Rev. Dr. Morss relate the following anecdote a few years since:—

About the time that the monument to Bishop Bass was erected, the Rector of the Parish preached a sermon on the death of Alexander Hamilton, which sermon contained a warm eulogy on the deceased. A democratic parishioner shortly after met his Rector, and observed: "Mr. Morss, if your inscription on good Bishop Bass's monument had been in English, and your eulogy on Alexander Hamilton had been in Latin, I, for one, should have been much better pleased."

The present writer would beg leave to say, that he fully agrees with the parishioner in that part of his observation which refers to Bishop Bass. As the memory of a devoted minister or bishop should be dear to the humblest of those under his charge, so, it would seem to be self-evident, that enduring tributes to his virtues should be in a language that all interested can read. They who have acquired a world-wide reputation may be commemorated in a language common to the learned in all lands. But he whose praise it was, that he did the work of his Divine Master in a faithful spirit, can look for no extensive renown. While no reason can be given for the use of that which is "an unknown tongue" to the great mass of those who would gladly read his epitaph, the employment of such a tongue of course virtually defeats, in no small degree, the object for which his monument was erected.

REV. JOSHUA WINGATE WEEKS, Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, Mass.

JOSHUA WINGATE WEEKS was the oldest child of Col. John and Mrs. Martha Weeks, and was born in Hampton, N. H., 17—. He graduated at Harvard College in 1758, and married Miss Sarah Treadwell, of Ipswich, Mass.

In November, 1762, the Vestry of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, "Voted, that the Sum of £30 Sterling be Laid on the pews of said Church to Defray the Charge of Mr. Weeks Going home to London to Receive Orders for said Church."

His marriage, as he states in a letter, dated London, March, 1763, took place before he left America. He returned to Marblehead in July of that year, and entered upon his duties as Rector of St. Michael's but did not reside there wholly till after the lapse of one year. No hint is to be found of the reason of his leaving the faith of his family, who were all Congregationalists, and seeking for Orders in the Church of England.

Several letters, which passed between him and Rev. Mr. Bailey, are in existence. From these, it would seem that the first eleven years of his Rectorship at Marblehead were passed in quiet enjoyment. During that time he made several visits to Pownalborough, and purchased about eighty acres of land, which, to the present day, bear his name. A letter of his, of the date of Nov. 10th, 1774, contains gloomy forebodings as to himself and his family. The following year he and they were driven from Marblehead, by political persecutions, and were obliged to seek refuge with Rev. Mr. Bailey, at Pownalborough. Some account of this is given in the previous Memoir, p. 108. They were here, at times, at least, from April, 1775, to May of the following year. His family resided in Pownalborough during that time. In June of that year, Mr. Weeks and his family returned to Marblehead. In a letter from that place to Mr. Bailey, dated April 29th, 1777, Mr. Weeks says: "You ask me 'how I live?' I am happy to tell you that my friends are uncommonly kind, and even strangers are remarkably liberal, and I have received the most unlimited offers from persons I never knew." * * "You ask, 'why I ceased to officiate?' Because the General Court passed an Act against preaching, or praying, with a design of bringing independence

into disgrace, etc., etc. My being obliged to fly and the treatment I received were fully related in the English papers, and from thence were inserted in the monthly Magazines, etc."

Mr. Weeks wrote to Mr. Bailey from Boston, May 2d, 1778. He says: "I am here in order to get liberty from the Court to go away, but have the mortification to find my petition rejected by the House after having been fully and literally granted by the Council by an unanimous vote. So there is an end of thinking to go away by leave. Mr. Clark of Dedham hath liberty to go, though I am detained."

A letter from Rev. Mr. Bailey to the subject of this sketch, and addressed to him at Newport, R. I., dated Nov. 28th, 1778, says: "I was driven from the regions of Kennebeck about the 12th of July, by a warrant, to Boston. Upon my arrival I found that you were fled, from a prosecution of the like nature, to Rhode Island." Joseph Domette wrote to Rev. J. Bailey, Boston, Dec. 1, of this year: "Mr. Gardiner arrived at New York too late to see either his father, or Mr. Weeks, who had sailed for England." In the spring of the following year, the following was written by Rev. William Clark, at London: "The Rev. Mr. Weeks, being driven from the large and flourishing Church of Marblehead, left that Province soon after I did, and for similar reasons, and is now going to Nova Scotia with a recommendation from the Society here to the Governor and Council of that Province." Mr. Bailey, in a letter to a friend a few months after, says: "I am sorry to find that Mr. Weeks meets with any obstructions to his settlement at Annapolis. The Governor and Council, for certain impenetrable reasons, seem determined to retain Mr. Fisher in that Mission." And shortly after, Mr. Bailey says: "About three weeks after my settlement at Halifax, Mr. Weeks arrived from England, which afforded a great addition to our happiness. He is appointed Missionary at Annapolis Royal, with a salary of £140 per Annum, but will continue at present in this Metropolis." He continued there from July 16th, to September 7th, when he sailed for New York. While he was at that place, he says: "The Refugees from Massachusetts Bay had a meeting to choose a proper person to represent them at the Board. They condescended to choose me Moderator. I thought it an honour, and a great one, nor shall I ever be ashamed of such company. For when I looked around me I beheld men eminent for their abilities, their birth, their opulence and connexions; and had the cause in which we had been engaged been a bad one, men of such character would have added lustre to it, and made it respectable." A letter from Rev. Dr. Breynton, Nov. 27th, 1779, says: "You are no stranger to the arrival of Mrs. Weeks and her eight children. Besides some donations, Mrs. Weeks will be allowed about 5 shillings *per diem*, and Mr. Weeks will be directed to draw for the Society's £70, and the other £70 will be given to (Rev.) Mr. Fisher, till the whole of that affair can be finally settled."

It was not till the spring of the following year, that Weeks was able to join his family in Halifax. In the following summer he writes: "Rogers has been with me, and offered me one of his battalions, you know he came from the same Province."

Rev. Mr. Bailey says, in a letter to Rev. Edward Bass, July 28th, 1784: "Whatever might be the motives which induced Mr. Weeks in his endeavors to injure you,* it has returned upon himself, and he is at present in no eligible situation; in the expensive town of Halifax, with a large family he is reduced to about sixty Pounds, as half-pay Chaplain to the Orange Rangers, and fifty-two guineas, which are deducted from my perquisites." In the summer of the following year, Mr. Bailey says, in writing to a friend: "As to Mr. Weeks, he has been to England, and, after writing three humiliating letters to the Society, was admitted candidate for a vacancy, with this express condition, on record, that he should first resign the contested Chaplainship.

* See letter from Bishop Bass, page 201.

But such was his inflexible obstinacy and steadfast determination to injure me, that he refused, and returned to Halifax, though he might have been settled at Digby."

This matter of the chaplainship is spoken of in the foregoing Memoir, pp. 237, 238. It was the means of suspending all intercourse between the family of Mr. Bailey, and that of his brother-in-law, nor is there any evidence that this intercourse was ever restored. All that is known by the present writer of the subsequent life of Mr. Weeks, is contained in "Aikin's Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Church of England, etc. Halifax: 1849." The author of this work says, p. 49, "The names and stations of the Clergy in the Diocese (of Nova Scotia) at this time, (i. e., 1793,) were as follows: Joshua W. Weeks, at Preston." And in a note at the foot of the same page, "Removed to Guyborough in 1795, on the death of Mr. De la Roche." The Triennial Catalogue of Harvard College gives 1804 as the date of his death.

REV. WILLIAM CLARK, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Dedham, Massachusetts.

This gentleman was the son of Rev. Peter Clark, of Danvers, Mass. He graduated at Harvard College in 1759, and returned from London to Boston, (whither he had gone to take Holy Orders,) in a ship commanded by Capt. Hall, in 1769. He was appointed to the charge of the Church in Stoughton and Dedham.

Mr. Clark wrote to Mr. Bailey, Dedham, July 10th, 1772, and expressed his desire to obtain the Parish at Georgetown, Me., because the salary at Dedham was small, and likely to remain so, until the estate belonging to the Parish in reversion should fall in. In 1771, the inhabitants of the two townships (i. e. Granville and), addressed an invitation to the Rev. Mr. Clark, the Missionary at Dedham, Mass., to come and settle among them, promising, at the same time, to contribute towards his support. They stated that the greater part of them had "been educated and brought up in the Congregational way of worship, and therefore should have chosen to have a minister of that form of worship, but the Rev. Mr. Wood, by his preaching, and performing the other offices of his holy function amongst us in the several districts of this county, hath removed our former prejudices that we had against the forms of worship of the Church of England, as by law established, and hath won us to a good opinion thereof, inasmuch as he hath removed all our scruples of receiving the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in that form of administering it; at least many of us are now communicants with him, and we trust and believe many more will soon be added."*

Rev. J. W. Weeks says, May 2d, 1778: "Mr. Clark hath leave to go out of the country, but I am refused." The same person, in writing shortly after to the Venerable Society, says†: "Mr. Clark, of Dedham, on account of his health, got liberty of the rebels to go to Newport. He is excessively deaf, so that he cannot perform divine service. Some refugees and inhabitants of Newport had subscribed about £30 sterling for his support. Though he has no family but a wife, yet he is in great need, and merits compassion from all. He was taken up last year and tried at the same time I was, and his lawyer deceiving him by going out of town when he ought to have been in court, he was, without the least colour of evidence against him, condemned, and confined for some time on board the guard ship, by which his health was much injured, and his voice so affected that he can hardly be understood." Mr. Clark writes, London, March 3d, 1779: "I had the happiness to live in peace at Dedham till the spring of 1777, when their jealousy being excited by a trifling occasion, I was sentenced to banishment and confined on board a ship, for nothing more than refusing to acknowledge the Independency of America, which was contrary to the sentiments I had of

* Hawkins' Missions, &c., p. 361-2.

† Hawkins' Missions, p. 256.

my duty to my king, my country, and my God. I was, however, kept a prisoner till last June, when I got permission to leave their dominions, and after spending a few months at Rhode Island and New York, I left America about Christmas, and arrived here in February by way of Ireland. By my confinement in America, I contracted a disorder, which disables me from preaching, and whether I shall ever recover from it is at present uncertain." In answer to a remark of Mr. Clark's letter of November of this year—"I have not heard since I left her in Rhode Island about a year ago."—Mr. Bailey replies: "I saw Mr. Weeks last July, and made particular inquiries concerning the death of Mrs. Clark, and all the information I could obtain was, that she died about the middle of September, a fortnight after her delivery, and that her child did not long survive her." Under date of London, May 21st, 1783, Mr. Clark writes: "I have now the satisfaction to inform you that Government granted me a pension of £60 per annum, and I have lately got leave to retire to Nova-Scotia and enjoy my pension there." It was not till more than three years after this that Mr. Clark was enabled to realize his wish of returning to America. In his letter from Halifax, June 23, 1786, he writes: "I have the satisfaction to inform you that I arrived here 21st instant, in the Trooper, Capt. Browse, after a tedious passage of eight weeks from London." In the autumn of the same, Mr. Clark was residing with the Rev. J. Bailey at Annapolis. Shortly after, Mr. Bailey said in his report to the Venerable Society: "The Rev. Mr. Clark is with me, and has assisted in administering the sacrament and reading prayers, and I am encouraged by his increasing health, to hope that he may be able to perform service with still greater satisfaction to himself and others." And afterwards, in a letter to a correspondent, Mr. Bailey says: "Mr. Clark was married about the 20th November last and lives at the next door, so that I have still the benefit of his Millenary library." And in another letter Mr. B. says: "Mr. Clark is married to a little, pretty, delicate, chattering woman, about twenty-eight, as unable to rough it as himself. It is a disadvantage to Mr. C., that he is totally ignorant of gardening and farming." From a previous communication, we learn that the lady's name was Mrs. Dunbar, a young widow from New York.

Mr. Clark had removed to Digby, N. S., previous to June 2d, 1787, for he wrote to Mr. Bailey under that date. In that letter he says: "It seems that a number, perhaps forty or fifty, of half-pay officers and loyalists of this Province were represented as apostates, and loitering away their time and money in the rebel country, of which number I had the honor to be reckoned one, and consequently my pension was stopped on this pretence, even before I had arrived at Annapolis the last summer, but my agent, by his vigilance, got a reprieve for me and two others he names, till 5th July next, in order to give them time to let them know that I continued loyal, alive, and in *statu quo*. * * * The Wardens here have asked me to preach, which I declined, as I ever wished to begin the trial by reading prayers only." Mr. Clark was in Digby Oct. 6, 1789. He returned to this country and resided in Quincey. He died in 1815, and was buried in the church-yard of his last residence, his grave being marked by a monument, the inscription of which is in Latin.

REV. JOHN WISWALL, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Falmouth,
(now Portland,) Maine.

WM. WILLIS, Esq., in his laborious and accurate edition of Smith's Journal, page 150, note 1, gives an account of this gentlemen, from which I extract that portion which relates to him up to the time of his leaving the country: "Mr. Wiswall was born in Boston, the son of John Wiswall who kept the Grammar School there. He graduated at Harvard College in 1749, and pursued the study of Divinity as a Congregationalist, in which order he was settled over the new Casco parish in Falmouth in 1756. In 1761, he married Mary Minot, of Brunswick, daughter of John Minot,

afterwards Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, by whom he had several children. In 1764 he changed his religious views, and accepted the invitation of the Episcopalians on the Neck, who had just established the first Episcopal Society which existed in town, and immediately went to England to receive ordination. The same year his Society erected a Church for him on the corner of Church and Middle Streets, which was completed the next year. Mr. Wiswall returned in May, 1765, and continued to preach to his people, respectable in number and character, till the breaking out of the Revolution, when his church was burned, and his flock, who were generally opposed to the separation from the Mother Country, were scattered abroad."

Rev. Samuel Peters, in a letter dated London, August 7th, 1780, says: "Poor Wiswall has been in the West Indies three years, in the ship *Boyne*." Two years after this a letter from England, says: "Mr. Wiswall is at a curacy in Suffolk, where his engagement is only for a short time." The next year he arrived at Cornwallis, N. S., having been appointed Missionary to that place. He wrote Mr. Bailey, Oct. 1, 1783: "This week we chose our Church officers. Sunday I intend to read in, and then Col. Burbidge will apply to the Governor for a letter of Induction. * * I am desirous that you should be the clergyman to induct me." Mr. Bailey says, under date of March 2d, 1784: "I have just returned from a journey to Cornwallis, undertaken to marry our brother Wiswall, late of Falmouth, to one Mrs. Hutchinson, a worthy woman from New York, who has been visited, during the late dissensions, with a singular and affecting train of calamities." In a letter to Rev. Edward Bass, July 28th, 1784, Mr. Bailey says: "When your agreeable and welcome letter was delivered into my hands, our brother Wiswall was present, himself, his wife, and her youngest daughter, being on a visit to our habitation. This observation will naturally conduct me to answer your queries respecting that sensible and original genius and his connections. His salary from England is only one hundred pounds sterling, for the Society allow the Missionaries here the exact sum they formerly had in New England, but then he has a parsonage, worth one hundred and twenty dollars a year, and a decent house, with fuel. His wife, about forty-eight years of age, is a Refugee from (Carolina) the Jerseys. Her fortune has been somewhat singular and very distressing since the commencement of the late Revolution. Her husband was drowned. One son was kicked to death by a horse. A second lost his life by shipwreck; and the other was hanged by the rebels, as he was attempting to visit his parents. She has remaining one son and two daughters, and still possesses about two thousand pounds, the gleanings of a very ample estate. Her daughters have a thousand pounds each, lately left them by their grandfather in England. She appears to be a very clever woman, is sociable, and so prudent in the management of family affairs, that we may with propriety apply to her what was heretofore said of Mrs. Weeks, 'She has abundance of saving knowledge.' Mr. Wiswall has two sons, both lieutenants in the navy, the eldest, Peleg, is at Halifax, and the other, John, has just arrived from Europe."

Mr. Wiswall left Cornwallis previous to October, 1789.

In 1798, he was Missionary at Wilmot and Aylesford.* He died in 1812.

REV. ROGER VIETS, Rector of St. Andrew's Church, Simsbury, Connecticut.

This gentleman was introduced to Mr. Bailey, by a letter for Rev. Dr. Byles, of Halifax, July 5th, 1786, in which he says: "This will be handed you by Mr. Viets, formerly Missionary at Simsbury, but now appointed to Digby." He passed the summer at his Mission, returning in the autumn to Simsbury. The next year he removed

* Aikin's Sketch, etc., p. 43.

with his family to Nova Scotia, and entered on the duties of his new Parish. He issued "A Serious Address and Farewell Charge to the Members of the Church of England in Simsbury and the adjacent parts," which was printed in Hartford, in 1787. He says, in this pamphlet: "Having led your devotions almost twenty-eight years, more than twenty-four of which I have been in Holy Orders," etc., and proceeds to give a summary of some of the statistics of the parish during that time. Among them is, "Baptisms, Adults, 122; Infants, 1749. From the year 1759 to the present time, the number of conformists to the Church has increased from 75 to more than 280 families, exclusive of the many that have emigrated and the few that have apostatized."

In 1789, Mr. Viets published, at Hartford, three sermons preached in Digby during that and the preceding year. The following is part of the dedication prefixed to them:—

To
THE RIGHT REVEREND
CHARLES INGLIS, D. D.,
THE LEARNED,
THE PIOUS,
THE RESPECTED,
AND
RESPECTABLE
Bishop of Nova Scotia, &c. &c. &c.
THESE DISCOURSES,
etc.

The singularity shown in this dedication by Mr. Viets was, (as it would seem from Mr. Bailey's letters to their mutual acquaintance,) also apparent in some of his other actions. Only one letter of Mr. Viets' to Mr. Bailey has been preserved. It is dated December 14th, 1799, and is occupied with complaints that unauthorized persons solemnized marriages in the neighborhood. It urges Mr. Bailey to proceed legally against such offenders. Mr. Viets died at Digby in 1811, aged seventy-four.

DR. MATHER BYLES, JR., Rector of Christ Church, Boston,
Mass.

The first of Dr. Byles' letters found among Mr. Bailey's papers, is the one notifying Mr. B. of the collection made in England for the benefit of the suffering clergy in America. An extract from this letter was given on p. 119. Rev. J. W. Weeks writes, Halifax, June 11th, 1780, and says: "Dr. Byles goes to him, (i. e., Col. Rogers,) and after melancholy accounts of his own poverty, begged Rogers to give him the first battalion. Rogers without any hesitation gave him a warrant. I have not seen him (i. e., Rogers,) since, indeed he is now in gaol, but when I do see him, I am determined to reproach him for his silly and inconsiderate behaviour." About a month after the date of this letter, Dr. Byles wrote Mr. Bailey from the same place, stating that he (Mr. B.,) could probably obtain the chaplaincy of one of the battalions spoken of, if

"he were on the spot" to apply for it. The letter of Dr. Byles, declining the Mission to Annapolis in favor of Mr. Bailey, has been given on p. 187.

This was but one evidence of the friendly interest the Doctor took in Mr. B.'s concerns, since by his letters from Halifax, during the three following years, it seems that he was exerting himself in various ways to procure the full emoluments of the Mission at Annapolis for its incumbent. The son of Dr. Byles says, in a letter, Halifax, Nov. 25th, 1784: "I have no intelligence of any moment from my father, except that he has obtained a War office commission for his Chaplaincy to this garrison, which fixes it for life." The subject of this notice returned to Halifax from England, in May, 1785, where he remained at least till July of the following year, and till "about 1791, when he was appointed to St. Johns, N. B."* But Mr. Bailey in his letter, June 6th, 1789, congratulates him on his appointment to St. Johns. In February, 1794, he was at St. Johns, N. B. The last letter from him is dated at the same place, 25th August, 1796. He died at St. Johns, in 1814.

REV. ——— BISSETT, Rector of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island.

Rev. Samuel Peters says, in a letter to Mr. Bailey, dated Pimlico, England, April 24th, 1786: "Mr. Bissett, late of Rhode Island, is appointed to the City of St. Johns, if he gets there before either Scovil or Andrews from Connecticut. One is to abide at St. Croix, the other at Chedebucto, near the Gut of Canso, but as Scovil and Andrews have petitioned for Chedebucto, perhaps they will be appointed there before Christmas. Mr. Bissett is a very sensible man, a good scholar and compiler of sermons, although too bashful to appear in company, or in the pulpit." In a letter from Rev. William Clark, Halifax, June 23d, 1786, he says: "Rev. Mr. Bissett, wife and family came passengers with me. Mr. Bissett is appointed Missionary at St. Johns." Mr. Bailey says, under date of March 7th, 1788: "The Rev. Mr. Bissett died lately, at St. Johns."

REV. SAMUEL PETERS, D. D., Rector of St. Peter's Church, Hebron, Connecticut.

Several letters from this eccentric Divine to Rev. J. Bailey, are preserved. A number of extracts have been made from them in the preceding Biography. He expected the Bishopric of Nova Scotia, and seems to have taken some pains to influence the clergy there to petition that he might be appointed.

Rev. William Clark wrote to Mr. Bailey, Digby, February 18th, 1781: "Our friend P., (eters) as well for his own personal qualifications, as for that abundant charity and benevolence, which he has shewn to the afflicted Loyalists of all denominations, for many years, is justly entitled to our esteem and to the notice of Government, as a person proper to fill the Episcopal chair here; with this view, I subscribed for him, and also wrote to Dr. Morice my wishes to this purpose. But alas! who shall say to Government, *What dost thou?*" Rev. S. Parker writes, Boston, October 10th, 1796: "Dr. Peters, Bishop elect of Vermont, cannot obtain consecration in England, nor in these States, without a three years antecedent residence."

REV. MOSES BADGER, Itinerant Missionary in the Province of New Hampshire.

Rev. J. Bailey wrote to him at New York, July 1st, 1779, giving him a statement of his sufferings from political persecutions. He also wrote to him at the same place,

* Aikin's Sketch, &c., p. 41.

August 1st, 1780, stating that he had removed to Annapolis, and acknowledging the receipt of a letter from him.

REV. HENRY CANER, D. D., Rector of King's Chapel, Boston, Massachusetts.

Rev. S. Peters writes, August 7th, 1780: "Dr. C (ane)r is in Cardiff, Wales, happy in obscurity and Episcopal neglects." Rev. Mr. Bailey says, in a letter to a friend, in 1781: "By letters from London, I was informed that Dr. Caner had retired with his young wife to Cardiff, Wales."

Dr. Caner died in England, in 1792, aged 92.

REV. JOHN TROUTBECK, Assistant Minister of King's Chapel, Boston.

Rev. S. Peters, in writing from London, June 9th, 1779, says: "Poor Troutbeck has been very sick and given over by his Physicians, after which, Nature and Prayers took him out of the power of death, and gave him a new lease of his life."

REV. SAMUEL CHANDLER, D. D.

Rev. S. Peters writes, June 4th, 1785: "Dr. Chandler sailed for New Jersey, May 17th, 1785."

REV. JOHN VARDILL, of New York, appointed Rector of Church, New York, (but did not accept it.)

Rev. S. Peters says, in a letter, June 14th, 1785: "Vardill is in Ireland."

REV. ISAAC BROWN.

Rev. J. Bailey writes, February 14th, 1784, to Rev. Isaac Brown, at Windsor, N. S.: "I have formerly wrote and received no reply either from you or the Doctor, to whom and his lady be kind enough to remember us." In 1786, Rev. Isaac Brown is inserted in a list of clergy,* as superannuated. Mr. B. is said to have come from New Jersey.†

SERGEANT. (Que., Rev. Winwood, of Cambridge, Mass.?)

Rev. Samuel Peters, in writing from London, June 9th, 1779, to Rev. J. Wingate Weeks, at Mr. Thomas Brown's, Halifax, says: "I wish you would send the following idea to Mr. Sergeant at Boston, viz., his mother died eighteen months ago, and Sergeant is heir to some landed Estate in Beconsfield in Warwickshire, 25 miles from London, reported to be worth near £200 per annum. This information I have obtained of his sister's daughters, named Ratcliffe and Jennett, No. 35, James Street, Oxford Road." Rev. S. Peters, in a letter, dated London, Aug. 7th, 1780, to Rev. J. Bailey, says: "Sergeant is at Bath, half dead and half alive. His wife is full of spirits."

— SMITH, CAPT., (of Plymouth, Mass.) Thomas Brown, in writing under date Halifax, December 29th, 1779, to Rev. J. Bailey, Cornwallis, gives a description of the loss of the armed ship North, at the mouth of Halifax harbor, December 10th, 1779, by which 165 out of 170 persons perished. He says: "Capt. Smith, who belonged to Plymouth in New England, a man who I have been acquainted with sev-

* Alkin's Sketch, p. 28.

† Ibid, p. 39.

eral years, was pilot of the North, and supposed to be as well knowing to this harbor as any man, had charge of the ship when she was lost, he has left a widow and eight children at Plymouth."

JOHN McNAMARRA, (of Pownalborough.) In the records of the town of Pownalborough is found the following entry:

"John McNamarra, son of Timothy and Ann McNamarra, was born Nov. 6th, 1758. Recorded March 6th, 1777.

EDM'D. BRIDGE, Town Clerk."

The above extract relates to a person, who, though of humble origin, so conducted himself during his life as to deserve honorable mention.

Mr. Bailey says of him when he was discharging the office of the Society's Schoolmaster in Annapolis, in 1787: "This schoolmaster is another extraordinary genius. He was born at Kennebeck, and came to live with me about the beginning of the rebellion.

"And though his nearest relatives were violent rebels, he was so honest, loyal and faithful, as to be employed by the friends of Government in the most critical and dangerous exigencies. He was persecuted, fined and imprisoned, but was, however, happy enough to make his escape with us to Halifax. He has passed through a variety of scenes, and was, about three years ago, appointed the Society's Schoolmaster at Annapolis; and though he has been connected with characters of every description, he has given universal satisfaction. He has deservedly the highest reputation for sobriety, diligence, and integrity. He has acquired almost every branch of knowledge, both speculative and practical, and equally excels in arithmetic, astronomy, navigation, geography, surveying, mensuration, dialing, and other branches of the mechanicks."

Afterwards Mr. Bailey says: "Mr. McNamarra has expended the whole of his salary, and whatever he received when the school was more advantageous, either in books, mathematical instruments, etc., for the improvement of himself and scholars, or else in charity and the promotion of public designs."

For a time the subject of this notice held the office of Postmaster in Annapolis, and probably continued as the Society's schoolmaster to the time of his death, which took place in the spring of 1798. Bishop Inglis said in a letter to Mr. Bailey: "I very sincerely regret the death of Mr. McNamarra, who was a very worthy useful man. In him the community has sustained a considerable loss."

For many years John, (as he was familiarly called,) was a member of Mr. Bailey's family. He was first taken in the capacity of a servant. But during the compulsory absences of his employer in the last few years of his residence in Kennebec, this young man was of essential service to the family, and doubtless on more than one occasion prevented their suffering from want of the necessaries of life. Abandoning his native land with Mr. and Mrs. Bailey, he was of no little assistance to them after their arrival in Nova Scotia. This Mr. Bailey states in his letters. That he who had been received into the family in such a subordinate situation, should have had the force of mind to rise above the condition of a mere "hewer of wood and drawer of water," and, availing himself of the opportunities which Mr. Bailey afforded him, should have acquired the amount and variety of information, which his employer says he possessed, shows that he could have been no common man. This, with the goodness of heart which characterized him, is enough to justify the humble effort now made to rescue his memory from oblivion. The high-born and the wealthy have no lack of eulogists, while many who did not possess these advantages, although much more worthy of praise, are forgotten. In performing the duty attempted in the above notice, a satisfaction is felt, and it is not the less strong because the biographer has

endeavored to save from oblivion one whose birth and position in life had nothing to allure his efforts.

DR. JOHN CALF, (of ———.) Rev. J. Bailey writes to him at Major-biguyduce, under date of Sept. 6th, 1779, and says: "You doubtless retain some knowledge of me from our former acquaintance, and have I presume, heard something of my situation and circumstances. * * Being informed that you possess a department in the Garrison, which gives you considerable influence, I have made this attempt to solicit your interest in case a chaplain should be appointed." Dr. John Calf, of Ipswich, Mass., married a daughter of Rev. Jedediah Jewett, of Rowley, in 1753. In O. Rich's *Bibliotheca Americana*, p. 294, is the following: "The siege of Penobscot by the Rebels, by J. C., Volunteer, London: 1781. The author is supposed to be Mr. *John Calf*, agent for the inhabitants of Penobscot, whose name is subscribed to the charts which illustrate the work."

MOSES FORSTER, (of ———.) Rev. J. Bailey writes to Dr. Bartholemew Sullivan, at New York, under date of Halifax, Sept. —, 1779, and says: "I must beg leave to trouble you again in behalf of the bearer, Mr. Moses Forster, whose situation and circumstances demand both the emotions of humanity and the effusions of benevolence. After having been imprisoned a whole year, and then set at liberty by the Supreme rebel court, he was cruelly harrassed by the committee, driven from his family, and upon his return taken out of bed, and conveyed away from a tender wife and eight children 120 miles, confined on board a guard ship, and then transported to this province. As he is a stranger in distress, I beg leave to recommend him to your attention, and am confident that your goodness will afford him that assistance and direction which is due to a sufferer in the royal cause."

ROBERT JENKINS. (Que., Robert?) Rev. J. Bailey, writes to him at St. Johns, Newfoundland, under date of Halifax, Sept. 24th, 1779, and says: "It is about three months since I left the unhappy land of our nativity. * * I have visited Newbury several times since the commencement of the present commotions, and continued days together with (Rev.) Mr. (Edward) Bass. The proceedings of the people are very disagreeable to that worthy gentleman, yet to preserve himself from destruction, he omitted all prayers for the King from the (time of the) declaration of Independency, for which offence the Society (P. G. F. Ps.,) have struck his name from the list of Missionaries."

— SIMMONS, (of ———.) Rev. J. Bailey, in writing, under date of November 6th, 1780, to Joseph Domett, at Brompton, near London, says: "The refugees in this Province are under the influence of melancholy and dejection, the inflexible obstinacy of the rebel powers, the dilatory conduct of the British forces, and the ungenerous treatment they meet with in the regions of New Scotland, have broken the spirits of several worthy persons, among whom I may mention Mr. Simmons, who has left behind him a widow and four children."

Rev. J. Bailey also wrote to Mr. William Simmons, at Halifax, Nov. 1st, 1779. He says: "It is, I believe, a trite observation, that nothing occasions stronger attachment and friendships than suffering in the same cause. In such circumstances we love to mingle together in conversation, etc. etc. We have not one refugee here except Capt. Campbell, etc. etc." November 30, 1779, Rev. J. Bailey writes to Mr. Simmons, at Halifax, and says: "You have my grateful acknowledgements for your obliging letter." Another letter was addressed by J. Bailey, February 4th, 1780, to Mr. William Simmons, at Halifax; also, May 8, 1780, from the same to the same; and another letter from the same to the same, Sept. 2, 1780, in which Mr. Bailey speaks of having lately heard of Mr. Simmons, through a gentleman just arrived in Cornwallis. In a letter to T. Brown, October 11, 1780, J. Bailey speaks of receiving a letter from T. Brown, mentioning the "untimely exit" of Mr. Simmons.

JOHN JONES, (of Kennebec.) Rev. J. Bailey says, in a letter, February 8th, 1780, directed to John Jones, at Quebec: "Let us flatter ourselves with the pleasing prospect of meeting again in the regions of Kennebeck, and if we should not be happy enough to find all our friends remaining after so violent a tempest, yet we that have escaped the general wreck may rejoice in each other's society, and have the pleasure of regarding with contempt those sons of rapine and violence, who drove us from our peaceful habitations, and forced us into the ocean, to contend with rocks, currents, whirlpools, storms and hurricanes." In writing to Mrs. Ruth Jones, at Concord, Mass., about the same time, Mr. Bailey says: "I have just received a packet from your consort, Mr. Jones. After passing through a variety of scenes, he arrived at Lake Champlain, and afterwards, by several removes, reached Quebec on the 29th of August. His last letters are dated November 2d."* To a friend in Halifax, Mr. Bailey writes, April 18, 1780: "I take this opportunity to recommend to your favor, Capt. Jones. He is appointed to the command of a company in Rogers' Battalion. I am persuaded that his active and enterprising genius will be of great service in the department to which he belongs." Mr. Bailey says to another acquaintance: "I send you this by our friend Jones, who is engaged to chastise the rebels. * * * * You must be persuaded that no man is better fitted for the service, both in point of knowledge and resolution." In a letter, written about the same time, Mr. Bailey says: "We were happily surprised last week with the company of Capt. Jones, one of our Kennebeck neighbours, who escaped from close imprisonment in Boston last spring. After passing through a variety of scenes, he was fortunate enough to reach Quebec, where, meeting with the famous Col. Rogers, he is now engaged in the army, and intends to visit his country by way of Penobscot. His capacity is equal to his undertaking."

John Jones writes to Rev. J. Bailey, from Fort George, September 4th, 1780: "I have had two trips to Kennebeck, one by land, the other in a whaleboat. First, by land: I went up and down, till I found where to strike. Thought best to bring —† off. The way I proceeded was as follows: I surrounded his house in the morning, very early; sent two men to rap at the door. On his crying out, 'Who is there?' I answered, A friend! 'A friend to whom?' I answered, to the Congress, and we are from George's River with an express, for the enemy has landed fifteen hundred troops and three ships. He jumped up and came down with his breeches on, lit a candle, and opened the door. We immediately seized him. On his making some noise, his wife came running down stairs, but soon returned, and put her head out of the chamber window, and halloed, murder! I told her that if she did not hold her tongue, my Indians would scalp her. Away we hauled him into a boat we had prepared, and up the river about a mile above Gardinerston, landed him, and gave him a pair of shoes and stockings, and marched him to Fort George, across the woods, in four days. The whole country was alarmed, and was about six hours after us. In two or three days Rowland (Cushing) came in a flag. In two or three days after, three men came in and informed us how matters were. Joseph North has gone to Boston. Bowman keeps a guard every night, and all the people are much frightened. Rowland keeps a guard, and Maj. Goodwin sleeps every night at the house. Many of our friends have been threatened, but no one is touched or hurt, for great is their fear. Many of the inhabitants don't cut their meadow. All our friends were well, when by water we went and cut out a vessel, and brought her here safe. We also took many others. * * I have had several scoutings since I have been here. Have always got the better of the

* Mr. Bailey also wrote to John Jones at the same time. He said: "Your brother Jack Lee, came to Halifax, some time after the dispersion of the rebels at Penobscot." This letter was enclosed in one directed to Jonas Lee, at Concord, Mass.

† Col. Charles Cushing. He is here called by a nickname.

rebels. Nat. Gardiner is a prisoner with the rebels in Casco gaol. Cushing is going home to effect his exchange and Gardiner's."*

November 6th, 1780, Mr. Bailey writes: "I have had several visits from Capt. Jones, who is a Captain in the army. He is now at Penobscot." In the autumn of 1784, Mr. Bailey writes to Governor Wentworth: "I would beg leave to recommend to your notice Mr. Jones, an honest, worthy loyalist, who has lost an ample estate for his attachment to His Majesty and the British government. He is endeavoring to obtain a grant of Grand Menan, and is desirous of obtaining your interest and that of Gov. Fanning. I can assure you there is not a person of my acquaintance better calculated to improve a wilderness country than Mr. Jones. He was formerly principal surveyor to the Plymouth Company, and has made several fine settlements at Kennebeck before the commencement of the late commotions."† Mr. Jones wrote to Mr. Bailey from St. Andrews, April, 1784, at which time Mrs. Jones was with him. Rev. J. Bailey says, in a MS. History, etc.: "When I arrived at St. Andrews, on the river Santa Croix, I found a number of people from Penobscot and elsewhere, forming a settlement. But while Mr. Jones, the surveyor, was employed in laying out their lands, a party of Indians, under the direction of one Allen, a notorious rebel, took him prisoner. It is uncertain in what manner they intended to dispose of Mr. Jones. However, the second day of his captivity, he had the good fortune to escape, and to proceed in his business without further interruption." Jones returned to the Kennebec after the Revolution, and resided in what is now the city of Augusta. He was employed in 1797 by the Proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase, to compile a large map of their property, from previous surveys. Jones died in Augusta.

THOMAS BROWN, (of Boston.) Rev. J. Bailey says, in his Journal, under date of Halifax, the day of his arrival there, June 21st, 1779: "Mr. Kitson kindly offered to conduct us either to Mr. Brown's or Captain Callahan. * * By this time my old generous friend, Mr. Brown, was arrived."

Rev. J. Bailey, in writing to Miss Sally Weeks at Halifax, under date of Cornwallis, Dec. 7th, 1779, says of one of Thomas Brown's daughters: "I have been acquainted with Becky from her earliest infancy," etc. etc. In a letter to Rev. S. Peters at London, dated April 27, 1781, he speaks of "our friend Brown, when he formerly resided in Boston." T. Brown failed in his business previous to May 2d, 1780, (see his letter,) and afterwards established a school. Rev. J. Bailey in a letter, November 9th, 1781, to Rev. S. Peters, London, in speaking of Thomas Brown, says: "This poor gentleman is still detained under complaint of his unmerciful creditors. I cannot prevail for his release, though I am his principal creditor." Thomas Brown writes to Mrs. Bailey, Halifax, September 17th, 1792: "I made a verbal agreement three years ago, to receive one hundred pounds per annum for teaching in this Academy. I have no legal appointment in the school, nor do I know at present whom to demand payment of for my services. I am now almost a cripple. A year ago last January I was suddenly attacked with a severe stroke of the palsy, and have not yet recovered the free use of my right arm, right leg, and my speech."

*In the Boston Gazette, of July 24th, 1780, is the following item: "We hear from Pownalboro', that about Ten Days ago, a Party of Tories surrounded the House of — Cushing, Esq.; High Sheriff of the County of Lincoln, in the Night, took him out of Bed, and carried him off to the Enemy."

†Sabine says, in his *American Loyalists*, p. 318, of Moses Gerrish: "After the peace, he and Thomas Ross, and one Jones,* obtained License of occupation of the island of Grand Menan, New Brunswick, and its dependences, and on condition, etc., were to receive a grant, etc. They commenced the settlement of the island, and sold several lots in anticipation of their own title, but failed to fulfil the conditions, and did not obtain the expected grant. Jones returned to the United States."

*The subject of the above sketch, as the writer has been assured, by persons who knew the fact.

Capt. CHARLES CALLAHAN, (of Pownalborough, Me.) The father of this person resided in the town above named, and died there before Mr. Bailey left the country. Capt. Callahan commanded a coasting vessel in the year 1772, and was bound on a foreign voyage, perhaps as master, in October 1774, as appears by Rev. J. Bailey's letter to the Venerable Society, of that date, inserted in the Memoir, p. 105. He was at that time one of the Warden's of St. John's Church, Pownalborough. Capt. Callahan, although a loyalist in principle, was not disposed to take any active part in the contest then going on between the mother country and her revolted colonies. Nor was he disposed to remove to any place within the jurisdiction of the British. But having been repeatedly "drafted" to serve in the Provincial army, he became convinced that he was dishonestly dealt with in this matter, and he then determined to defeat the power of his enemies by leaving the country. He was proscribed and banished by Massachusetts in 1778. The next mention of him is in a letter, October 10th, 1778, in which Mr. Bailey says: "Capt. Callahan is Captain of a twelve-gun sloop of war in the King's service."

In Mr. Bailey's Journal, under date of June 21st, 1779, he inserted the following, which he probably obtained from the wife of the subject of this notice, at whose house he then was:—

"The adventures of Capt. Callahan. He embarked in a small open boat with Mr. Jarvis and Mr. Kitson in the night, and falling down the [Kennebec] river went on shore to refresh themselves at Mr. Thomas Percy's, and were received by that benevolent and hospitable family with great expressions of friendship. But when Capt. Callahan had reached this distance, he began to reflect, and that fondness he retained for his house and possessions, and the extreme tenderness he had for his wife and family, almost tempted him to renounce the principles of reason and loyalty. The thoughts of exposing everything dear and engaging, sadly oppressed his spirits, and sank him into the glooms of despondency. When his companions observed the agitations of his bosom and the afflicting struggles between duty and affection, they both began, with a degree of fierceness and asperity, to upraid him for his timidity and want of resolution, and even proceeded so far as to accuse him of disaffection to His Majesty. This unjust reflection stung him to the very soul, and he replied with a determined spirit, 'No person breathing has greater aversion to the American rebellion than myself. It is true, I have a prevailing attachment to my aged parent and beloved wife, and the thoughts of leaving them unprotected to the malice and cruelty of the miscreants about them tears my very soul in pieces, and if I had been weak enough to return, I would never make any compliance that I could not reconcile to my conscience. But I am now determined to proceed to Halifax, let what will be the consequence!'

"As soon as the tide served their purpose in the morning they embarked, and kept along shore till they imagined it proper to cross the Bay of Fundy. But they had not proceeded far in this tremendous gulph before the wind began to blow in opposition to the tide, and raised a rough and dangerous sea. - This obliged them to alter their course, and to steer quartering over the billows. In this situation Capt. Callahan kept at the helm for sixteen hours, till at length, being overcome with fatigue, and his spirits entirely exhausted, he, in a manner fainted, gave up the helm, and entrusted the boat to the mercy of the raging seas. During the period of this alarming voyage Mr. Jarvis and Kitson lay in the bottom of the vessel, dying sick, but now perceiving nothing in prospect except speedy death, the latter crawled up and seized the helm, and in a few hours conveyed the boat into a place of security. Capt. Callahan, upon his arrival at Halifax, was received with great attention, admitted upon the list of the King's pilots, and shortly after advanced to the command of the Gage, in which department he behaved with remarkable courage and fidelity. He quickly became a terror to the Rebels, took a number of their fishing and coasting

vessels, and destroyed several of their privateers. In the summer of 1778 the people of Naskeag, a settlement on the eastern shore of Penobscot Bay, fired upon his boat as they were going to take in water, and mortally wounded one of his hands. Having received this inhuman provocation he immediately landed, and burnt all their habitations, to the number of ten or twelve, and drove the barbarous inhabitants into the woods. I was at Boston when the news of this exploit reached that Metropolis of sedition, and the authorities were so highly enraged that two stout privateers were sent to intercept him, but they were not fortunate enough to accomplish their design.*

"Capt. Callahan, after a considerable run of success, had at length the misfortune to be cast away near the light-house in a terrible storm, the day after last Christmas, by which accident one of his men was killed, and himself wounded in escaping on shore. The rest were saved, though some were miserably frozen. Since that calamitous affair the Captain has been unable to procure the command of another vessel, though he still draws wages as a pilot, and was now with Capt. Mowat in the expedition against Penobscot." Thomas Brown writes from Halifax, under date of 29th December, 1779, to Rev. J. Bailey, at Cornwallis, and says that Capt. Callahan went pilot of the ship *North*, to Spanish River, and that "Capt. Mowat persuaded him to it, with an expectation of taking him in the Albany to Penobscot, when he should return from Spanish River, and placing him in an armed vessel of his own fitting out during the winter. * * After sailing from Spanish River they soon parted from several of their fleet in tempestuous weather, and on Thursday, 9th instant, with the ship *St. Helena* and a brig and snow, arrived safe in Beaver Harbour, about 20 leagues eastward of this. * * The next day, being Friday, they all sailed from Beaver Harbour about 10 o'clock in the morning for Halifax. During the day, the wind not being very favourable, and one or two of the fleet being heavy sailing vessels, Capt. Selby was obliged to shorten sail, that they might keep up with him. Towards night a storm seemed to be speedily approaching, which induced him to run for the light-house, and, if possible, to get into harbour that night. About 7 o'clock in the evening they discovered the light-house, but being so near the shore, and the wind increasing, thought they could not weather Sambro Head, and so cast anchor. * * About half past one on Saturday morning the *North* fired a gun as a signal in distress, and Mr. Robinson perceived that she had struck upon the rocks, and in a short time saw her fall to pieces. * * * After the *North* went to pieces numbers of her people swam and floated about the *St. Helena* and begged for assistance, but they could afford them very little. * * * Only five people belonging to the *North* escaped with their lives, out of about one hundred and seventy that were on board when she struck. Capt. Smith, who belonged to Plymouth, in New England * * was pilot of the *North*, and supposed to be as well knowing to this harbour as any man, had charge of the ship when she was lost; he has left a widow and eight children at Plymouth. The last I can hear of poor Callahan is, that he was on the quarter deck with Capt. Selby at the time of the vessel's striking, and, I am told, that he forewarned them of their approaching danger, but in the time of the general confusion was not attended to. This is the substance of that unhappy affair, as related to me by Mr. Robinson, who was in the *St. Helena*, and two seamen who escaped from the *North*. * * I am certain that he (Capt. C.) was the best pilot on board. There was also a good understanding between him and Capt. Smith, the ship's pilot, who was a very worthy, honest man."

* The Boston Journal, of Nov. 22d, 1850, contained a letter signed William Reed, dated Naskeag, July 3, 1778, and directed to Col. Jonathan Buck, at Penobscot, giving an account of this attack. The Belfast Signal noticed this letter, (see Boston Journal, Dec. 10th, 1850,) stated that Naskeag is now called Sedgwick, and suggested that there must be a mistake in the date of the letter. But this was not so.

The widow of the deceased became a claimant on the British government for part of the amount allowed by them to American Loyalists as a compensation for their losses. During a part of the time, after the death of her husband, she resided with Rev. Jacob Bailey, at Annapolis. In 1782 she lived in Halifax. Two years after the farm and buildings in Pownalborough, abandoned by Capt. Callahan, were unoccupied and rapidly deteriorating. Mrs. C. returned to the United States during that year, but in a few months afterwards was residing with Rev. Mr. Bailey, at Annapolis. Repeated applications were made to the Commissioners appointed for examining the claims of American Loyalists, for compensation to Mrs. Callahan, and she received £40 sterling annually from the British government during her life. Her farm and buildings came into her possession. She returned to Pownalborough about 1790, where she resided till her death, which took place in 1816.

In Rev. J. Bailey's Journal, under date of June 21st, 1779, he writes the following :
 "The Adventures of the Turners and John Carlo.

"In the beginning of May, 1778, THOMAS TURNER, JAMES TURNER, COOKSON, their brother-in-law, and JOHN and MARTIN CARLO, two brothers, set out on foot, with a design of travelling by land to Halifax, in Nova Scotia.

"They met with a prodigious variety of hardships, obstacles and dangers in their journey, not to mention that perpetual dread of detection, which attended their route. At length, meeting with a number of rebel soldiers, they were constrained to enlist, but were honest enough to refuse the money till they should arrive at Machias. However, instead of proceeding directly to the place of rendezvous, they visited the famous Col. Jones, and applied to him for advice and direction. This gentleman provided our adventurers with a boat, in form of a barge, in which they embarked without any knowledge either of the way, or of navigation. They however ventured to row along shore, in consequence of some general instructions, and then crossed over, by accident, to Grand Menan, and seeing land at a great distance, they set off at daylight, and continued to contend with a boisterous sea till after dark, without arriving at any shore. During all this tedious day, they were obliged to ply the oars with their utmost strength, till they were quite discouraged, and their vigour exhausted, but knowing that any relaxation of their struggles would be fatal, they continued their labours without ceasing, till after midnight, when they entered a bay, round which they discovered a large number of settlements. In this situation they were full of anxiety, for being ignorant in what region they had fallen, they were extremely uneasy lest this territory belonged to the rebels. But, upon inquiry, they perceived, to their inexpressible satisfaction, themselves within the limits of Nova Scotia, and that the town before them was a settlement which belonged to the ancient French inhabitants. Here the inhabitants were kind enough to give them ample refreshment. This place being not far distant from Annapolis, they took the first opportunity of going thither, and from thence proceeded by land to Halifax, where they got into business. James Turner and Cookson are still in this town ; Thomas Turner and John Carlo, at Penobscot, and Martin Carlo, at Lunenburg." John Jones, writes from Halifax, July 10th, 1781, to Rev. J. Bailey : "T. Turner and M. Carlo were taken prisoners at Kennebeck, and are gone to Boston, and have got my old berth." Afterwards, in writing from Fort George, Penobscot, March 11th, 1782, to Rev. J. Bailey, the same person says : "Thomas Turner and brother, and Martin Carlo, are gone to live at home in peace."

EDMUND DOHARTY, (formerly of Pownalboro', Me.) Rev. J. Bailey says, in a letter to him at Halifax, dated Cornwallis, November 30, 1779 : "You cannot imagine what pleasure it gives me to hear from one of my former parishioners in this strange country. Your letter reminds me of those dear friends we left behind in the pleasant land of our nativity ; and, though it is our misfortune to remain in a state of banish-

ment, yet, etc. etc. Give our kind regards to your consort and our brother wanderers, who reside at your house."

Thomas Brown, in a letter, dated Halifax, 29th December, 1799, says: "Doharty was found out to connive imprudently in the concealment of some deserters from the Virginia and Albany men-of-war, by which means both he and the old fellow (Dr. C. Mayer,) were dismissed the (Capt. Spry's) works, but upon examination, the latter was found to be ignorant of the matter, and restored to favor again, and how the former will support his family, I know not, as his reputation is greatly blasted by his foolish conduct." E. Doharty was in Halifax, January 28, 1781, as appears by his letter of that date, to Rev. J. Bailey. The latter says, April 18, 1781: "Mr. Doharty and Dr. Mayer are just removed to Penobscot." J. Jones says, Fort George, March 11, 1782: "Doharty has gone out on a cruise."

CAPTAIN — COMBS, (of —) Rev. J. Bailey says, in a letter to him at Halifax, dated Cornwallis, December 6th, 1779: "Mr. Brown having informed me of your arrival in this Province, my joy at this agreeable intelligence would not permit me to be silent. * * I am convinced that you must feel exquisite satisfaction, when you reflect upon your escape from the terrors of tyranny and usurpation, and consider yourself allowed to breathe the air of freedom in a region where mild and legal authority prevails. It is one of the warmest wishes of my heart, that you may procure that countenance and encouragement, which your integrity, your sufferings and your loyalty merit. I fancy you are able to furnish me with some interesting anecdotes of the eastern country, where I hear you resided some time before your departure." In a letter to Mr. Thomas Brown, at Halifax, of same date, Rev. J. Bailey says: "I am rejoiced to hear that Capt. Combs has been fortunate enough to escape from the Rebels. You may regard him as a person of real worth and unshaken integrity, who has resisted all the efforts of his countrymen to seduce and subdue him with amazing fortitude, and his honest attachment to the British government is nearly without example."

JOSEPH DOMETTE, (of Boston, Mass.) Rev. J. Bailey says, in a letter to him at New York, dated February 11th, 1780: "You cannot imagine how much I suffered on your account, during your imprisonment in Boston. I greatly feared that your constitution would not be able to struggle with such a severe misfortune." Joseph Domette, in a letter to Rev. J. Bailey, dated "Brompton, near London, August 17th, 1780," says: "Your anxious concern for me during my cruel persecution, and cordial congratulations on my delivery, are proofs of your benevolence, etc. etc." Mrs. Domette was with him. Thomas Oxnard writes to Rev. J. Bailey, at Cornwallis, under date of New York, December 12th, 1780. Mr. Oxnard says: "Your friend, Mr. Domette, has got £80 a year from Government, and £90 more, by employment from a friend."

Rev. Mr. Bailey writes to J. Domette, at Brompton, near London, under date of November 6th, 1780: "I have in keeping the manuscript you committed to my care at the conflagration of Falmouth." Rev. J. Bailey writes to Mr. Joseph Domette, at London, October 31st, 1784: acknowledging the receipt of a letter from him. Rev. J. Bailey writes to Rev. J. Wiswell, Cornwallis, December 4th, 1784, and says: "I was favoured with letters from our brethren Peters and Clark, (then in London,) and one from Mr. Domette, who makes the kindest inquiries after your situation and welfare." Rev. J. Bailey writes, June 13, 1785, to Miss Nye, and says: "I received, yesterday, a large packet of letters from London, written by Mr. Peters, Mr. Clark, Mr. Domette, and others. The latter is about taking Orders, probably for Digby." Rev. J. Bailey writes, June 20, 1785, to Mr. Joseph Domette, London: "I am much pleased with your intention of entering into Holy Orders, but am distressed to hear, by Col. Fry, that you no longer receive a pension from the Government. * * * my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Domette." Nathaniel Coffin writes, August 10th, 1791, to

Rev. J. Bailey: "I lately heard from our friend, Mr. Domette. He writes from Axminster, Devonshire, — says he has gone through many scenes of disappointment; but since, I heard by a friend, that he had taken Orders, and is settled either in Ireland or Wales."

CAPT. CAMPBELL, (of ———.) Rev. J. Bailey, in writing to Joseph Domette, at New York, under date of Cornwallis, February 11th, 1780, says: "Capt. Campbell, Commander of the garrison in this place, is a refugee." In writing to Rev. J. W. Weeks, at Halifax, dated Cornwallis, February 21, 1781, Rev. J. Bailey says: "I beg you would také notice of Johnny Campbell, the bearer, he is a brother refugee, and a favorite." *Mem.*—From a previous letter, it seems that this Johnny Campbell was the son of the above Capt. Campbell, and that after having been a scholar in Mr. Bailey's family, he was destined to enter the Royal Navy. In a letter to Rev. S. Peters, in London, October 15, 1782, Rev. J. Bailey speaks of Capt. Campbell being second in command of the 84th Regiment, in June, 1780.

THOMAS ROBIE, (of ———.) Rev. J. Bailey, in a letter to "Thomas Robie, Esq., at Halifax," dated Cornwallis, February 26th, 1780, says: "The same spirit which pushes men in the land of our nativity to commence Committee men, etc. etc., in these regions, engages men of strong passions and slender abilities to become preachers." Rev. J. Bailey writes, under date of Cornwallis, October 23d, to Mr. Robie, at Halifax, in behalf of Mr. Thomas Brown, who, it seems, was a debtor to Mr. Robie. Also, in another letter, of same date, to Mr. Robie, Mr. B. says: "If you are willing to take my bills, I can immediately transmit you a bill of £12 10, which was due in September."

JOSEPH PATTEN, (of ———.) Rev. William Clark writes to Rev. J. Bailey, at ———, under date of London, December 2d, 1779, and says: "Joseph Patten, Esq., (formerly an active man in that Mission,* and Representative for that County,) I think you must know, inasmuch as he once told me that he had for a while attended your ministry when he lived in the Eastern Country. I want to know whether he be living, and what part he takes in affairs, *publick and parochial*, etc. I wrote him by Mr. (Rev. J. W.,) Weeks." (This letter is directed to Joseph Patten, Esq., Granville, N. S., and is dated London, March 23d, 1779.)

MAJOR ROGERS, (of ———.) Rev. J. Bailey writes to Maj. Samuel Goodwin, at Pownalboro', under date of September 3d, 1779, and says: "The famous, now Col., but once Major Rogers, is raising two or three battalions of men to range the Eastern Country, etc etc." This was probably Maj. Robert Rogers, of New Hampshire, of whom an interesting account is given in "Sabine's American Loyalists, p. 576, s. s.

—— DOWLING, (of ———.) John Jones writes, Fort George, Penobscot, May 12, 1782, to Rev. J. Bailey. "Mr. Dowling, and a number of our refugees, have been to Marblehead in order to cut out a twenty-gun ship. They were discovered when on shore, and part went and cut out a shallop at noonday, and got in safe. Mr. Dowling, Towns and Dickey, and others, went out of town at noonday to Boston undiscovered, and then got on board of some vessel, came to Kennebeck, and got here safe, except one or two who stopped a few days with their friends."

—— CUMMINGS, (of Hollis, N. H.) Rev. J. Bailey writes: Annapolis, Dec. 11th, 1782, to Thomas Brown, at Halifax. "We have two families of refugees in the house, Mr. Cummins, a gentleman from Hollis, New Hampshire, with a wife and two children from Connecticut; the other is Mr. McKnown, from Boston, with two negro men, and a free woman of the same complexion."

* Annapolis Royal.

JOHN MCKOWN, (of Pemaquid, Me.) "Among other (fellow sufferers from New York,) we have at our house one John McKnown, whose father and friends lived at Pemaquid. I imagine you must have some acquaintance with the family. He is a sociable, honest young gentleman, newly married, and his wife tarries at New York." —Rev. J. Bailey's letter, Jan. 2d, 1783, to Mrs. Callahan, (formerly of Pownalborough, Me.)

—FORMAN. Rev. J. Bailey, in writing to the Society, P. G., October 28, 1784, speaks of "Mr. Forman, the principal schoolmaster in Digby, N. S." He calls him "a Refugee and an half-pay officer," and narrates his efforts to promote a proper observance of the Lord's Day, by assembling his pupils for divine service on that day. These were joined by the scholars of other schools in the town, and afterwards by many adults. These efforts, Mr. Bailey says, produced a salutary effect.

COL. (PETER?) FRY, (of Salem, Mass.) Rev. J. Bailey writes to Rev. S. Parker, July 1, 1785, and speaks of intelligence received from England "by Col. Fry, formerly of Salem, who," he says, "resides in my family." In writing to Rev. S. Peters, at London, June 20, 1785, he acknowledges the receipt of letters from him, and says: "Col. Fry, the bearer, takes up his residence under my roof." Rev. J. Bailey says, August 16, 1785, to Rev. Edward Bass: "Col. Fry, late of Salem, left London on the first of May, and now resides at my house." Peter Fry writes, Halifax, N. S., May 22d, 1786, to Rev. J. Bailey: "I would assist you in this matter, but am obliged to leave this part of the world for New Foundland."

WILLIAM GARDINER. Rev. J. Bailey writes to Rev. J. W. Weeks, of Marblehead, under date of Pownalborough, October 10th, 1777: "We have had two Tory Courts. In the former they condemned Mr. William Gardiner." Rev. J. Bailey writes also to Rev. Edward Bass, Newburyport, Sept. 21st, 1777: "I write this by Mr. Gardiner, who is condemned in a most extraordinary manner for transportation." To John Weeks, Esq., of Greenland, N. H., Mr. Bailey also writes, Pownalborough, Sept. 22d, 1777: "I have committed this letter to the care of Mr. Gardiner, who has been tried and condemned without being allowed the benefit of the law, and is now on his journey to Boston, where he will be confined on board a guard ship, unless the sentence shall be reversed." Also to Rev. Dr. Byles: "Pownalborough, October 10, 1777. I must refer to the bearer, Mr. Gardiner, for particulars. He is a true loyalist, and has from the beginning opposed the American measures. No man among us has done more, according to his abilities, to support the distressed friends of government." To Dr. Silvester Gardiner, at London, Rev. J. Bailey writes, Halifax, July 29th, 1779, and says: "The malice of Cushing and Bowman has been restless and furious, both against me and your son. After long attendance Mr. Gardiner obtained leave to visit you at York, but was unhappy enough to find that you had sailed for England. He then returned to Kennebeck, from whence he was driven in April last, but returned June 1st."

—WALLACE. Thomas Brown writes, Halifax, Feb. 16th, 1780: "A man lately died with the small pox at his (Ed. Doherty's) house, in Halifax, who had the distemper as bad, I suppose, as any man ever had it. His name was Wallace, a refugee from New England, a man of good character, who lodged at his house, and was persuaded to be inoculated by a Hessian doctor, and, I believe, lost his life by that means."

NATHANIEL GARDINER, (of Pownalborough.) Rev. J. Bailey writes, Pownalborough, Oct. 13, 1777, to Mr. Thomas Brown, at —: "The bearer, Mr. Nath'l Gardiner, kinsman to Dr. Gardiner, I can recommend as a steady friend to Government. He has greatly distinguished himself by using both his influence and fortune for the support of those who have been persecuted and distressed, &c. &c." John Jones writes,

under date of Fort George, Penobscot, Sept. 4th, 1780, to Rev. J. Bailey, at Cornwallis: "Nat. Gardiner is a prisoner with the rebels in Casco gaol." Thos. Brown in a letter, Halifax, Sept. 13, 1780, to Rev. J. Bailey, at Cornwallis, says: "Nath'l Gardiner, in attempting to get up some iron, belonging to the rebel wrecks," (at Penobscot,) "was unluckily made a prisoner, and is now in Salem (?) gaol. His family is at Penobscot." Nathaniel Gardiner writes from Fort George, Penobscot, January 21st, 1781, to Rev. J. Bailey, at Cornwallis, and says: "In May last I sailed from New York in the armed schooner *Golden Pippin*, which I had the honour to command, and arrived safe at this port after a short passage with my family, designing upon a cruise as soon as I could ship a proper crew, but finding hands scarce, and being advised to go up Penobscot River, (by Commodore Mowat,) was unfortunately taken by a party of rebels, (being a detachment of Gen'l Wadsworth's rebels.) They immediately proceeded with me to Brunswick, (on New Meadow's River,) where I was taken out of said vessel by John Hobby, John Wood, Benjamin Lemmon, and a number of other rebels unknown, who carried me to said Lemmon's house, and kept me under a strong guard all night. In the morning I was marched to Dummer Sewall's, for orders, who never examined me a word, but gave orders for my marching to Casco goal in irons. These orders were complied with, and I was marched down to Stephen Samson's to have my irons on, where I was met by a crowd of miscreants, from whom I received abundance of insults and menaces, hardly to be borne with, and in about an hour set out for Casco. Arrived at Brunswick, at Stone's, in the evening, much fatigued. I was put into a chamber, where four men guarded me the whole night, with the door locked, and in bed in irons. The next morning early set out for Falmouth, where we arrived about sunset. In my way I was carried to the gallows, and told that that was my place. I was delivered to one Joseph Prime, then Commanding Officer at Falmouth; and after searching my pockets, and taking from me my Commission and instructions from the Court of Admiralty, thrust me into gaol, where I had neither bed, blanket, or anything to lay on but the oak plank floor, with the heads of spikes an inch high, and so thick together I could not lay down clear of them. Neither victuals nor drink ordered me, and a strong guard set at the prison, in which I lay five days. My son brought me some money, or I must have died from such cruel treatment as I received at their hands. I arrived at Casco prison the 29th day of June, 1780, and was indicted for High Treason the latter part of the first week in July following, as you will see by the enclosed copy. I employed Mr. Lowell and Mr. Bradbury for my counsel, who were threatened by the mobility at the Court House door for undertaking for a Tory. At length, by the interest and influence of my two attorneys, the case was continued to next term. I tarried in prison four months, during which time they never allowed me the value of a paper dollar to eat or drink, but what I paid for as I had it. After they robbed me of clothes, and even my pocket-book, they told the gaoler if I could not support myself I might die and be —. At length I found means to break the prison and make my escape."

In a letter from the same to the same, from same place, dated March 12th, 1781, he says: "I have the pleasure to inform you that Sally is married to Mr. Rogers, the Commissary of this garrison. Docter Coffin was very kind to me while in prison, and desires to be remembered to you. I left Ridley in Casco gaol when I left it, for Toryism, but, I am informed, he is since gone home." Nathaniel Gardiner writes to Rev. J. Bailey, Cornwallis, under date Fort George, Penobscot, March 28th, 1781; "I send you a copy of my Indictment, in order to let you know the determination of the Rebels, while in their power, with insults and irons for four months, without anything to eat or drink, and at last broke gaol and made my escape. Indeed, I am not able to describe to you my sufferings. They have robbed me of all I had, and reduced me to the lowest ebb. I am in no way of doing anything at present."

Rev. J. Bailey, in answering the above, April 17, 1781, says: "I determine to

transmit a copy of your indictment to Mr. Domette and Mr. Lyde, who have considerable influence with some leading gentlemen. * * I shall have strong inducements to do this, both from motives of sympathy and gratitude, for the many favours we formerly received from your generosity have laid us under pressing obligations to make the most sensible returns in our power." In writing to George Lyde, at London, under date of April 30, 1781, Rev. J. Bailey says: "Mr. Nathaniel Gardiner was formerly a Justice in the colony of Rhode Island, but lately an inhabitant of Pownalborough, on the Kennebec River. * * After being cruelly harrassed and plundered, he escaped from the dominions of revolt, and through various obstructions arrived in safety at New York." H. B. Brown, in writing to Rev. J. Bailey, Halifax, June 29th, 1783, speaks of the proposed abandonment of Fort George, Penobscot, by the British. He continues: "some of the inhabitants intend for Port Roseway, others for Passamaquoddy. Mr. Gardiner and family are for the former. He has been over there lately with a load of boards, and has drawn his lot." Rev. J. Bailey wrote to N. Gardiner, July 26th, 1784: "I am anxious to hear in what manner you proceed at Port Roseway, and whether you are in love with the name, Shelburne?"

— CHARLESTOWN.* Rev. J. Bailey writes, Cornwallis, Sept. 6th, 1781, to Rev. J. W. Weeks: "I am favoured with your letter by Charlestown, who has often transported us over the river of rebellion when we resided at Cambridge."

DR. JAMES TUPPER, (of Pownalboro'.) This gentleman resided at Pownalboro', at least from August 24th, 1772, till June 8th, 1775, as during the time embraced between these two dates entries are made in Rev. J. Bailey's Journal of their exchanging visits at their respective houses. In September, 1779, Mr. Bailey writes to him at Newport, R. I., and speaks of "our friends in that quarter," meaning Pownalboro', which he had just before mentioned.

In a letter from Fort George, May 12th, 1782, it is said: "Dr. Tupper is here, and gives me the news from that quarter.† He has lived at home with his father in peace for a long time." Rev. J. Bailey writes June 10th, 1787, to Peter Hunter, Esq., Secretary to the Commissioners, &c., at St. John, N. B.: "I enclosed to your direction, some time ago, a certificate respecting Mrs. Rebecca Callahan, but as I am uncertain whether you ever received it, I would beg leave to transmit another by Dr. Tupper, a gentleman with whom I have long been acquainted. He was High Sheriff under His Majesty. I know him to have been loyal from the beginning of the late revolution, and that he has suffered several severe imprisonments for his adherence to the Royal cause." This application probably proved unsuccessful, as the subject of this notice returned to Nantucket, where he died.

BENJAMIN SNOW. Mr. Bailey says of this person, that "he made his escape to Annapolis in 1781." In a letter to the Venerable Society, Oct., 1782, Mr. Bailey writes: "The school at Annapolis has been supplied for a year past by Mr. Benjamin Snow, who received his education at Dartmouth College and was expelled from New England for his loyalty." Rev. Dr. Morice in his reply to this communication in January of the following year, says: "The Society have complied with all your requests. They have appointed Mr. Benjamin Snow their schoolmaster at Annapolis, with the usual salary of ten Pounds, commencing on Michaelmas last." In the spring of 1783 Mr. Bailey wrote to the subject of this notice at St. Johns, N. B., to which place he had then removed. December 10th, 1785, Mr. Bailey wrote to Rev. Mr. Cook, at the above-named place: "I am persuaded that Mr. Snow is in very narrow circumstances."

*This may have been a nickname given to an individual well known to Mr. Bailey and Mr. Weeks.

† Probably Nantucket.

JOHN LEE, (of Concord, Mass.) October, 1777, Mr. Bailey says: "Mr. Lee is captain of a company in New York." To John Jones, Feb. 8, 1780: "Your brother, Jack Lee, came to Halifax, soon after the dispersion of the rebels at Penobscot, and was frequently at my house. He informed us that his brother had reached New York in safety. He had been in a privateer with Nat. Gardiner, and afterwards returned to Penobscot, and then came to Halifax in the *Nautilus*." And in a letter written about the same time to Mr. Jonas Lee, at Concord, Mass., Mr. Bailey says: "Your brother Jack was frequently at my house in September last, but where he is at present I am uncertain."

CAPTAIN ANTILL GALLOP, (of ———.) He embarked with the British army for Halifax in 1776.

Mr. Bailey says, September 15th, 1781: "Capt. Gallop, my particular friend, left Newbury, (Mass.) within this fortnight, and is now at Windsor."

Thomas Brown writes, Halifax, September 13th, of the same year: "Our friend Gallop has been very unfortunate in his affairs, having been captured by a rebel ship, carried to Guadaloupe, whence he took passage for Newbury, and lately arrived here, in a cartel from Portsmouth." Captain Gallop was at Windsor, N. S., in the following November, as appears from the copy of a letter addressed to him there.

Mr. Bailey writes to him, August 15, 1782, and says: "In the evening I received a visit from Captain Baxter and his son. They inform me that you had been endowed with a grant of one thousand acres of land upon St. John's. This intelligence has excited me to petition for indulgence of the same nature. Our good friend, Captain Baxter, is desirous of having me settle with them, and, in that case, I should be entitled to a thousand acres as the first minister."

The subject of this notice was at Windsor, N. S., October 25th, 1782, and at Parrsborough, July 10th, 1786.

——— WILLIAMS.* Mr. Bailey says in a letter, April 1st, 1783: "The bearer, Mr. Williams, was formerly an eminent lawyer in New England, but was expelled for his aversion to rebellion."

JAMES ROGERS. Mr. Bailey writes to him September 2d, 1782, and says: "When did you receive any intelligence from Mrs. Rogers, your little son, and our friends at Penobscot?"

Another letter from Mr. Bailey, July 26th, 1784, was addressed to J. Rogers, at Shelburne, N. S.

SIMON BAXTER, (of New Hampshire.) In writing to Joseph Domette, then in England, under date of October 17th, 1782, Mr. Bailey says: "A few days ago I was favoured with a visit from Capt. Baxter, formerly a fellow prisoner with you in Boston."

Captain S. Baxter says in a letter: "Cunnab enis. Feb. 10th, 1783, I am settled with my family on the promised land, and am doing very well."

BARTHOLEMUE SULLIVAN, (of ———,) embarked at Boston with the British army, for Halifax, in 1776.

Rev. J. Bailey wrote to him at New York, July 6th, 1779; also, to the same place, August 14th of the same year, giving him an account of the situation of Gen. McLean, at Penobscot. In a letter, August, 1780, to Bartholemew Sullivan, at New York, Mr. Bailey acknowledges the receipt of a letter from him. Mr. Bailey also wrote, July 26th, 1784, to Mr. Sullivan, and said: "We have both passed through a variety of scenes since our last meeting at the house of our old friend, Dr. Gardiner, in Boston."

*Perhaps Elijah, of Keene, N. H. See Sabine's *American Loyalists*, p. 707.

DR. JONATHAN HICKS, (of Boston, Mass.) Dr. Hicks was in Pownalborough at various times during the first six months of 1774. Mr. Bailey terms him Dr. Hicks, "of Boston," though he was settled for about two years in what is now Gardiner, Maine. Mr. Bailey wrote to him, August 12th, 1779, at Antigua. He also wrote, December 22d, 1780, and said: "By a letter from your brother last winter, I was informed that you were then well at Antigua."

GEORGE LYDE, (of Falmouth, Maine.) This gentleman wrote to Mr. Bailey, February 17th, 1778: "I purpose to go to (New) York in the first frigate, and from thence to London. Capt. Pote, Mr. Oxnard, and Mr. Simmons, are all well, and desire their compliments." A letter was addressed to the subject of this notice at New York, dated July 3d, 1779, by Mr. Bailey, giving him an account of the sufferings which the writer had undergone from political persecutions. He also wrote to him at the same place, during the following winter. In this letter he says: "You have a sister married to an inhabitant of this town, (Cornwallis,) highly bigotted to principles which compelled us and thousands more, to abandon our beloved homes, and to explore an asylum in distant climes." J. Domette, in a letter from Brompton, near London, August 17th, 1780, says: "Mr. Lyde is well, and, I believe, intends writing."

JOHN CARLETON, (of Woolwich, Me.) Mr. Bailey says, April 27th, 1781, in a letter to Rev. William Clark: "As to Mr. Carleton, he is one of my old Parishioners, a man of the highest integrity, the most undaunted fortitude and inflexible loyalty. When the whole country was rising into sedition and mobs, spreading the terrors of their rioting into every region, nothing could shake his firmness, or abate his intrepidity, and though he was met in a lonely forest by near two hundred men in arms, requiring him to sign the solemn league and covenant, or consent to be buried alive, he nobly acquiesced with the latter, and with great resolution assisted in digging his own grave: but finding him still unmoved with their menaces, they allowed him to escape. There were generous spirits among them, swearing that he was a brave fellow. He afterwards concealed in his house, supported and aided in their flight, several unhappy exiles. He was a friendly benefactor to me and family, and it was from his house we took our departure for Nova Scotia. But I am almost wholly unacquainted with his story since that event. It is true, I received a short letter from him a few days ago, announcing his residence at Penobscot."

April 7th, 1781. Mr. Bailey writes to Thomas Brown, and speaks of having just received letters from Penobscot, "from our old friend, John Carleton." "Mr. Carleton," he continues, "was plundered by the rebels, and after a variety of adventures, reached the British lines in company with several young men of his neighbourhood. He is regarded as a man of enterprise and activity. A number of my parishioners and acquaintance have lately arrived from the rebel dominions, among the rest, Mr. Benoni Gardiner, son to Nathaniel Gardiner." The following day, in a letter to Rev. J. W. Weeks, it is said: "Carleton being taken by a vessel in the British service, and carried into the above-mentioned port,* was sent in his own schooner, by Col. Campbell, as a cartel to Boston. But without any regard to the sanctity of a flag, the rebels seized his vessel, and plundered his effects. He was, however, fortunate enough to escape, and with two or three young fellows, belonging to Woolwich, reached Penobscot in safety, leaving a wife and ten children to the mercy of the incensed rebels." A letter from Fort George, Penobscot, written about a month later than the foregoing, says: "Carleton is gone in a flag to Kennebeck for some families."

Mr. Bailey addressed the following to Captain C. It is dated Cornwallis, N. S. April 8th, 1782. "I received a letter from you last summer, but was prevented from

* Penobscot.

making any reply by reason of the rebel boats and plunderers on our coast. I have letters from Penobscot, but no mention of you. As to what you mentioned concerning your return to Kennebeck: if you are not already there, I would beg leave to reply, that I cannot apprehend it would be prudent for you to put yourself into their power, and to what purpose will be Mr. McCobb's protection, however honest his intentions, when there is a power in the governor and his council to apprehend any person they please, and to proceed with him according to martial law. It cannot be denied that, according to their laws, you have been guilty of treason."

—— JACKSON, (of ——.) Rev. J. Bailey wrote to Mr. Jackson at Pownalboro', Maine, and said: "Mr. Lee has lately arrived here from New York, and informs me that your brother is at Newport, Rhode Island."

—— COFFIN, DR., (of Falmouth, Maine.) In writing to Rev. Mr. Wiswall, April 28th, 1781, Mr. Bailey says: "Dr. Coffin still continues at Falmouth, an inflexible friend of government."

DR. CASSIMIRE MEYER, (of Pownalboro', Maine.) Dr. Meyer accompanied Rev. J. Bailey in his journey to Halifax, in June, 1779. When Mr. B. left that place for Cornwallis, Dr. M. remained behind. He was implicated with Edmund Doharty, in the concealment of deserters from British men-of-war, but was cleared from the charge. (See under E. Doharty.) Mr. Bailey says, April 18th, 1781: "Mr. Doharty and Dr. Meyer are just removed to Penobscot." Mrs. R. Callahan writes, Pownalboro', Oct. 11th, 1789: "The Meyers are all well. Cassimire has returned, built him a hut on the banks of the Sydney, and lives quite in the hermit's style. The name of the Eastern River is altered by Court to that of Sydney."

MAJ. SAMUEL GOODWIN, (of Pownalboro'.) His agency in promoting the settlement of Kennebec has been spoken of.

Mr. Bailey says: "Major Goodwin signed an address to Gen. Gage."

LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

The following letters and journals were not inserted in the Memoir. But as they appear to contain much that is worthy of being preserved, they are placed in the Appendix.

To Dr. S. Gardiner, Boston.

POWNALEBORO', April 8th, 1763.

* * As to Cobbosee,* I am sorry to find some of the greatest bigots there in the land against the Church of England. I was lately among them to preach a lecture, but the people excused themselves from attending, and desired that I would visit them on a Sunday. I however preached at Capt. Howard's,† and had a considerable congregation of the upper settlers. * * *

To Rev. H. Caner, Boston.

POWNALEBORO', March 10th, 1766.

* * I have had more avocations abroad this winter than ever, on the business of my Mission, and have been several journeys of twenty or thirty miles each way, to marry and baptize.

To Mr. Amos Bailey.

POWNALEBORO', October 15th, 1766.

* * * We have all been alarmed on account of the Indians, and have been obliged to quit our habitations, though there has not the least damage been done by them.

1767.

August 1st. At Richmond, at Mr. Nye's.

2d—Sunday. 80 persons at Church. Contribution, £3 19 6, O. T.

3d. Mrs. Silvester here.

* * * * *

13th. Visit from Mess. Bowdoin's, Pitts' and Reed's families.

16th—Sunday. 82 persons at Church. Contribution, £2 12 0.

20th. Married John Row and Hannah Chase. 60 people present.

27th. A great quarrel at Frankfort.‡

September 7th. At Richmond, at Deacon Chase's.

11th. At Mr. Houdlette's. Married Philip Mayer and Polly Houdlette. Sixty people present. A fine entertainment.

21st. Set out to meet Mr. Weeks.¶ Lodged at Dr. Moor's.

* Cobosee-contec, or Sturgeon River, is the Indian name of a stream which enters the Kennebec at the present city of Gardiner. The territory near the junction of the two rivers retained for a long time the name which the Indians gave to the stream.

† Probably at Fort Western, in the present city of Augusta.

‡ This was the name of the West Precinct of Pownaleboro', before the territory bearing that appellation was incorporated. The original name appears to have continued in popular language many years after the act of incorporation.

¶ Rev. J. Wingate Weeks, Rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead.

- 22d. Travelled to Skillings' (?) with Capt. Berry.
 23d. Arrived at Ladd's, (?) but saw nothing of Mr. Weeks. At night, came to Mr. Greenwood's and lodged.
 24th. Travelled with Mr. Greenwood. Arrived at Portsmouth, and slept at Col. Warner's.
 25th. Arrived at Newbury, and slept at (Rev.) Mr. Bass's.
 26th. Changed horses at Rowley. Arrived at Marblehead.
 27th—Sunday. Preached for Mr. Weeks.
 28th. Mr. Weeks procured for me five dollars. Capt. Walton (?) gave me one. Arrived at Marchas, (Manchester?) and lodged at my brother's.
 29th. Rode to Rowley, and there found my old friend Dr. Moore (?). Spent the afternoon at Mrs. Woodman's.
 30th. Rode to Portsmouth. Visited Mr. Browne,* and slept at Col. Warner's.
 October 1st. Travelled this day with Dr. Jones, Capt. Lovet, and Capt. Woodman. We all put up at Kimball's.
 2d. Reached Mitchell's about dusk.
 3d. Reached Dr. Moor's, greatly fatigued.
 4th. Reached home.
 7th. Unwell, could not attend a funeral.
 8th. Visited Mr. Lilly, Mr. Houdlette, Mr. J. Goud, and Mr. P. Mayer.
 11th—Sunday. 85 persons at Church. Contribution, 18s.
 12th. Mr. Michels arrived here.
 18th—Sunday. But a few people at Church.
 22d. Mrs. Bailey and I go to Woolwich.
 23d. We come from Woolwich, and dine at Mr. Preble's. Afterwards, I go down to Mr. Butler's.
 24th. At Mr. Butler's and Mr. Moulton's.
 25th—Sunday. Preached at Mr. Drummond's.† Baptized two.
 26th. Rode down to Mr. Percy's, but got badly lost.
 27th. Returned. Baptized 5 children.
 28th. A severe storm of rain and snow. At Dr. Moor's, Visited Mr. Winter.‡
 29th. A violent stormy wind. At Dr. Moor's.
 30th. Rode home.
 31st. Travelled in my late excursion 80 miles.

[The Journals are missing from November 1st, 1767, to April 1st, 1769.]

1769.

- April 5th—Sunday. Such bad travelling, no service.
 13th. At Mr. Lilly's,|| Mr. Goud's, Mrs. Patterson's, and Capt. Callahan's.
 15th. Mr. Dunlap here, at Major Goodwin's. Letters from Boston.
 17th. Capt. Callahan arrives here, with a large packet from Dr. Gardiner, containing a plan of a Church, etc. At Mr. Pochard's. Baptized Jane —— Carney.
 18th. Mrs. Chase here.
 21st. At Capt. Callahan's, Mr. Goud's, Mr. Ridley's, etc.
 23d. Rode over to Averill's. Married his daughter Lydia to A. Dunlap.

* Rev. Arthur Browne, Rector of Queen's Chapel.

† In Georgetown.

‡ Probably Rev. Francis Winter, (Harvard Coll., 1765,) Pastor of the Second Congregational parish in Georgetown.

|| Mr. L. was an Englishman. He taught a school for a number of years. Contributions were raised for his benefit, and those under his instruction paid a fixed sum, but the children of the poor were taught gratuitously.

24th. At Dr. Rice's and Mr. Wood's. Married Nathaniel Rundlett to Lydia Laclat (?).

26th—*Easter Day*. Eleven Communicants.

27th. Chose Parish officers.

30th. At Mr. Chase's.

POWNALBORO', January 5th, 1771.

To Mr. William Gardiner.

* * We have had a fine winter here, and the people of Gardinerston are at work upon the frame of their church.

[The Journals are missing from May 1st, 1769, to January 1st, 1772.]

1772.

January 13th. At Martin Haley's.

JANUARY 25th, 1772.

To Mr. William Gardiner.

* * * I am invited to preach at Pond-town,* and other settlements up the river.

27th. Rode to Woolwich. Baptized William and Margaret, children of William and Eliza Gilmore.

February 2d—*Sunday*. 33 persons at Church. Baptized Nathaniel Bailey. Myself and brother, Mrs. Bailey, Eliza Pochard, Capt. Callahan, Mr. Pochard, and Mrs. B. (Sponsors?)

3d. Judge Cushing† and Rowland Cushing spend the evening at my house.

7th. At Mr. Malbone's.

10th. Twenty people here for pews.

16th—*Sunday*. 15 persons at Church. Snow 3 feet 6 inches deep.

25th. (Rev.) Mr. Wheeler‡ here.

29th. Mr. Parsons arrives here.

March 3d. Mr. Parsons returns for Portsmouth.

5th. A most violent snow storm—continues all night. Snow falls to the depth of 14 inches. Set off for Georgetown; obliged to return.

9th. At Mr. White's.

17th. John Stain and George Goud came to cypher.

April 5th—*Sunday*. 70 persons at Church. Baptized J. Jacqueen.

6th. At Mr. Herring's funeral.

20th. A violent, cold snow storm. 8 people at the choice of Church officers.

21st. At Mr. Ridley's and Mr. Lovejoy's.

26th—*Sunday*. 80 persons at Church. Baptized Joanna Carney and Samuel Clensy.

May 16th. Baptized 3 children for Loins.

26th. Baptized Spearing and two children.

29th. Baptized 3 children for Emerson; one of them dies suddenly the same day.

30th. Hannah Emerson buried.

June 2d. At my brother's. Mr. Gardiner.

3d. Mrs. Bailey went with me to Cobbosee.

4th. At Gardinerstown. Six Indians.

*Pond-town includes the present towns of Winthrop, Readfield, and part of Wayne.—*History of Kennebec Purchase*. Me. Hist. Colls., II. 285.

†William Cushing was the first Judge of Probate in Lincoln County. He afterwards received an appointment as Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. At a later date, Washington appointed him a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

‡Of Georgetown.

- 6th. Came home.
 7th—*Sunday*. 100 persons at Church. Contribution, £1 10 0.
 13th. At Capt. Twycross'*.
 17th. At Capt. Lovejoy's. Baptized 4 children at McGown's.
 23d. At Mr. J. Reed's, Mr. Goud's, etc. Esq. Preble, Dr. McKechnie.
 25th. At Mr. Kendall's.
 26th. At Mr. Doe's.
 29th. Set off for Falmouth.
 30th. Arrive at Falmouth.
July 1st. After paying several visits, set off for home, and lodged at Loring's.
 2d. Returned home.
 6th. Dr. (S.) Gardiner and son here.
 12th—*Sunday*. 55 persons at Church. Scales preaches at the Court-house.
 19th—*Sunday*. 95 persons at Church. Scales at the Court-house.
 22d. At Mr. L. Houdlette's. Mr. Gardiner here.
 27th. Required by Col. Cushing to quit my house to M.
 29th. M. takes possession of this house.
August 3d. Mr. Springer here.
 5th. A terrible storm of thunder, lightning and rain, for 6 hours. J. Noble's house struck.
 6th. Went to Gardinerston. Raised their spire.
 8th. At home. Company, Capt. Folger and Mr. Baker.
 10th. At Mr. Patterson's. Baptized Joanna Howard.
 13th. Mr. Winter preached at Mr. Kidder's, and baptized 9 persons.
 14th. Mr. Winter and Mr. Winthrop here.
 16th—*Sunday*. Opened the Church at Cobbosee. 80 persons present. Baptized Daniel Tibbetts, John Door, and Joseph Pike, *Adults*; and Louisa Fletcher, Theodore, Edward and Abiather Tibbetts, and Hannah Warren.
 22d. At Capt. Smith's.
 23d—*Sunday*. 90 persons at Church. Contribution, £1 7 0.
 24th. At Call's. Baptized children for him.
 25th. At Capt. Folger's, to visit Mrs. Pratt, sick.
 29th. At Mr. Leure's (?) Baptized his child.
 30th—*Sunday*. 92 persons at Church. Contribution, £7 0 0.
 31st. Set out with Mrs. Bailey for Boston. Tarried over night at Dr. Moor's.
September 1st. In company with Mr. Winter. Lodged at Bachman's.
 2d. Lodged at Littlefield's.
 3d. Lodged at York.
 4th. Lodged at Newbury.
 5th. Arrived at Marblehead.
Sept. 6th—Sunday. Preached at Marblehead.
 7th. At Marblehead.
 8th. At Salem. Arrived at Boston, an angry interview with Dr. (S.) Gardiner.
 9th. Met with trouble at the Convention.
 10th. Dined at Dr. Byles' in Charlestown.
 11th. Returned to Marblehead.
 12th. Dined at Mr. Abraham's.
 13th—*Sunday*. At Marblehead.
 14th. Dined at Col. Gallison's.

*Robert Twycross came as master of a merchant ship from England to Kennebec. He married Lydia, daughter of Maj. S. Goodwin, by whom he had five children. He left the country in time of the Revolution, and became a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy. His wife and children went to him in London. One of them, Stephen N., returned, and married Mary Bailey, and died in Dresden.

- 15th. John Weeks here.
- 16th. Went to Boston. Mrs. Bailey went to Greenland.
- 17th. Spent the day chiefly at Charlestown.
- 18th. Returned in the evening to Marblehead.
- 19th. At Salem. Supped at Capt. Webbe's.
- 20th—Sunday. Preached, but very unwell.
- 21st. Set out from Marblehead. Lodged at Newbury.
- 22d. Third Mrs. Bailey at North-hill. Lodged at Greenland.
- 23d. Lodged at Cape Natick.
- 24th. In company with Mrs. Perkins, and the Doctor, lodged at Mr. Trask's.
- 25th. Lodged at Mr. Springers.
- 26th. Arrived home with Mrs. Bailey and her brother, the Doctor.
- Oct 6th. Abroad training.
- 11th—Sunday. Disappointed of preaching at Gardinerstown; preached at home.
- 12th. Four children of Mr. Carney's at school.
- 13th. Mr. Gardiner lodges here.

POWNALEBOROUGH, October 15th, 1772.

To Rev. W. W. Wheeler.

REV. SIR:—I was very sorry not to find you at Boston, and was sadly disappointed in missing an opportunity of seeing you. I sincerely regret your absence from this country, which leaves me wholly exposed to the merciless rage, I will presume to say, of the vilest miscreants on earth. You have doubtless heard that I have been expelled my habitation; and with a view of preserving the church from destruction I took a lease of the parsonage house for six months. Dr. Gardiner was extremely offended at my proceedings. He wanted me to engage in a law suit with M., but, in the opinion of good lawyers, fully acquainted with the circumstances, there was hardly a bare probability of success. There is now liberty of redemption till the last of next July, and if the Doctor would compose himself to reason, the affair might easily be accommodated. But this gentleman was certainly wrong to erect the church and house upon disputed lands, contrary to repeated remonstrances. At Convention I had a most melancholy time. The Doctor made his complaint against me to the clergy, accused me of sacrilege, and, if I understand the matter, endeavoured to obtain their interest against me with the Society. Two or three gentlemen were very severe against me, and an equal number were in my favour. At length the matter dropped without any representation of the affair to the Society. I reckon myself under peculiar obligations to Mr. Troutbeck and Mr. Winslow. I am sorry, however, I took a lease, though my intentions were for the best. I believe it would have been better if I had wholly quitted the house and refused to commence a lawsuit about the matter; and if all should now be accommodated I am in a very bad situation, having already expended near a year's salary, and must be a slave to my successor.

21st. At Goodwin's. All sick with the measles.

[Extract from a communication by Mr. Bailey to one of the Boston newspapers, November 2d, 1772:—]

“The western part of this town is separated from Wiscasset by a tract of uncultivated land seven or eight miles over, and was chiefly settled by foreign Protestants, mostly French, about twenty years ago, in the neighborhood of which, at that time, resided a Romish Missionary, from Canada, who labored to seduce the people both from their religion and the English interest. His design being perceived, and to prevent their children from being perverted, they united in a petition, setting forth these facts, to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, requesting that a Missionary of the Church of England might be appointed to reside among them.

The Society, in consideration of their danger, and in compassion to their extreme poverty, granted their petition, and have ever since supplied them both with a Minister, a number of Bibles, and many pious tracts. It must be evident that no objection can be advanced against supporting a Mission in that remote and necessitous part of the country; and the ingenious Dr. Mayhew, well known to be no friend to the Church or the Society, acknowledges that their conduct in this instance merits the highest applause.

Nov. 4th. At Nantucket.*

8th—Sunday. 77 persons at Church. Contribution £3 5s.

12th. At Col. Cushing's.

17th. At Mr. Twing's.

Dec. 3rd—Thanksgiving Day. 33 persons at church. Preached at night at Lovejoy's, 34 persons present.

6th—Sunday. 6 persons present. At night baptized four children of Cleaveland's. (?)

15th. At Capt. Twycross'.

POWNALBOROUGH, November 7th, 1772.

To *Rev. J. Wingate Weeks, Marblehead.*

DEAR SIR:—I have received your letter and the bundle you sent from Marblehead, but hear nothing of the other by way of Newmarket. You have doubtless seen the pieces signed "Probus" and "Detector." Mr. B. and his companion keep them very private, and, I believe, would never have exposed them among the people here had not Callahan opened the matter. These gentlemen declare, without any reserve, that "Probus" is Dr. Caner, and they scruple not to call him a liar. It is imagined that "Detector" is Col. C., with the assistance of Bowman. But whoever is the author, it is a composition of the most open and notorious falsehoods. He asserts that "our first inhabitants emigrated from Frankfort." Now before a single person knew of these publications I made an exact enquiry, and found that not a single person came either from Frankfort, or from its jurisdiction. He next declares, that "no French were among them." It might with equal truth be affirmed that all the inhabitants of Kennebeck are Indians. Again, he makes a mighty parade about a settlement began from Dorchester in 1760. In reply to that, I am certain that only two families of Quakers from Scituate settled in this place that year. Besides these, three families, two of European Church people, and the other a Quaker, began in November the settlement at Cobbosee-Contee. These are all the persons who settled in Kennebeck in 1760. What is asserted concerning two parishes on Sheepscot River is equally false, for there is but one, and the old ordained minister so largely supported, is blind Prince, whose hearers are extremely poor, and himself in almost a starving condition. Col. Cushing has declared, since his arrival from the westward, that had not my attachment to Dr. Gardiner been so great, I should not have had an enemy in Pownalborough, and he hinted that it was yet in my power to secure the friendship of every one. This, perhaps, was said for some ensnaring purpose. His opinion and yours, that but few would go to church if they were obliged to contribute to its support, is contrary to my notion of the matter. More, I am persuaded, would be willing to pay towards the church than the meeting, but were both to be maintained here by the people, some would certainly turn Quakers to avoid taxes. An exchange with (Rev.) Mr. Badger would be agreeable to me, but I cannot think that there is the most distant prospect of his accepting the offer. The affair was mentioned some time ago, and I was informed that it was disagreeable to my hearers.

* Four persons from the Island of Nantucket, Mass., purchased a farm in the northeasterly part of Pownalborough, and gave the name of their former residence to their purchase.

December 18th. * * * I cannot avoid mentioning the extraordinary generosity of our people. We have not bought any kind of meat since we came home, and yet have been plentifully supplied. Besides meal, butter, and a great plenty of vegetables, Mrs. Bailey says we have meat enough to last us a month. Scarce a family have failed to contribute something.

25th—Christmas Day. 32 persons at Church.

26th. No ice in the river except a little run.

30th. A fine, clear, warm day. Flies playing about in the fields like summer. Wind S. W.

31st. Scarcely any ice in the river.

[At the end of this journal are the following names. Some of them are known to have been children at the time, all were young persons. They may have been members of a school which Mr. Bailey taught, or perhaps Catechumens in his parish; Molly Houdlette,* Becky Nye, Becky Emerson,† Sarah Emerson,‡ Hannah Emerson, Peggy McGown,|| Jenny McGown,§ Molly McGown,¶ Molly Clensy, Betty Kendall,** Mary Carlo,†† Jenny Pochard,‡‡ Katy Carlow, Lydia Goodwin, Nancy Goodwin, Sally Ridley,||| Charlotte Smith, Molly Carney, Polly Lovejoy,§§ Fanny Lovejoy, Sally Andros, Ruthy Carney, Dolly Houdlette,¶¶ Anna C. Houdlette,* * Martin Carlow; George Pochard, William Kendall, Thomas Burns, James Patterson, Amos Holland, James Ridley, John Ridley, Francis Ridley.]

1773.

[The Journal for January is missing.]

POWNAUBORO'; Feb. 6th, 1773.

To Rev. J. Wingate Weeks, Marblehead.

DEAR SIR:— * * * * I should be glad of your resolution of the following case. I lately published a young fellow to Mr. Ridley's daughter immediately after service. Another young woman forbade the banns, alledging that he was under engagements to her. The next morning they paid me a visit, and the man acknowledged that he had solemnly promised himself to both, and begged that Esther Kendall, the girl present, would release him. She declared herself willing, but was under scruples of conscience on account of her promise, which was in the following words: "I wish I may never enter into the kingdom of heaven if I marry any other man," and desired me to give my opinion. After a long dispute the fellow declared, before witnesses, in favour of the girl's character, and gave his consent that his publication to her rival might go on, but the next day Mrs. Ridley forbade it again, and the poor fellow was left absolutely destitute, for Esther absolutely refuses to marry him, but imagines herself obliged by her promise to live single all her days. Now I should be obliged if you would give me your sentiments.

February 7th—Sunday. A storm of snow, 8 inches. No service in church.

20th. At S. Marson's.

25th. Baptized Benjamin Lawrence.

26th. Mr. Gardiner, Dr. McKecknie and Mr. Goodwin.

* Married George Mayer.

|| Married Col. Cargill.

** Married Paul Beckford.

||| Married Dr. Theobald.

* * Married — Beckford.
10th, 1853.

† Married John Stain.

§ Married — Mason.

†† Married — White.

§§ Married — Dinsmore.

Mrs. Beckford is now living, and was 93 years of age June

† Married Eliphalet Dudley.

¶ Married George Mason.

¶¶ Married John McGown.

¶¶ Married Abraham Page.

March 2d. Ran out the Church land with Mr. Goodwin and Dr. McKecknie.

3d. Baptized Mr. Kendall.

5th. At Mr. Gatchell's, (at Bowdoinham.)

6th. At John Barker's.

11th. Baptized Hannah, Joanna, Nathaniel, and Elizabeth Haley.

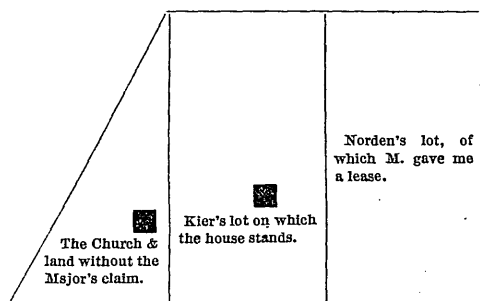
14th—Sunday. 114 people at church.

POWNALBOBO', March 15th, 1773.

To Rev. J. Wingate Weeks, Marblehead, Mass.

It is above three months since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you. I hope no misfortune has befallen you or your family. I am very uneasy in my present situation, and what gives me the greatest vexation, is the scandal which was thrown upon me by Dr. Gardiner, and so readily believed by several of my brethren, who, without a proper knowledge of the law, or any acquaintance with the circumstances of affairs were disposed to condemn me. In the first place it is evident by a standing law of the Province, (see p. 370,) that no Episcopal minister can aliene any lands or possessions of the Church, without the concurrence of his Wardens and Vestry; and next, if there is any foundation for a law-suit, it must be carried on in their names, which they absolutely refuse, every one declares that he had rather pay his proportion to redeem it; and besides, upon lately running out the land by a sworn surveyor, we were able to correct several mistakes. The land, of which M. gave me a lease, falls without our grant from the Plymouth Company, and therefore could by no means affect our title to the parsonage, then the house is found to stand upon land of which he gave me no lease, and, to our great satisfaction, we find the church is without the limits of the Major's claim, and with it about thirty-five acres of land.

But to make the matter plain, I have annexed the following scheme:



By this you will perceive that, though the church and a pretty lot of land are secure, yet the house is on Goodwin's claim, and further, that by paying the money, we shall have nearly fifty acres more than our grant specifies.

M. is so chagrined at this discovery, that he is preparing to build a meeting-house, and declares that he will have the parsonage for a dissenting minister. Mr. Ridley, the bearer, determines, if possible, to procure the money for paying off M., and to obtain a deed of Goodwin, for which he will offer security. I am certain, as I hinted to you before, that whoever should advance the money and take the house and land for security, would have a fine bargain, for more has been offered for Norden's lot alone, without any house, than M. demands. If you could, either by your advice or other-

wise, assist me in settling this unhappy affair, it would give me extreme satisfaction; but not having received a single line in answer to a number of letters, I am greatly oppressed with melancholy dejection.

Far distant from the pleasing scenes of life,
From all the joys which sacred friendships give;
Amid the sons of malice and of strife,
Where discord rages I am doomed to live.

I cannot forbear making some severe reflections upon the conduct of the generous Mr. Hancock; for when we consider that upon Kennebeck there are seven new settlements beside Pownalboro', extremely poor and destitute of any religious worship, which would have gladly received his bounty; when we reflect that he has no interest within several miles of this place, and that his offer is received here with general dislike, his generosity cannot proceed from a truly pious and benevolent principle, but from malice to the Church of England, and a violent party spirit or opposition to Dr. Gardiner. I am certain from what already appears, that it will throw us into the greatest confusion, and promote a multitude of quarrels. One of their committee men for building their meeting-house, who was esteemed the only conscientious dissenter among them, now declares himself a churchman from principle, and lately told me that if they proceeded, I should be welcome to his rates.

April 25th. Baptized Sarah, daughter of James Goud.

28th. Mr. William Gardiner put me in possession of the parsonage house and land in Pownalborough, by virtue of a power from Major Goodwin, in the presence of Capt. Merone, John Stain, Peter Pochard, and Christopher Jacqueon.

May 1st. Married Capt. Ward and Alice Graves.

2d—Sunday. 80 people at church. Contribution, 17s. Baptized Sarah, daughter of Louis and Mary Houdlette.

9th—Sunday. 95 people at church. Baptized Dolly, Frederick, and Betty Jacqueon.

16th—Sunday. 90 people at church. Contribution £4 10s.

28th. Mr. Brackett arrived from abroad.

30th—Sunday. 110 people at church. Contribution £1 19s. 9d.

June 3d. At court. Bid off at vendue Mrs. Brackett's* lot.

6th—Sunday. 100 people at church. Contribution £2 3s.

7th. Mr. Brackett returned home.

10th. A most severe and violent storm of wind and rain, intermingled with showers of hail, continues from 12 at night till near 12 in the morning; does great damage, and blows down an immense number of trees and some buildings. Very cold; wind S. E.

12th. Baptized Sarah Pratt. Go up to Gardinerstown. Arrive at 10 at night.

13th—Sunday. At Gardinerstown. 104 people at church. Contribution £8 5s. Returned after service and baptized Sarah Warren and Molly, and ——— Parker.

17th. (Rev.) Mr. Badger arrives.

20th—Sunday. (Rev.) Mr. Badger preached, P. M. Contribution, £2 16s.

22d. (Rev.) Mr. Badger returns home.

27th—Sunday. 105 persons at church. Contribution for Mr. Lewis, £20 5s.

30th. On board Capt. Callahan. Mr. Hitchins came to board here.

July 5th. Baptized two infants.

7th. At Deacon Chase's. He is moving up the river.

12th. Married George Stilphen and Molly Ridley.

July 17th. At night a prodigious Aurora.

20th. Mr. Gage, from London.

* Sister of Mrs. Bailey.

21st. Went to Georgetown with Mrs. Bailey. Baptized James, son to James and Susanna Thorn.

22d. Returned from Georgetown.

25th—*Sunday*. 100 people at church. Contribution, £2 10s.

27th. Dr. Moor moves from Georgetown.

29th. At Dr. Tupper's and Mr. Eldredge's.

August 1st—Sunday. Preached at Cobbossee-contee. 160 persons at church. Baptized 22. Contribution, £9.

4th. At home. Supped at Maj. Goodwin's with Dr. (S.) Gardiner.

5th. Attended Dr. Gardiner, and dined with him on Swan Island.

6th. Baptized Anna Springer.

12th. Baptized Betty and Hannah Aland.

22d—*Sunday*. In the morning thunder and heavy rain. 34 persons at church. Baptized Peter Pochard; Godfathers, George Mayer and Christopher Jaqueen; God-mother, ——— Houdlette.

29th—*Sunday*. 132 persons at church. Baptized John Goodwin; Godfather, Stephen Marson. Contribution, £3 15s.

30th. Set off for Boston in company with Dr. Tupper. Lodged at Stone's.

31st. Lodged at Marsh's.

September 1st. Lodged at Morrell's, in Berwick.

2d. Lodged at Jo. Brackett's, in Newmarket.

3d. Arrived at Mr. Badger's, in Haverhill.

4th. At Haverhill.

5th—*Sunday*. Preached at Almsbury. Contribution, £3 4s.

6th. Set out from Haverhill. Lodged at Manchester.

7th. Reached Marblehead at 10, Boston 8 in the evening.

8th. At Convention, 14. Mrs. Bailey arrived by water.

9th. At Convention. Dined at Mr. Troutbeck's.

10th. Dined with Mrs. Bailey at Dr. Gardiner's.

11th. Mrs. Bailey went to Marblehead.

12th—*Sunday*. Preached in Christ Church, morning; in King's Chapel in the evening. Supped at Dr. Gardiner's.

13th. Rode to Marblehead.

14th. At Mr. Weeks's.

15th. Visited Mrs. Bourn at her country seat.

16th. On Cat Island at the raising of an hospital 80 feet long, 22 feet wide, 3 stories. Present, 80 men. 112 sail in sight.

17th. At Salem. Visited (Rev.) Mr. McGilchrist.

18th. At Mr. Weeks's and Capt. Webber's.

19th—*Sunday*. Mrs. Bailey and I stood for Mr. Weeks's child.

20th. Set out for home. Stopped at (Rev.) Mr. Bass's.

21st. At Brackett's, in Newmarket.

22d. Dined at Col. Chadbourne's. Lodged at Kimball's.

23d. Lodged at Mitchell's, North Yarmouth.

24th. Arrived home about 7 in the evening.

26th—*Sunday*. 100 people at Church. Contribution, 10s.

October 14th. Married Caleb Barker.

31st—*Sunday*. 100 persons at church. Contribution, £1 4s.

POWNALBOROUGH, Nov. 1st, 1773.

Messrs. Mills & Hicks, Boston.

GENTLEMEN:— * * * * I have hitherto employed much of my leisure in writing, without ever venturing to offer any of my productions to the publick, and I find

among my papers, almost finished, a spelling-book, upon a different plan from any hitherto published. I begin with lessons of one syllable, and then proceed to two, three, &c. Each lesson consists of short, entertaining stories, single, or dialogues suitable to the capacity of children, and calculated to instruct them in some important parts of their duty. After a short sketch of natural history, and a variety of useful observations, I have added a short system of morals, with familiar examples, a compend of geography, and a number of curious tables. It may be contained in ten or twelve sheets. If you imagine it would be acceptable to the publick please favor me with a line by Capt. Callahan.

POWNALBORO', Nov. 1st. 1773.

To Mrs. Susanna Renkin, Fore Street, near the Drawbridge, Boston.

MADAM:—We shall be extremely obliged if you would get Mrs. — to make six yards of fringe for our pulpit—. We have got very handsome tassels and therefore shall not want any. If you could have it done by next trip, I will procure some person to call upon you for it with the money.

November 2d. Married Samuel Marson and Jenny Millar.

14th—Sunday. 80 persons at church. Contribution, 16s. Baptized Francis Stilphen.

17th. Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Hazard, and Dr. Hicks here.

25th. Married George Mayer and Molly Houdlette.

POWNALBORO', Nov. 26th, 1773.

To Messrs. Mills and Hicks, Boston.

I have been favored with your letter, and have received one of Bickerstaffs Almanacks. They are in so much esteem among us as to prevent the sale of any others. I am sorry to find the eastern road so very incorrect. Several good publick houses are omitted and other inserted which have no existence, besides, the distances are very imperfect. I thought myself perfectly qualified to give a correct account of this road, having travelled it above thirty times; for this reason, and in compliance with your request, I sent you an exact list of the publick houses, and their distances, from Boston to Quebeck, and, as the road is measured, I could not possibly be mistaken in the latter. But since my letter may have possibly miscarried, I have enclosed another, (if it arrives time enough,) for your Register. At the desire of Mr. Mills I have inserted an exact account of all the religious societies in this country according to their foundation.

Georgetown, Emmonson, Winter; Pownalboro' ; Newcastle, (P.) vacant; Bristol, McLane; Woolwich, Winship; Topsham, (P.) vacant; Bodingham, vacant; Gardinerston, (E.) vacant; Hallowell, none; Winslow, none; Vassalborough, none; Winthrop, none; Boothbay, Murray; Broadbay, (L.) Shefford; St. Georges, vacant; Penobscot, vacant; Machias, vacant; Goldsborough, vacant.

I would remark that, in the western district of Pownalborough, where I live, there never was any other society except the Episcopal, neither meeting-house nor communicants of any other persuasion. Therefore, to insert a vacancy here would be very wrong. In every other settlement where there is a meeting-house raised, or a body of communicants, but no minister, I have put down "vacant," but in those towns where there is neither I thought it proper to write "none."

30th. Eight men building a hovel.*

December 14th. Married Mr. Malbone.

*In the early period of the settlement poverty prevented the erection of framed and boarded barns. Instead of these four walls of logs were raised, which were roofed often times only with bark. Such buildings were called "hovels."

POWNALBORO', Dec. 18th, 1773.

To Mr. Amos Bailey, (at —.)

DEAR BROTHER:— * * * * We have a man, one Carter, in jail for the murder of Josiah Parker. The prisoner has no chance for his life. It is very remarkable that we have had five or six murders committed upon Kennebeck river since my residence here, and that neither the murderers nor the persons killed ever frequented any Divine Worship.

25th—*Christmas*. A storm of wind and rain; snow all gone, and ice breaks up. 30 persons at church. Dr. Moor and wife, my brother and wife, G. Mayer and wife, and — Gookin here at dinner.

At the end of the Journal for this year the following names are inserted. Sarah Emerson, Betsey Nye, Lazarus Goud, Mary Houdlette, William Kendall, George Clensy, Mrs. H. Bailey, Esther Kendall, Betty Goodwin, James Goud, Molly Paris, Sally Ridley, Polly Lovejoy, Lydia Goodwin, Mrs. Mary Houdlette, Charlotte Smith.

1774.

January 13th. Andrew buried.

16th—*Sunday*. 50 persons at church. Baptized Stephen Nymphas Twyecross and David Person Bailey.

17th. Married Daniel Dudley and Susy Densmore.

February 1st. Set out for a journey up river. Lodged at Mr. Gardiner's. Baptized William Gardiner Warren.

2d. At Esq. Howard's. Lodged at John Gatchell's. At Mr. Hoby's, Petty's, and Fort Halifax.

3d. Accompanied by Dr. McKecknie five miles; arrived at Deacon Chase's a little before dark.

4th. Went up to Mr. Heywood's. Saw several Indians.

5th. Visited the Indians, Capt. Out's, and several of the new settlers.

February 6th—*Sunday*. 40 persons present. Baptized Eliza Pratt, Benja. Noble, Priscilla Emery and Joanna Malbone.

7th. Rode to Mr. Petty's. Baptized Sarah Spencer, Amos Pochard, Abigail, Mary, Isaac, and Charles Pechin, and Mary and Martha Collar.

8th. At Esq. Howard's, Mr. Gardiner's. Baptized Enis, aged 128 (?) and John, Thomas, Polly, Matthew, and Nelly Gaslin.

9th. At home.

21st. Committee meeting.

23d. At Capt. Callahan's. Met Dr. Hicks, from Boston.

25th. Open Andrew's grave. Find his body gone.* Present, 12 persons.

March 3d. Rode to Mr. Gardiner's.

March 4th. At Mr. Hankerson's and Cowen's. Baptized Polly and James Cowen. Lodged at Mr. Gardiner's.

5th. Arrived home.

6th—*Sunday*. Cloudy, and heavy rain. 70 persons at church. Contribution, 6s.

April 2d. Baptized Thomas Brian. Crossed on the ice.

12th. Ice breaks up in the Kennebeck.

13th. At night. Bodfish and Mercy Goodwin come to be married, but refused.

14th—*Fast Day*. 30 persons at church.

24th—*Sunday*. 100 persons at church. Contribution, 16s.

28th. This day Peter Nephew and his wife Jenny ran away.

May 7th. (Rev.) Mr. Weeks and Mr. Ward arrive here.

* A negro slave of Major S. Goodwin. His body was used for the purposes of anatomy.

- 9th. On board Capt. Callahan. Three vessels in the eddy, loading at Dr. Moor's.
 11th. (Rev.) Mr. Weeks sets off home.
 13th. Mrs. Bailey delivered of a daughter, about 8 in the morning.
 22d—*Sunday*. 100 persons at church. Contribution, £1, 2, 6. Baptized Mary Bailey.
 30th. The child dies about daylight.
 31st. The child buried; 36 persons at the funeral.
June 10th. Mr. Gardiner's boy, Jo, suddenly killed. (Rev.) Dr. Shefford* and another stranger.
 16th. Baptized Margaret Patterson, daughter of P. Call.
 18th. Rode down to Georgetown. Lodged at Mr. Drummond's.
 19th. Baptized Patrick Drummond, Mary Pechlin (?), Hannah Hallowell Rogers, and Elija Williams.
 20th. Rode home.
 25th—*Sunday*. 120 persons at church. Contribution, £2, 17, 0.
July 24th—Sunday. Showers. Warm and muggy weather. 30 persons at church. Baptized James Carney.
August 1st. Baptized Jane Nephew.
 10th. At Cobbosee-contee.
 29th. Abroad; brought home 12 sheep.
September 7th. Set off with Dr. Tupper, for Boston. Lodged at Stone's. Insulted the next morning.
 8th. Lodged at Milliken's. Ill treated.
 9th. Lodged at York.
 10th. Dined at Col. Warner's. Lodged at J. Weeks'.
September 11th—Sunday. Lodged at Newbury. The country all in commotion.
 12th. Arrived at Marblehead.
 13th. Reached Boston about sunset.
 14th. Convention Sermon preached by Mr. Seargent.
 15th. Dined at (Rev.) Mr. Walter's.
 16th. Rode to Marblehead.
 17th—*Sunday*. Preached at Marblehead. Baptized 3 children.
 18th. At Salem.
 19th. Bound homeward. Lodged at North-hill.
 20th. Dined at J. Weeks'. Lodged at York.
 21st. Lodged at Falmouth.
 22d. Lodged at Mrs. Loring's.
 23d. Mobbed at Brunswick. Got home at night. Mr. Gardiner at my house.
 26th. Abroad. Fled from the mob. Lodged at George Mayer's.
 27th. At George Mayer's.
 28th. Returned home.
 29th. Stephen Marson buried.

POWNBORO', October —, 1774.

To _____.

DEAR SIR:—We have been in the greatest confusion and distress imaginable, occasioned by continual mobs and insurrections. The day before my arrival at Falmouth, five hundred men in arms had been to visit Mr. Tyng, who was mobbed a few days before, at North Yarmouth. The country was in such a violent commotion, that

* A Lutheran minister, settled, at that time, at Broadbay, now Waldoborough. After Mr. Bailey left Pownalborough, Dr. Shefford was sent for and baptized the children of George and M. J. Mayer, members of the congregation of St. John's Church.

my friends advised me not to lodge at a publick house. The next day, being Friday, Col. Cushing returning home, was surrounded by twenty-five men in arms in the middle of the woods. They called him a ——— Tory, and demanded a surrender of his commission. He assured them that he had taken none under the present government, and after distributing money among them, he was suffered to escape. The next day, about noon, I was stopped at Stone's, in Brunswick, and accused of being a Tory, and an enemy to my country. They urged me to sign, and upon my refusal, protested they would visit me and Col. Cushing the following week. I arrived at Pownalboro' about dark, where I found the people in great consternation. A furious mob at Georgetown were running about in search of tea, and compelling people, by force of arms, to sign the solemn league. Another was raging up the river, within twelve miles. They had already destroyed one hundred and fifty pounds of tea for Esq. Hussey, and thrown his hay into the river. Mr. Gardiner had fled from their fury, and tarried with us all night, expecting every moment to be attacked, as Lovejoy had already invited them among us, and threatened the utmost vengeance upon me, Ridley, Maj. Goodwin, etc. Mr. Gardiner returned after service, but was obliged to fly that evening, and escape to Boston. About midnight, one hundred and fifty men, armed with guns and various weapons, surrounded his house, demanded a sight of him, and insisted upon searching for tea. Mr. Hazard, a gentleman from Rhode Island, entered into a parley with their leaders, and they firmly engaged that none, except five chosen men, should enter into the house; but they quickly broke their engagements, rushed in, rifled the house, broke open his desk, and perused his papers, and after being treated with several gallons of rum, they stole Mr. Hazard's buckles, and then inquired for Mr. Jones, the surveyor. They insisted upon his signing the covenant, upon which he stripped open his bosom, and told them they might stab him to the heart, but nothing should induce him to sign that accursed instrument. They seized him with violence and threw him headlong into the river, and then dragged him about till he was almost torn to pieces, but all to no purpose. They at length desisted, and, having drank several gallons of rum, began to quarrel, and had a violent battle among themselves. Several remained dead drunk, and the remainder returned to their habitations. The other mob from Georgetown, Brunswick, etc., threatened to demolish the jail, and to throw the town-house into the river, but first they directed their course to Witchcassett, headed by Sam. Thompson, the Brunswick representative. In their route, they offered violence to several persons. Having compelled one Hobby, a store-keeper, to sign the league, some of them, offended at certain expressions he let fall, returned and almost demolished him. They seized Capt. Carleton, of Woolwich, and, having prepared a coffin, commanded him to dig his own grave; but after all their threatenings, he escaped without signing the covenant. They assaulted Mr. Wood on Monday morning, but he, having nearly one hundred men, with several pieces of cannon, prepared for his defence, and they were obliged to keep at a distance. A treaty was concluded towards evening between the parties, when the libertines solemnly engaged to make no further attempts till the next day. With this assurance Mr. Wood dismissed his men, which being known to the assailants, they came in the night and carried off the cannon, and in the morning fired them upon Mr. Wood, without any damage, however. Mr. Wood might have easily dispersed them after all, but hearing that five hundred men were upon their march, and expected that a great deal of blood must be shed, he gave them a paper of his own drawing up. They then proceeded to visit Judge Rice and Mr. Moor, the minister, who, after haranguing them to little purpose for some time, were obliged to promise a compliance with the Congress. On Tuesday evening they arrived at Frankfort, (the Court sitting.) I will refer you to Mrs. Bailey's letter for an account of their proceedings here, and only remark, that their rage was chiefly directed against Bowman, Maj. Goodwin, Ridley, and myself, because, as they alledged, from the instiga-

tion of Lovejoy, that we opposed the solemn league. Their behavior was a true mixture of comedy and tragedy. Besides the mischief they did, near three hundred men were supported for a week together, at the expense of their neighbors. We are daily threatened with another invasion. Nothing can equal the false and ridiculous stories which prevail in these parts.

POWNALBORO', November 1st, 1774.

To Dr. S. Gardiner.

SIR:—I must entreat you to send eight thousand of shingle nails, if you charge them to my account, and a thousand of ten-penny. It is impossible to live in this house unless it is covered, and the chamber over the kitchen finished. I have, at present, only one small room for the family, and the chamber over it for lodgings, in which we are obliged to have three beds, so that I have no convenience at all for study. If you look into my account, you will find that I was charged with all the shingle nails you sent two years ago, and, in short, Capt. Callahan and I have found all the nails for the parsonage-house at our own expense. I am sensible that we cannot reasonably expect anything further from you, after what you have already done, but what can I do? Both the church and house are considerably indebted to me, and I must either suffer or expend more.

November 10th. Went to Georgetown. Lodged at Mr. Butler's.

11th. Baptized Catherine and Thomas Percy, Hannah Porterfield, Sarah and James Todd, Perkins, (?) Eleanor and Thomas Hogan, Jane Stevens, Elizabeth and Rebecca Snelling Malcom, and William Mahars (?).

December 18th—Sunday. 15 persons at church. Whiting preached at Frankfort.

March 21st. Married Robert Rogers and Jane Grace. Baptized ——— Darling, Samuel Meins and James Ward.

April 9th—Sunday. 50 persons at church. Baptized Peter Pochard.

10th. Baptized Sarah McGown.

16th—Sunday. 70 persons at church. Contribution, 6s.

24th. Assaulted by a number of ruffians. The news arrives of Col. Percy's defeat.

25th. News of the battle of Concord sets the people into a great ferment.

26th. (Rev.) Mr. Weeks and family arrive.

27th. A great uproar, to prevent Mr. Weeks from landing his goods. The Committee grant leave.

29th. The people still in commotion. No work done this week.

30th—Sunday. 80 persons at church. Contribution, 12s.

May 3d. The Committee meet at Frankfort.

5th. At Dr. Moor's, at Richmond.

June 20th. Mr. Weeks and Mrs. Dixey.

[Journal missing for July and August of this year.]

September 1st. Mr. Weeks sets off for Britain.

16th. Married Capt. Hubbs and Dorcas Wilson.

October 2d. Baptized Margaret Costello.

6th. Mr. Weeks goes on his journey.

13th. Set off for Falmouth.

14th. Arrived at Falmouth.

15th—Sunday. Baptized Charles Hemmingway and ——— Thurlo.

16th. A fleet of 6 sail come into the harbor. Capt. Mowat declares the destruction of Falmouth.

18th. Falmouth laid in ashes.

29th—Sunday. 45 persons at church. Baptized A. Ridley.

November 5th—Sunday. 44 persons at church. Mr. Weeks arrives in the evening.

22d. Mr. Bernard here.

- 23d. Married Thomas Densmore and Susannah Whitmore, at Bodingham.
 24th. Baptized Sarah Bounds Crossman.
 December 19th. Married William Len (?) and Hannah Kingslin (?).

1776.

- January 11th. Mr. Weeks' family remove.
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 April 18th. Married Edmund Doharty and Mary Haley.
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 27th. Mr. Weeks goes Westward.
 May 17th—*Continental Fast*. 35 persons at church.
 24th. Examined before the Committee.
 26th—*Sunday*. 52 persons at church. Baptized Simeon Lawrence.
 28th. Laid under bonds at Bridge's.
 June 4th. Baptized Jonathan Tousier (?).
 6th. Mr. Weeks embarks.
 July 7th. Baptized Sarah and J. Dickson Parks, at Richmond.
 28th—*Sunday*. 50 persons at church. Baptized John Goud, John Carlo, Lazarus Goud, and Margaret Carlo.
 August 5th. Baptized Rebecca Preble.
 6th. Rode with Mrs. Bailey to Mr. Butler's, Georgetown.
 7th. At Mr. T. Percy's.
 8th. Baptized Gilmore Percy, for Thomas Rogers (?); Hannah, for Anna Rogers; Samuel, for Robert Thomas; at Mr. Drummond's and Williams'.
 9th. Rode home.
 11th—*Sunday*. Forbidden to pray for the King. Only delivered a sermon.
 17th. Set off for the West. Lodged at Frost's.
 18th. Dined at Capt. Pote's. Lodged at Dr. Coffin's.
 19th. Dined at Capt. Pote's. Baptized Jeremiah Pote Wier. Lodged at Mr. Lyde's.
 20th. Married at Mr. Lyde's. Dr. Coffin, T. Oxnard.
 21st. Capt. Mehitabel (?) Oxnard. Lodged at Cole's, at Wells.
 22d. Dined at Col. Warner's. Lodged at J. Weeks'.
 23d. Dined at uncle John's. Lodged at Mr. Bass's.
 24th. Dined at Rowley. Arrived at Marblehead.
 25th. Preached. Attended a funeral.
 28th. At Salem, at Mr. McGilchrist's.
 September 1st—*Sunday*. Preached.
 2d. Set off on my journey. Lodged at Rowley.
 3d. Married at Rowley and Newbury.
 4th. Lodged at Greenland.
 5th. Lodged at Cole's.
 6th. Arrived at Mr. Lyde's.
 7th. At Mr. Lyde's.
 8th. Baptized 6 children. First heard the news of the defeat of the American army.
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28th. At Salem, at Mr. McGilchrist's.

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6th. Arrived at Mr. Lyde's.

7th. At Mr. Lyde's.

8th. Baptized 6 children. First heard the news of the defeat of the American army.

9th. Visited several places. Arrived at Mitchell's.

10th. Arrived home. Visited Georgetown. Baptized 11 children.

- October 3d.* Married Mr. Thomas Johnson to Abigail Goodwin.*
28th, 29th. Before the Committee for not reading the Declaration of Independence, for praying for the king, and for preaching a seditious sermon.
December 1st—Sunday. 50 persons at church. Published 3 couples.
2d. Lodged at Weston's.
3d. Lodged at J. Preble's.
4th. At Mr. Carleton's. Baptized John Thorn.
5th. At home.
6th. Baptized, at Mr. Haley's, Hannah Doharty.
10th. Mr. Johnson buried.
15th—Sunday. 15 persons at church. Baptized James Houdlette.
17th. Mr. Gardiner arrives from Boston.

[The Journal for 1777 is missing.]

1778.

- January 1st.* At George Mayer's. News comes that Washington kills and takes 1600 regulars.
2d. At Mrs. Jacqueen's and Mrs. Kendall's.
4th—Sunday. Baptized Peter, son of George Pochard.
8th. Rode to Mr. Richard Turner's. Found his son Thomas sick of a fever.
9th. Baptized Mark Silvester and Mary, children of James and Rachel Turner. Returned home same day.
11th—Sunday. 25 persons at church.
14th. At home. Mrs. Kendall, Mrs. Call and Mr. Jacqueen here.
February 2d. Travelled with Dr. Mayer to Broadbay. Lodged at (Rev.) Dr. (Martin) Shefford's.
3d. At Mr. Palmer's at Bristol.
4th. At Capt. Vinal's, Mr. Cremor's, Sprague's, Young's, and Rhode's. Baptized Benjamin and Esther Palmer, David, Alice and Deborah Vinal, and — Young.
5th. A snow storm six inches. Attempted to return home but forced to turn back.
5th. Returned home.
10th. At Carlo's and Johnson's. Baptized Hannah Turner.
17th. Rode up with my brother and his wife to Mr. Cowen's.
18th. Went to Winthrop. At Mr. Whittier's and Stain's.
19th. At Mr. Waugh's. Baptized George Waugh. Returned to Mr. Cowen's.
20th. Returned home.
27th. (Rev.) Dr. (M.) Shefford, Mr. Ridley and Mr. Uperhind here.
28th. Dr. Moor, Dr. Mayer, a Prussian Doctor and Mr. Carlo here.
March 12th. Baptized Edward Lawrence.
28th. Baptized William Carney.
April 7th. Mr. Nath'l Gardiner arrives and Mr. Thomas.
19th—Easter Day. 50 persons at church, 15 communicants.
20th. Chose the same (Church) officers.
26th—Sunday. 56 persons at church.
 [Journals from June 1st to July 18th missing.]

July 19th. [Mr. Bailey had started for Boston.] * * * I had now an opportunity of hearing from my family, and perceived that they had obtained a little present relief. The wind blowing in dirty squalls from the S. W., Capt. Hatch sailed back again to Parker's flats,† where we took a breakfast together, after which I went with

* Daughter of Maj. S. Goodwin.

† Just inside the mouth of Kennebec river.

the two Gardiner's, Mrs. Hatch and Mrs. Gardiner as far as Mr. Butler's. This gentleman and his family treated me with great attention and advised me by no means to leave the country as it would gratify my persecutors, whose principal design was to expel the service of the Church from the regions of Kennebeck. After dining I attended Capt. Drummond to his house, and baptized three children, one for Thomas Rogers, one for Robert, and another for Mr. Butler's servant. We had here a good entertainment. My friends sent on board several articles of provision, viz., a large quarter of veal, two cheeses, a smoked salmon, a pound of coffee, &c. In the evening I returned on board. Capt. Vinal arrived from Boston, and brought intelligence that a French fleet had arrived to assist the Americans.

20th. This morning we beat out to sea. Some of our company sick, especially Polly Morton. About sunset we were not more than four leagues from the mouth of the Kennebeck. Spoke with several vessels, and heard all day a heavy firing at Falmouth. Towards morning,

21st, a breeze from the north east, and a fine clear day. We arrived off Cape Ann about dark. We had an opportunity of taking several mackerel, the first I had ever seen drawn from the water.

22d. Came to anchor just by Nix's Mate, in Broad Sound, in the forenoon. Saw the Warren under sail, going out. About three o'clock, the wind and tide favouring, we sailed up to the Long Wharf. near a guard-ship, the sight of those disasters which war and rebellion had rendered —able gave me a prodigious shock. They appeared cond— with rage, and exhibited countenances full of dejection and melancholy. What an affecting consideration that such a multitude of active and sprightly men should labour under oppression and confinement, should be —ed with vermin and disease to gratify the boundless avarice and ambition of an impious faction! Being wholly ignorant of the situation of the town, and fearing that the smallpox might still prevail, I sent Dr. Mayer with a message to (Rev.) Mr. Parker. He presently returned with an invitation from that worthy gentleman, and a report that little danger was to be apprehended from the smallpox. About sunset I equipped myself and left the sloop under uncommon dejection of spirit. I was, however, received by Mr. Parker and his lady with the highest tokens of tenderness and friendship. They gave a very discouraging detail of publick affairs; informed me that a large French fleet had certainly arrived; that no armament had come this season from Britain; and that it was apprehended that the Americans and French, with their united efforts, would be able to expel the forces of the Crown from the Continent. This intelligence excited a train of the most disagreeable sensations, and took away the pleasure I was about to receive from the society and conversation of my friends.

23d. [A part of this day's Journal will be found in the Memoir, p. 118. It continues:] Dined at Mrs. Domett's, where I had the pleasure of seeing Mrs. Coffin, and of hearing from my Falmouth friends. We spent the season as agreeably as the situation of publick affairs and our own circumstances would permit. After dinner received an invitation to tea from Mrs. Sheaf, where we found eleven ladies and six or seven gentlemen, some of them Whigs, but of a generous way of thinking; in particular Col. Trumbull, son to the Governor, censured very freely some of the most popular measures, and reflected both upon the Congress and newspapers. From these gentlemen I first learned that the Provincials had gained no victory over General Clinton, but were rather worsted in that famous conflict. After tea Mrs. Peggy Sheaf, an agreeable young lady, gave us several tunes upon the guitar, accompanied with

. During this interval I had an opportunity of acquainting Mrs. Sheaf, one of the ladies, with my situation, and when we came to supper I perceived that most of the company knew something of my affairs, by certain questions about my persecu-

tors, and a compassionate attention to my concerns. The Whigs having withdrawn, the rest of the company sat till near twelve, and were very sociable and merry.

24th. Took a breakfast about eight with Polly Morton and Capt. Hatch, when I was entertained with several secret and curious anecdotes. Visited Mrs. Dixy in the morning, and called on my way upon Mrs. Domett. One Lewis, master of the Portsmouth, arrives from New York, and gives intelligence that Lord Howe had arrived with some twelve ships of the line and twenty frigates. The report in town before was, that he had only three ships of the line and four or five frigates. It was reported at noon that a number of troops had arrived at Newport. Dined at Mr. Parker's, in company with Mr. Warner. Drank tea at Mr. Haskin's, and supped at the same place. This gentleman observed that the conduct of the Congress in applying to France for assistance, was similar to the application of Saul to the Witch of Endor.

25th. After calling upon several friends in the morning dined at Mr. Warner's, where, besides Mr. Parker and lady, we had in company one Capt. Davis, a merchant. The news said to come express from Gen'l Sullivan is, that a large number of troops had arrived at Newport, and on the other hand, that the French fleet had taken five British men of war, which afterwards proved to be a false rumor. The Whigs soon acknowledged that only one frigate was taken, and this our and at length to be in the harbour of New York and spent the evening at Mr. Parker's, in very agreeable conversation.

26th. This day being Sunday, performed Divine Service in the morning and preached in the afternoon. The weather being exceedingly hot I was greatly fatigued. Spent the evening at Mr. Domett's, in company with Mr. Abrahams. The situation of political affairs was still so gloomy that we had full employment to keep each others' spirits from sinking, and to take encouragement that some happier prospects might soon arise. The Whigs were now so extremely high, and so very sanguine in their expectations of victory and success, that my friends assured me there were little or no hopes of having any petition regarded by the Council in case I should make application.

27th. This day dined at Mrs. Dixy's, in company with a young gentleman from Virginia, who was employed in one of the Continental stores as a writer. After giving us several pieces of intelligence, he declared that he hoped and wished that the French fleet would have a d—l of a drubbing by the Britons. Towards evening called upon Mr. Haskins, according to agreement. He gave me fifteen dollars, and then accompanied me to Mr. Inman's, (?) where we were cordially received by that hospitable and generous couple. We were joined at supper by Mrs. Coffin and her daughter Polly. Both the mother and daughter appeared very modest, sensible and engaging. I was introduced to these ladies by Mrs. Inman and Mr. Haskins as a distressed brother, and I quickly perceived that Mrs. Coffin had her husband (Mr. William Coffin) and two or three sons in the British service, at New York. We heard this evening a rumor that a British fleet had arrived or were near the coast of America. This was some refreshment to our dejected spirits. About eleven the company brake up, and Mr. Haskins and I waited upon the two ladies home.

28th. [A part of this day's Journal will be found in the Memoir, p. 119.] Spent the afternoon and evening abroad; express coming in daily with news, reports that six of the Cork fleet are taken by the French, and the Whigs are now elevated above measure, as an expedition is going on with the utmost rapidity against Newport. It is confidently promised that Rhode Island, New York, and Nova Scotia, will be subdued to the American States before the conclusion of the present campaign.

29th. [The entry under this date will be found in the Memoir, p. 119.]

30th. This morning after breakfast went the interest of several gentlemen belonging to the Council. I waited upon was Mr. Wendell, who was a contemporary at College. This gentleman, though he and importance of

his office with every display of mildness and benevolence. He readily to compassionate my situation me all the assistance in his power. He asked me whether I had no other difficulties to contend with besides poverty? I replied by requesting him to suggest the nature of those difficulties he conceived me to labour under. He answered me that he imagined I must be troubled with some ill natured, ignorant, committee-man, or rigid magistrates, who took advantage of the times to distress me. I assured him that his conjectures were perfectly right, for in all political commotions the spirit of assault and compulsion was always fierce, savage, and cruel, in proportion to its distance from the centre, and had constantly observed that in the eastern country, where any difference or hostility subsisted between two persons, if one of them was appointed committee-man the other would be certainly punished as a Tory before the conclusion of the year. Mr. Wendell replied, "the only inducement I had to engage in these affairs was to have it in my power to soften the horrors and to relieve the distresses which must unavoidably arise to particular persons in the present revolutions." After taking my leave of Mr. Wendell I visited Mr. J. Pitts, who took me by the hand and treated me with attention and ceremony, but I presently perceived that his advancement had rendered him more stiff, formal and important. He was not so familiar and easy as usual. However, after some respectful compliments, he promised to use all his influence to forward my petition. He declared, from the knowledge he had of the eastern country, and my connections, he was fully convinced that my situation must be very disagreeable, and my circumstances extremely distressing. I found in the course of our conversation that he had no great opinion of Bowman, and that he was conscious that some of our magistrates were my enemies on account of my former connections with Dr. Gardiner. Brigadier Preble was the next counsellor I solicited in my affairs. The old gentleman, upon my application, suffered a little roughness and ferocity of his countenance; he declared, with an oath, that he knew my situation to be very distressing, and me his interest in procuring the but then says he: "You must engage upon your word and honour not to give the enemy any intelligence of our expeditions against Newport and New York. I told him in all probability the state of these military operations would be determined before I could possibly get ready to depart. He then, with a countenance replete with vengeance and fury, and in a voice of thunder, swore a tremendous oath, that the reign of the old villain, George, was very short in America. He soon returned to my affairs, and told me in a whisper, that if I obtained leave to depart he must entrust me with letters to Halifax. "You know," says he, "my son-in-law, Tom Oxnard." Before we parted he execrated Parson Wiswall in a bitter manner. After finishing this disagreeable business I dined at Mr. John Row's, who gave a striking instance of the injustice and tyranny of Brigadier Preble. Mr. Row, a few years ago, had lent him a large sum, if I remember right, £700 sterling, to clear a mortgage on his estate, no part of which was ever paid until the present year, when the Brigadier brought Mr. Row the same nominal sum in paper money to discharge his debt. The latter made some difficulty of accepting it, as it was the seventh part of the real value. The other replied that he should take the money, or else be proceeded against as a convicted Tory and a mortal enemy to his country. This declaration quickly ended the whole dispute. Mr. Row took the money and gave the Brigadier a full discharge. An express arrives that the French fleet had arrived at Point Judith to assist in the reduction of Rhode Island. Drank tea this evening in company with Mrs. Sheaf

31st. Went in the morning to the Court House

but the President assured me that he would carefully keep my petition, and present

it whenever a favourable opportunity should occur. While I was in conversation with him upon the subject, an aid-de-camp from General Heath appeared, with a message to the Council. He gave information that a Mr. Lewis, a clergyman, or chaplain of a regiment, had deserted from New York, and having dined with the General was coming to lay something of the utmost importance before the Council; "but, you may depend upon it," continued the officer, "that the gentleman is a spy." Mrs. White was buried this afternoon: a prodigious large funeral. Drank tea at Mrs. Coffin's. Present, D. Lloyd and his wife, Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Brimmer, Mr. Amory and his lady, with several other ladies, both married and single. We spent the evening very agreeably. Having informed Mrs. Coffin of what I had heard concerning the clergyman from New York, she and Mrs. Deblois left the company and went in pursuit of him, hoping to hear something of their absent friends. They had the good fortune to find the gentleman, though something under duress. He represented that all the Royal forces and the friends of Government were in the utmost confusion and anxiety, that many repented of their rashness in leaving their country, and that numbers intended very shortly to imitate his example in running away and throwing themselves upon the mercy of the American government. He added, that people were almost starving for want of bread and expected from Britain

he would first explain himself with reserve, with an entire confidence in their honor and integrity. The I with these supreme magistrates with their conduct of my friend induced the following remarks:—

1st. That notwithstanding they represented themselves (to be) the creatures of the people, and were actually in most instances advanced from inferior stations, yet they assumed all the dignity and importance of princes and noblemen born to command.

2nd. They affected to act the courtier externally. When any applications were made to the leading members for countenance or favour, they received the petitioner with apparent tokens of condescension. They endeavored, though it must be confessed, with an awkward grace, to lower their dignity, and would make most ample promises of their interest to forward his request; but when these gentlemen were assembled in Council they either forgot their engagements, or determined to disoblige, when the charge of falsehood or severity might be transferred from particular members to the whole body. One or two gentlemen of my acquaintance, who petitioned the Council for permission to depart the State, applied to every member of the Council, and received the strongest assurances from each of his interest, and yet when the petition was brought before them in the Council chamber it was rejected without assigning any reason.

3rd. I conjectured that the most moderate legislatures are disposed to enact the severest and most unreasonableness laws and afterwards mitigate

with the arrival of Parson Lewis. Some conceived that he was a spy, others that he had deserted from disgust to the British cause and pure affection to the American cause, whilst the ladies were unanimous that it was a love affair which brought him to Boston, for during his imprisonment he had frequent interviews with Mr. Pierpont's daughter, a young girl of fifteen, who had an independent fortune of £5000 sterling. This day, after a long and severe drought, about 3 o'clock we had a smart thunder shower, which lasted about ten minutes. Three men being with a boat on one of the islands of the harbour, placed themselves under it for a shelter from the shower! As soon as the rain ceased a little, two of the company ventured out, and called upon the other to follow their example, which he at first refused to do, but upon repeated applications he complied. He had no sooner left the boat than a

stream of lightning descended and stove it all to pieces. News arrives that the French fleet had taken all the vessels from Cork.

August 2d. This day, being Sunday, could not assist Mr. Parker for want of a suitable discourse. As I was walking to church in the morning Mr. Lash put a guinea into my hand. After evening service went to drink tea with Mr. Domett; present, Col. Tudor's lady,—though a Whig, very moderate,—Mr. Blotchet, Mr. Cheever, and Mr. Brimmer. (?) I was extremely pleased with the conversation of Mr. Cheever. Among other things he told me that when the high sons perceived that a number of Tories had taken the oath of allegiance they were so enraged as to threaten them with immediate destruction, calling them rogues, villains, &c. After tea took a walk upon the Common, then visited and supped with Mr. Warner and lady. I regard them as a very modest and generous couple. Upon my return home found Mr. Parker gone to visit Mrs. Hooper, of Newbury. His lady informed me that she had sent for me and Mr. Parker to spend the evening. When Mr. Parker returned, about 12 o'clock, he told me that Mrs. Hooper had informed him that she had seen a letter very lately from Mr. Marston, at Halifax, wherein he writes that he is in good health and high spirits, and were he at liberty, he could write such intelligence as must give the friends of government the most ample satisfaction.

3d. This morning visited Mr. Brown and his son, the Doctor, and took a breakfast with Mrs. Dixy. I found her in great affliction on account of her little daughter, who was sick of a fever. Visited Mr. Thomas Amory and his lady, where I was kindly entertained. I tarried till after dinner, and was favoured with the sight of several curious letters, and the relation of many shocking anecdotes. After dinner at Captain William Morton's, at Mr. Burn's, and on board Capt. Hatch, where I met with my old friend Mr. Nathaniel Gardiner. He brought intelligence that the people of Nantucket had certain information that a British fleet, under Lord Byron, was on their passage; that the garrison at Newport was 11,000 strong, and that provisions were cheap and plenty at New York. Towards evening at Mr. Parker's, and drank tea in company with several ladies. Dr. Brown and Capt. Hatch here. The former had the confidence to apply to Mr. Parker for a recommendation, and referred him to me for a character. Supped at home with a large company. Mr. Nathaniel Gardiner here to visit me, and to give me an account of his adventures. The friends of government now begin to receive a little more courage, and to expect some more favourable events.

4th. This morning, after walking upon the wharves, visited Mrs. Coffin. Dined at home, in company with Mr. Inman. Drank tea at Mrs. Sheaf's. Several gentlemen and ladies. Mr. Gardiner met me, according to agreement, at Mr. Domett's, but that worthy couple being from home we walked towards Capt. Foster's, but finding the smallpox in that part of the town, turned aside to Mrs. Dixy's. I found her daughter recovered. We proceeded back to Mr. Domett's, and had the pleasure of finding him and his lady at home. We were presently joined by Mrs. Sheaf and her daughter Polly. We had a very agreeable evening, and supped before we parted. Received either this, or the preceding day, eight dollars from Mr. Thomas Amory.

5th. After passing away the forenoon in paying different visits went to Mr. Has-kin's, and tarried dinner with that worthy man and his family. Drank tea and supped abroad. Capt. Smith arrives from Woolwich, and I engage a passage with him to Kennebeck. Mr. Hubbard gives me three quarters of an hundred of rice, and Mr. N. Green a bushel of rye. Great preparations for three days past have been making for the expedition against Rhode Island; the streets and roads not only full of armed men upon the march from every quarter, but a multitude of carriages, with provisions and warlike forces; volunteers come pouring into town from every region of the country; men of consequence and fortune appear both on horseback and in the most pompous vehicles that can be procured. Assurance of success is displayed in every countenance, and all expect to return in a few days victorious

and loaded with plunder. To suggest any difficulty is highly criminal, and to forebode disappointment would be fatal. To see these people, who had always the greatest aversion to the manners, religion, and government of the French, now rejoicing in their alliance and exulting in their assistance, affords a most striking instance of the perverseness of the human heart, and displays beyond example the obstinacy, the madness, the folly, the perfidy of my countrymen. Rather than yield to the most prevailing convictions of reason, rather than comply with the most sacred dictates of conscience and religion, I may add, rather than be happy in the enjoyment of their liberties and possessions, they choose to rush headlong into guilt, misery, and ruin, and to entail upon themselves and posterity the most ignoble servitude.

6th. This morning, understanding that I had made a blunder in not dining at Mr. Inman's, who had given me an invitation the preceding day, and that he was highly offended at my neglect, I waited upon him to make the best apology in my power. I assured him that I was not sensible that he gave me any invitation, and that I was wholly ignorant that any company was about to dine at his house. His lady, a most excellent woman, quickly ended the dispute, and, when we had taken a breakfast, Mr. Inman insisted upon my returning to dine with him this day. I spent the forenoon at Mr. Seargent's and Mr. Turner's, where I heard from a number of gentlemen the following intelligence: The captain of a prize brought into Salem affirmed that Lord Byron had sailed from Britain with a fleet of twenty-five capital ships, and that the harbour of Brest was blocked up with thirty-two ships of the line under the command of Admiral Hervey, Earl of Bristol. Present at dinner, besides Mr. Inman and wife, Nancy Seargent and Betsey Murray, daughter to Col. Murray, one of the Mandamus Counsellors, who fled the country. After dinner I waited upon Dr. Lloyd: saw there a young gentleman from Gen. Sullivan, who informed us that the attack was to be made upon Rhode Island immediately. The Dr., at parting, gave me nine dollars. From hence I repaired to Mr. Parker's, where I found that my old friend, Mr. William Gardiner, had arrived from Concord, and had been twice to enquire for me. I went directly to his lodgings, but to my great disappointment I found him absent. I however met him presently after in the street. We went back to Mr. Parker's, where we drank tea, and then took a walk into the garden. After spending the evening together we agreed to meet each other the next morning about eleven at Mr. Domett's.

7th. [A part of this day's Journal will be found in the Memoir, p. 120.] Mr. Gardiner soon came in, and Mrs. Domett engaged us to dine with them. Before dinner we went on board Smith and visited Capt. Hatch, and our return found Mrs. Coffin, and had a very sociable entertainment. Mr. Gardiner and I waited upon Dr. Byles and drank tea with him, his daughters, and other young ladies. The Dr. was in high spirits, and rather more diverting than usual. We spent the evening together, when I took my leave of Mr. Gardiner. * * * * Mr. Gardiner assured me, upon very good authority, that every person in Canada who suffered by the ravages of the American rebels, had their losses fully made up, and that the whole amounted to £170,000 sterling.

8th. [A part of this day's Journal will be found in the Memoir, p. 120.] * * After which I returned her, (Mrs. Domett,) a visit of thanks, and took my leave of that generous lady and her daughters. * * * * Having put my things on board the vessel, dined at Mr. Parker's, called upon several friends, drank tea with Mrs. Domett, and parted with Mrs. Coffin and that excellent couple whom I shall always esteem with the sincerest affection. About ten Dr. Mayer and I took our leave and embarked on board Capt. Smith. The weather was now extremely hot, with a gentle breeze of S. W. wind. We had two female passengers on board, and about 11 o'clock got under sail.

9th. The next morning about sunrise, near Thatcher's Island, just as we were coming round the Cape, discovered a very large ship. Her guns were carefully concealed,

and she let us pass without notice. Soon after we observed a very strong current setting to the westward; a short calm ensued, when the wind sprang up about east. About noon the clouds began to gather thick from every quarter, and the distant thunder uttered its voice. When we were miles to the south of the Shoal Islands, it being between 3 and 4 o'clock, the clouds were exceedingly black and heavy from the N. E. around to the S. E., the lightnings streamed dreadfully in various directions, and the bursting thunders roared aloud. At length the tempest burst upon us. A squall struck us from the W. N. W., which in a few minutes veered into the E. S. E. The darkness, thunder and rain continued with uncommon severity till we opened Portsmouth harbour, a little before sunset, when the clouds began to disperse, and we came to an anchor a little below the light-house, where we lay rolling and tumbling all night, and our female passengers were in consequence very sick.

10th. When the tide served in the morning we came to anchor in Pepperell's Cove, at Kittery, the wind being E. N. E. About 10 o'clock the captain set the two women on shore; we then proceeded in the boat to Newcastle, where, upon enquiring for Mr. Chase,* I found that he had died six months before. His son, Stephen, was gone to Portsmouth, as well as his daughter. After rambling near two hours about the Island returned on board. In our passage we approached a large brig under sail, on board of which I saw Mr. Spolc, with my friend Jenny Sheaf, from Martinico. Having dined I went on shore to visit Mr. Stevens, the minister on Kittery Point. I here met with civil treatment, found him a modest, sensible man, rather on the side of the British government, and his daughter a well accomplished and agreeable young lady. Being invited I tarried till the next morning.

11th. The wind continuing nearly in the same quarter I went on board after breakfast, and went with the Captain and Dr. Mayer to Portsmouth, where I met with great pleasure several of my friends, as Mr. Haven's family, Mrs. Clapham, Mrs. Frazer, and Mr. Whipple and lady. Dined at Mr. Whipple's. I perceived that his lady was greatly discouraged at the appearance of publick affairs. I was able, however, by several anecdotes, to revive her spirits. After dinner I returned to Mr. Haven's, where I spent an hour very agreeably. Capt. Smith, being obliged to go on board, I left the town with regret, but the wind continuing to blow from the N. E., with clouds and fog, I was permitted to revisit Mr. Stevens. I found that he was gone to Portsmouth. He returned, however, after tea. [Part of this day's Journal is inserted in the Memoir, p. 121.] The company were so agreeable to each other that they never went to repose till after twelve.

12th. This morning the weather was boisterous, and the wind blowing hard from the N. E. and great appearances of a storm. After breakfast went on board; so windy that we could not, as we intended, visit Portsmouth. Towards evening landed, in company with Capt. Crandall, at Pepperell's Wharf, and spent several hours in walking about the neighbourhood. The ruins of Sir William's fine estate induced us to reflect upon the instability of human affairs. A few years occasion prodigious alterations, especially in such seasons of plunder and predation. The house, which belonged to Andrew Pepperell Sparhawk—a stately edifice—has lately been reduced to almost a heap of ruins, for no other reason but because the owner is in Britain. We saw in the dock a fine little schooner from the eastward with a family on board. The master informed us that Capt. Callahan, having taken from him a sloop of ninety tons, made him a present of that schooner, though greatly opposed by the Captain of Marines. This vessel, armed, had taken three sloops. About nine in the evening the weather began to roughen, the clouds to gather from every quarter, and the increasing winds to agitate the waters.

13th. This morning, as soon as daylight appeared, we had a most violent storm at

* Rev. Stephen Chase, uncle to Mrs. Bailey. See Note F., p. 258.

N. E., attended with large quantities of rain. It continued without intermission till near sunset, during which the water was in violent agitation, and we thought ourselves unsafe with two anchors at her bow. One sloop was stove in pieces at the beginning of this tempest, and a schooner, attempting to recover by the light-house point, lost her anchor, had her jib carried away, and was finally bilged against the rocks. Another sloop, commanded by Joseph Decker, rode out the storm just within the southernmost point of Piscataqua harbour, expecting every moment either to go on shore, or to be swallowed up by the waves. The violence of the tempest abated, however, very fast in the evening. We had an uncomfortable situation on board, being closely confined to a nasty cabin, while the vessel kept incessantly rolling and tumbling, especially in the night, to such a degree that we could hardly lay in our cabins.

14th. A fine morning after the storm, but the wind still continues to breeze from the east. After our Captain had been to afford some relief to his distressed brethren, I embarked for Portsmouth on board a large canoe with Mr. James Marden and his brother. In our passage we went on board a privateer of ten carriage guns, where I quickly perceived a most shocking exhibition of confusion and profaneness. The oaths and execrations were horrid beyond expression. I had formerly been five or six weeks on board a British man-of-war, where all was order, piety, and politeness, in comparison with what now appeared. We took the gunner on board and proceeded to town. When I arrived at Mr. Stevens's I found them at dinner, and, to my great satisfaction, Dr. Coffin, directly from Falmouth. He expected to meet his lady here from Boston before evening. After dinner, and talking over the news, we went out together and met Mr. J. Sheaf at the barber's shop, when I engaged to wait for this agreeable gentleman at Mr. Whipple's. I spent the afternoon with Mr. Whipple, his lady, Madam Wentworth, Mrs. Purcel, and Mrs. Clapham. As I was waiting upon Mrs. Purcel home met Mr. Sheaf; we walked together and took the tour of several streets. He informed me that he had only twenty-two days from Martinico, and that there was no appearance of war among the French and Spaniards. He was perfectly surprized when he heard that a French fleet was upon the coast of New England. Went this afternoon to Capt. Roach and his family. I found here Mr. John Parker, the Sheriff, brother to Parson Parker, of Boston; he made some severe reflections upon my persecutors, in particular their imposing the oath of abjuration. When Mr. Parker was gone Mr. Roach applied to have his child baptized. I performed the office in the presence of three ladies, who were here on a visit. At parting Capt. Roach gave me half a guinea, and kindly offered to do his part toward my support during the present calamitous times. After I had parted with Mr. Sheaf I went with Mrs. Whipple to Capt. Turner's, where we found Mr. Whipple arrived before us, and Mrs. Pepperell. Just as we had entered into sociable conversation I was called away to baptize a child for one Reed, a little out of town. Here were present a large number of ladies. After I had performed the sacred ordinance I returned to my company, and about ten I went to Mr. Staver's, and found Mrs. Coffin arrived from Boston, but she and the Dr. were both gone to bed. After supper spent an hour with Mrs. Frazier and another lady. The former gave me a yard of muslin for Mrs. Bailey. Lodged at this house.

15th. This morning rose early and waited for breakfast till Dr. Coffin, his lady, and Miss Betty Wier were dressed. Mrs. Coffin brought word that the French fleet had left Newport, and that the Cork fleet had all arrived safe at New York, which incidents gave uncommon spirits to the friends of government, who had for a long time been in a despairing situation. Mr. Marden being ready to go on board I was obliged to leave this very agreeable company. When we came to the vessel we found the wind still unfavorable, which determined us to return. I dined at Mr. Staver's, waited upon Mr. Jeffries, and drank tea at Mr. Whipple's, where I learned from that gentleman that one Mr. Emerson, of York, had been upon Rhode Island to satisfy his curiosity.

He declared that he had been not only in the Provincial army, but among the inhabitants, who assured him there were 10,000 British forces at Newport, the rebel army between 12,000 and 20,000 strong. He confirmed the account of the departure of the French fleet, and added that they sailed on Monday morning in pursuit of some British ships which appeared in sight the evening before, and that prior to this movement the French had re-embarked all their land forces to the number of 4,500. Went with Mr. Whipple to Mr. Staver's, and found Griffin arrived from Boston, who informed us that the Whigs were greatly alarmed at the French Admiral's conduct; that the Salem volunteers, in attempting to reconnoitre the enemy's works had lost ten of their number; that the late storm had greatly annoyed the Provincial army, as the militia and volunteers were destitute of shelter; that the Royal forces, in case the French fleet should not return, intended to surround Rhode Island; and that two capital ships had lately arrived from Britain. Our company consisted of Capt. Turner, Mr. Jaffrey, Mr. Whipple, Capt. Hickey, and Mr. Stavers, besides Griffin and Davis. About 10 received a note from Mr. Soward to baptize his child. At 11 I complied with his request, after which I supped and lodged at Mr. Whipple's. Mr. J. Sheaf gave me six lbs. of coffee.

16th. This, being Sunday morning, after having an early breakfast with Mr. Stavers, returned on board. The wind soon began to breeze E. and by S., and the tide favouring we beat out to sea, and had a most pleasant passage into Winter Harbour, where we came to anchor about half past five in the afternoon. We landed the two Mardens at this place, but the wind blowing hard almost from the S. E. our Captain concluded it not prudent to proceed. In the night showers of rain. Another sloop, belonging to Broad Bay, anchored near us in this harbour.

17th. Wind about east, thick weather, attended with rain and fog. Went on shore on Wood Island. This island is surrounded with a sharp, rocky shore; the skirts of it abound with gooseberry bushes; the situation of the inland parts very low, and the soil exceeding rich; vegetables grow here to an uncommon size; on the north-west end we observed the appearance of a deep bog. Having dined on board we concluded, in the afternoon, to visit father Hussey, a Quaker, who had lived upon a large farm to the south of this harbour above forty years. I was pleased with the conversation of his brother, who happened to be present on a visit from Berwick, but I quickly discovered the owner of the house to be an obstinate, self-conceited, censorious bigot. We entered deeply into public measures, and, though the Quakers loudly condemned the proceedings of the American opposition, yet, I strongly suspect, they are no hearty friends to the British Constitution. They are unwilling to risk anything in the reformation or subversion of any government, yet, I fancy, a republican form must be most agreeable to their inclinations. The whole family appeared very contracted and inhospitable, not asking either of us to eat or drink, though they prepared an afternoon repast, and it was with difficulty we obtained a drink of water. Showery in the night, with some lightning.

18th. Wind still continues east, with a prodigious thick fog. After breakfast went on shore, first to one Capt. Hill's, where we met with very indifferent treatment. We then crossed over a narrow channel, and visited one Fletcher. The old woman and her two daughters were the most hard-favoured and disagreeable of the sex I ever beheld; the whole family were extremely rough and hoggish in their manners. The old man raved against Capt. Callahan, and threatened him with hanging. He had a daughter deaf and dumb, and a son blind. We tarried in this inhospitable dwelling. The weather continuing the same we went on board without any prospect of sailing. In the evening lightning and rain.

19th. This day wet and foggy. In the morning, after breakfast, went on shore and visited an island to the N. W., exceeding rough and uneven. About eleven visited the old Quaker, who treated us in a very hoggish manner, never asking us to sit

down, and he took four shillings lawful for one dozen of cucumbers. In the afternoon the fog began to disperse, and about sunset the weather was perfectly calm and serene.

August 20th. This morning awoke about 2 o'clock and finding a steady gale of S. W. wind and a clear sky alarmed the Captain, and in less than an hour after we got under sail. Before sunrise passed Cape Elizabeth. At 9 or 10 entered the mouth of the Kennebeck.

Mr. T. Percy came on board and informed us that he and his brother were obliged to take the oath from the complaint of Sam. McCobb. About 12 we came to anchor in Fiddler's reach. Went on shore with Dr. Mayer at Capt. Drummond's. Found him a violent son of liberty and a friend to the French alliance. He however treated us with complaisance and invited us to tarry to dinner; after which we visited Mr. McFadden and Mr. Preble. Towards evening returned and drank tea with Mrs. Drummond. Capt. Drummond having furnished us with a barge, we went about sunset in pursuit of the sloop and overtook her in the gut, where we found Carleton arrived from Boston. He left that port the evening before and brought intelligence that the French fleet had not yet returned. Night coming on and the wind breezing, my Woolwich friends advised me to go home with them. In consequence of this invitation I visited Mr. David Gilmore and tarried with him till the next morning. It gave me great satisfaction to find my friends in so good spirits here, notwithstanding the gloomy aspect of publick affairs. I cannot forbear reflecting upon the peculiar circumstances of our rulers at this season, and I imagine they are highly deceived. They are certainly ignorant of the prevailing sentiment and discontent among the people. They, in the beginning of this revolt, flattered the lower classes of mankind and addressed them with misrepresentations and lies, till they inspired them with enthusiastic madness, and directed them, in the frenzy of their zeal, to bully, insult, mob and plunder men of the highest worth, integrity and consequence, those very persons whom they had hitherto approached with reverence and listened to with attention, whose advice and authority they had always regarded as sacred; everything was carried by noise, persecution, and violence, until the spirit of persecution began to subside among the common people and moderation to take its place. Those men who had advanced themselves into the highest stations of government during these commotions, took it for granted that they were firmly fixed in the affections of the rabble, and that they had nothing to fear except a few Tories, which it was their principal concern to suppress. For this purpose they enacted the most cruel and unreasonable laws, putting it in the power of every ill-natured and malicious man to ruin his neighbour. These institutions are so severe that men are afraid openly to complain, yet in secret they cannot forbear expressing the highest discontent and chagrin, and nothing is heard in private corners except murmurs and complaints, and the number of those who delight in persecution is very inconsiderable; this sentiment is almost wholly confined to those who can gratify their revenge by the persecution of a Tory neighbour, while the remainder bitterly execrate the authors and instruments of the action. Now all the uneasiness and clamor which prevail abroad are closely concealed from the legislative body which sets at Boston amid the bustle of warlike preparations and the hurry of business. For who would venture to disclose any unwelcome truth when he is liable to be punished for sedition, to be regarded as an enemy to his country, and perhaps to be wholly deprived of his freedom. Every one who approaches the supreme authority by way of petition for mercy, or request for favour, makes it his principal study to flatter and please. He will not, in such circumstances, excite any disagreeable sensations by the mention of unwelcome truths, but labour all in his power to preserve the utmost good humor, and carefully suppress every suggestion that may tend to censure or reprehend the government to which he applies.

21st. This morning rose early and visited Mr. William Gilmore. After breakfast baptized, before a large number of people, a child for Capt. Fullerton; then calling

upon Capt. Smith we went on board and took our things in order to proceed homeward, but the wind quickly began to breeze from the north, attended with frequent thunder squalls. When we arrived, after much fatigue, at the Chops of Merry-meeting Bay, we found Mr. Hatch and Jackson on board a vessel bound to Nantucket. This incident prevented our proceeding any farther, and obliged us to go on shore, where we continued above four hours, but perceiving a formidable thunder shower arising we determined to visit Capt. Hobbs'. We had very civil entertainment at his house, and about dark embarked and continued our voyage a mile beyond the Chops, when a violent squall burst upon us from the north, attended with uncommon darkness and cold. It was with extreme difficulty we were able to reach the shore, upon which the waves dashed with increasing and resistless fury. I was constrained to continue above an hour holding the painter, while Dr. Mayer ran to solicit assistance. At length, after rambling through the bushes, and over burnt logs and rocky ledges, he appeared with Mr. John Trot.(?) We perceived ourselves to be but a few rods from his house, and having hauled our boat into a cove, with watching the greater part of the night we prevented her dashing in pieces.

22d. After breakfast, the wind still blowing from the north-west, we embarked, and about two arrived at Pownalborough, where I had the satisfaction of finding my family in good health, though they had greatly suffered in my absence from want of provisions. I was astonished to perceive the severity of the drought in this part of the country. Almost everything was consumed, and a terrible fire raging near the Eastern River, rendered the prospect still more distressing. I was visited this afternoon by several of my friends.

[Journals missing from August 23d, 1778, to January 16th, 1779, inclusive.]

1779.

January 17th—Sunday. At home. San's (?) preached. Cushing forbids him.

28th. Set off on a journey. Arrived at Whitcasset.

29th. Arrived at Mr. Rhode's, in Bristol.

30th. A snow storm. At Mr. Palmer's. Lodged at Capt. Vinal's.

31st. At night at Mr. Palmer's.

February 1st. At Capt. Vinal's, Cremor's, Chapman's, and (Rev. Dr.) Shefford's.

3d. Baptized Eunice Vinal. Returned to Palmer's.

4th. Dined at Noble's and lodged at J. Sevey's.

5th. Breakfasted at Mr. Wood's. Get home at sunset.

6th. Baptized John Carlow.

14th—*Sunday.* Baptized Anna Costelo. Mr. Gardiner here.

21st—*Sunday.* Mr. Gardiner and 11 persons.

March 1st. At home. N. Palmer reads his confession.

2d. At home. John (McNamarra) returns from Broad Bay.

6th. At Mr. Pochard's. His father ill.

7th. At Mr. Pochard's. The old man dies.

8th. Mr. Pochard buried.

11th. Mr. Lawrence's child buried.

14th. At Mr. Lawrence's. Baptized Amos and Betsy Hitchins.

19th. Rode to Mr. R. Turner's. Tarried all night.

20th. Rode home.

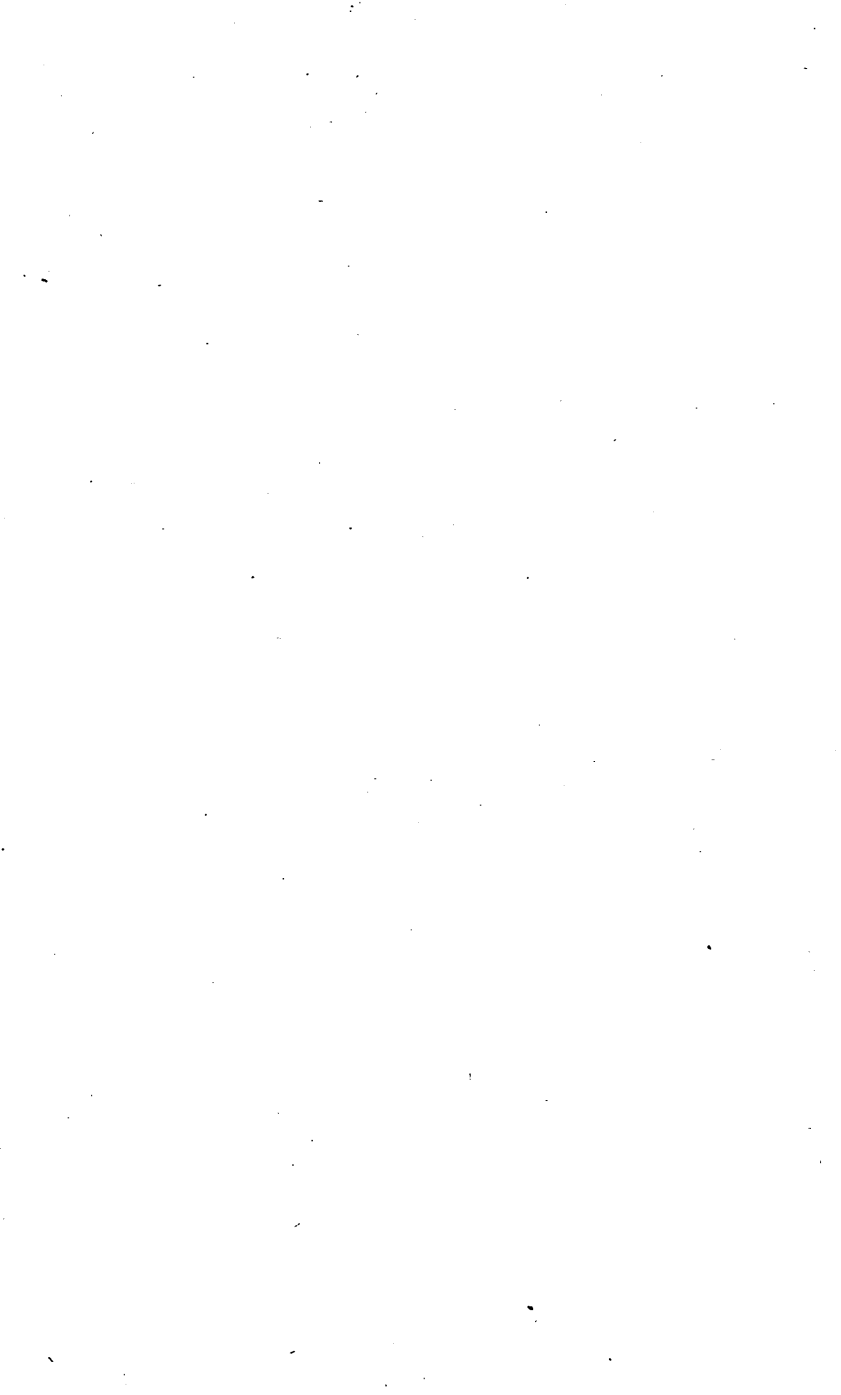
April 4th—Sunday. Company.

5th. Chose the same church officers.

ERRATA.

Page 240, Note; for L'Esarbot, read L'Escarbot.

Page 251, Note; for Christ's Church, read Christ Church.



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